भारतीयाधिशासनसंरक्षकतायां प्रकाशितम्

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THE ASHṬĀDHYĀYĪ OF PĀṆINI

36531

EDITED & TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

LATE ŚRĪŚA CHANDRA VASU

VOL. I

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ग्रन्थोऽयं भारतीयाधिशासनविनियोजितावश्यकालभ्यसंस्कृतग्रंथ-
पुनर्मुद्रणयोजनायां प्रकाशितः ।

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TO THE

Hon'ble Sir John Edge, Kt., Q. C.

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES,

THIS WORK

IS,

WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,

AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE AND OF HIGH EDUCATION

IN

THESE PROVINCES,

Dedicated

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT

THE TRANSLATOR.

FOREWORD

Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī represents the first attempt in the history of the world to describe and analyse the components of a language on scientific lines. It can be rightly said to be a monument of a perfected art whose chief interest lies not in what the described material should be but in what it is. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Aṣṭādhyāyī has not only been universally acclaimed as the first and foremost specimen of Descriptive Grammar but has also been the chief source of inspiration of linguists engaged in describing languages all the world over.

Brevity, it is said, is the soul of wit and it is not surprising that the most cherished objective of the descriptive grammarian, according to Patañjali, should be the brevity underlying such description. The Paṇinian tradition stands unsurpassed in the greatest economy of words in describing linguistic features.

The Paṇini Office, Allahabad brought out an edition of the work with the English translation of the text and a free rendering of Kāśīkavṛtti by the late S.C. Vasu towards the close of the last century. As the edition has long been out of print and its want was being felt by scholars in India and abroad, the Ministry of Education have sponsored the reprinting of the book under their "Scheme of reprinting of important out-of-print Sanskrit works".

I hope, the reprint will be widely welcomed in the scholarly world. The efforts of Messrs. Motilal Banarsidass in bringing out this work deserve commendation.

Ministry of Education
NEW DELHI.

R. P. NAIK

PREFACE

SINCE the advent of the British rule and the peace and prosperity that have followed in its train, and especially since the foundations of the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society, India has witnessed a glorious revival of her ancient literature, in which is embodied some of the highest philosophies and religions of the world. Our schools and colleges are annually turning out hundreds, nay thousands of scholars, who have entered upon the study of Sanskrit literature, and have thus learnt to appreciate the beauties of this language. Many Europeans too are taking pains to have some knowledge of the immortal literature of this ancient language. Very few of them, however, have the opportunity of studying the language with that depth and fulness with which it was and is mastered by the Pandits of the old school. To properly understand Sanskrit language, and especially that portion of it in which are locked up the highest aspirations of the ancient Aryan hearts, *viz.*, the Vedas, the Brâhmanas, the Upanishads &c , it is absolutely necessary to have a complete knowledge of the Grammar elaborated by Pâṇini.

Further, as a master-piece of close reasoning and artistic arrangement, it ought to be an object of study with every one who wants to cultivate his intellectual powers. In fact, what the Geometry of Euclid has done towards the logical development of the western intellect, the Ashṭâdhyâyî of Pâṇini has fulfilled the same purpose in India. No one who has studied this book can refrain from praising it. It has evoked admiration even from the Sanskrit savants of the west. Professor Max Müller thus gives his opinion about the merits of this excellent Sanskrit Grammar:—" The Grammatical system elaborated by native Grammarians, is in itself most perfect, and those who have tested Pâṇini's work will readily admit, that there is no Grammar in any language, that could vie with the wonderful mechanism of his eight books of Grammatical rules."

Unfortunately, however, for our college and school students, and also for that vast majority of English-reading gentlemen, whose number is daily on the increase, and who, depend for their knowledge of what is contained in Sanskrit books, on English translation of Sanskrit authors, no translation of this important work exists in English. To supply this want, we have undertaken to translate Pâṇini's aphorisms, as explained in the well-known commentary called the Kâsikâ. Though it is not a close translation of the whole of Kâsikâ it may be regarded as a free rendering of the most important portions of that book. We have closely followed this commentary, explaining it wher

necessary, and in short, making the work a help to the student, desirous of studying the KÂSIKÂ in the original.

The *Ashtâdhyâyî*, as indicated by its name, is divided into *ashta Adhyâyas*, *i. e.*, eight Books. Each of these Books again is divided nto four *pâdas* or chapters. It has thus been found suitable to publish the work in 32 parts without causing any inconvenience to the reader. The complete work will cover about 2,000 pages Royal Octavo. The task of translating, printing and publishing such an enormous work will entail great labour and expense, We are, therefore, forced to appeal to the generous public for their patronage so that this undertaking may be brought to a successful termination.

The rates of its subscription are as follow :—

(*Indian*) Rs. 20-0-0 in advance for the complete work including postage.
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Price per set of 4 parts, *i. e.*, one Book or *Adhyâya* bound in one volume, in cluding postage—Rs. 3 (*Indian*); 6*s*. (*Foreign*).

Any encourager of Sanskrit learning subscribing for ten or more copies of this work will be thankfully registered as our Patron and his name will be made immortal with that of the book by giving it a prominent place in the front of the book when it is completed.

Our hearty thanks are due to the Honourable E. White, C. S., Director of Public Instruction, N.-W. P. and Oudh, for his kindly subscribing for 10 copies of our work, and to all those gentlemen who have hitherto subscribed for any number of copies or in any way encouraged us in our undertaking.

Pânini Office
Allahabad.

THE PUBLISHER.

THE

ASHTADHYAYI OF PANINI.

ओ३म् परमात्मने नमः

Salutation to the Supreme Spirit.

अथ शब्दानुशासनम् ॥

Now an explanation of words.

The term अथ "now" in the sûtra indicates a commencement, and points out that a dissertation is to be offered on the science of words, viz. Grammar and Philology. The term अनुशासन means explanation of any system. This is an अधिकार sûtra, and introduces the subject.

An aphorism or sûtra is of six kinds, संज्ञा or 'a definition,' परिभाषा or the 'key to interpretation,' विधि or 'the statement of a general rule,' नियम or 'a restrictive rule,' अधिकार or 'a head or governing rule, which exerts a directing or governing influence over other rules,' and अतिदेश or 'extended application by analogy.'

The Pratyâhâra Sûtras.

अइउण् । ऋऌक् । एओङ् । ऐऔच् । हयवरट् । लण् । ञमङणनम् । झभञ् । घढधष् । जबगडदश् । खफछठथचटतव् । कपय् । शषसर् । हल् ॥

The above fourteen aphorisms contain the arrangement of Sanskrit alphabets for grammatical purposes. The anusvâra and the visarga, the jihvâ-mulîya and the upadh mâniya are not contained in the above list. The final अ in the consonants ह, य &c., is merely for the sake of articulation. The final pure consonants in the several aphorisms as ण्, क्, ङ् &c., are non-efficient or इत्. The प्रत्याहार is a grammatical symbol or abbreviation and is formed by taking any letter which is not a non-efficient letter and joining it with any non-efficient letter that follows it. This gives a name which stands for the former non-efficient letter and for all the other letters intervening between it and the non-efficient letter. Thus अच् means all the vowels, हल् means all the consonants, जश् means all soft unaspirate consonants, चर् means all hard unaspirate consonants. Though numerous pratyâhâras could be formed, practically however, there are only 42 pratyâhâras ; as given below :—

एङ् । यञ् । अण् । छव् । अट् ॥ झष् । भष् ॥ अक् । इक् । उक् ॥ अण् । इण् । यण् ॥ अम् । यम् । ङम् ॥ अच् । इच् । एच् ॥ ऐच् । यय् । मय् । झय् । खय् ॥ यर् । झर् । खर् । चर् । शर् ॥ अश् । हश् । वश् । झश् । जश् । बश् ॥ अल् । हल् । वल् । रल् । झल् । शल् ॥

The same letter ण् is made use of as अनुबन्ध or an indicatory letter both in the sixth sûtra लण् and in the first अइउण्. There arises consequently

the doubt, whether the pratyâhâras अण् and इण् when they are employed in Pâṇini's Grammar are formed with the ण् of the former or with the ण् of the latter sûtra, and one might, on that account, consider it impossible to ascertain what Pâṇini intended to denote by अण् and इण् when he employed these terms. To remove this doubt there is the following paribhâshâ :—

"The precise meaning of an ambiguous term is ascertained from interpretation, for a rule, even though it contain an ambiguous term, must never-the less teach something definite."

Accordingly we learn from interpretation that the term अण् except in Sutra I. 1. 69, is formed by means of the ण् of the first sûtra and that the term इण् is formed by means of the ण् of the subsequent sûtra.

—:o:—

ओ३म्

पाणिनीयव्याकरणसूत्रवृत्तिः॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER FIRST.

वृद्धिरादैच् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिः, आत्-ऐच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिशब्दः संज्ञात्वेन विधीयते प्रत्येकमादैचां वर्णानां सामान्येन तद्भावितानामतद्भावितानांच ॥

1. आ, ऐ and औ are called v*r*iddhi.

This defines the word vṛiddhi. The letters आ, ऐ and औ are vṛiddhi letters. The sûtra consists of three words vṛiddhi, ât and aich. आत् means the long आ, the final त् being indicatory only, and is for the sake of the pratyâhâra aich, and the pratyâhâra ऐच् means the letters ऐ and औ.

The indicatory त् in आत् serves the purpose of showing that the very form आ having two mâtrâs or prosodial measure, is to be taken. This त् also joins with the succeeding vowels ऐ and औ by the rule of तपर (I. 1. 70) or that "which precedes or succeeds त्," and indicates that these vowels must be taken as having two mâtrâs only, though they may be the result of the combination of vowels whose aggregate mâtrâs may be more than two. A short vowel has one mâtrâ, a long vowel has two, and a consonant has half a mâtrâ. Thus by a rule of सन्धि or euphonic conjunction of letters आ+आ=आ, as महा+आशयः= महाशयः. Here हा has two mâtrâs and not four. So also in खट्वैडकः the vowel ऐ the resultant of आ+ऐ has only two, not four, mâtrâs.

Thus the initial vowels in the following secondary derivative nouns are vṛiddhi forms of their primitive vowels. आङ्गः "bodily", from अङ्गः; 'body' ऐच्छिकः "optional", from इच्छा "option"; औपगवः "the son of Upagu", from the word उपगुः meaning "a sage called Upagu." Similarly in शालीयः "belonging to the house" the आ is radical, and is also called vṛiddhi. The word vṛiddhi occurs in sûtras like सिचिवृद्धिपरस्मैपदेषु (VII. 2. 1.) "Let the final इक् of the base get vṛiddhi substitute before the affix सिच् of the Parasmaipada".

अदेङ् गुणः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्-एङ्, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुणशब्दः संज्ञात्वेन विधीयते प्रत्येकमदेङां वर्णानां सामान्येन तद्भावितानामतद्भावितानाञ्च ॥

2. अ, ए and ओ are called gu*n*a.

Each one of the letters अ, ए and ओ whether radical or secondary is called a guṇa letter; as the initial vowels in the following:—अत्ति, "he

moves"; एति "he comes", ओखति "he goes." Here the initial vowels of the roots ऋ, इ, and उख् have been respectively gunated into अर्, ए, and ओ before the third person singular termination ति.

The term Guna occurs in sûtras like मिदेर्गुणः (VII. 3. 82). "Let there be guṇa substitute for the ik of the root मिद् "to melt."

इको गुणवृद्धी ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि॥ इकः । गुण-वृद्धी, (वृद्धिः, गुणः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिगुणौ स्वसंज्ञया (वृद्धया गुणेन वा) विध्यमानाविक एव स्थाने वेदितव्यौ ॥

3. In the absence of any special rule, whenever guṇa or vṛiddhi is enjoined about any expression by using the terms guṇa or vṛiddhi, it is to be understood to come in the room of the ik vowels only (i, u, ṛi, and ḷi long and short,) of that expression.

This is a paribhâshâ sûtra, and is useful in determining the original letters, in the place of which the substitute guṇa and vṛiddhi letters will come. The present rule will apply where there is the specification of no other particular rule.

Thus sûtra VII. 3. 84 declares:—"when a sârvadhâtuka or an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows there is guṇa of the base." Here the sthâni or the original expression which is to be gunated, is not specified, and to complete the sense, the word "ikaḥ" must be read into the sûtra. The rule then being, "when a S. or an A. affix follows there is guṇa of the ik vowels of the base." The guṇa of इ or ई is ए; of उ or ऊ, is ओ, of ऋ or ॠ is अर्, of ऌ is अल्; and their Vṛddhi is ऐ, औ, आर् and आल् respectively. Thus नी+अति=ने+अति=नयति "he leads."

Therefore, wherever in any rule in this Grammar, guṇa or vṛiddhi is ordained by employing the terms guṇa or vṛiddhi, there the word "ikaḥ" in the genitive case, meaning "in the place of ik", is to be supplied to complete the sense.

The word 'ik' is thus understood in the following rules, and is there qualified by the term अङ्ग or 'base':—मिदेर्गुणः (VII. 3. 82) मृजेर्वृद्धिः (VII. 2. 114) पुगन्तलघूपध &c., (VII. 3. 86); ऋच्छत्यृताम् (VII. 4.11) ऋदृशोऽङि गुणः (VII. 4.16) स्थूलदूरयुव &c., (VI. 4. 156).

In the following sûtras, the term 'ik' is understood and qualifies the word ânga or base, जुसि च (VII. 3, 83), सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोः (VII. 3, 84).

These sûtras will be explained in their proper places.

The word 'ik' has been used in the sûtra to show that the long आ, एच् or the diphthongs and हल् or the consonants, are not to take guṇa or vṛiddhi by this

rule, as in the following examples यानम् "a carriage", ग्लायति "he feels aversion," उम्भिता "confined."

Here ग्लायति is formed by adding the affix तिप्, third person singular termination, with the class a affix शप्, to the root ग्लै; as ग्लै + शप् + तिप् = ग्लै + अ + ति. At this stage, rule VII. 3. 84, would require the guṇa substitution of the vowel of the base before the sârvadhâtuka termination अ; the guṇa substitute of ऐ being ए, there would be ग्ले + अति = ग्लयति. But this is wrong, the letter ऐ, being not included in the pratyâhâra ik, is not affected by rule VII. 3. 84, and there is no guṇa substitution in this case. Similarly there is no change in the long आ of यानम्. Thus या + ल्युट् (III. 3. 115) = यानम् (VII. 1. 1). Here had there been guṇa by Rule VII. 3. 84, the आ of या, would have been changed into अ, and the form would have been यनम् which is wrong. But it is not so, as आ is not an इक् vowel. So also उम्भ् + इता = उम्भिता. Here, there is no guṇa substitution in the place of the consonant भ्.

The repetition of the words guṇa and vṛiddhi in this sûtra, though by अनुवृत्ति or the supplying of a word from the previous sûtra, these words followed from the two preceding sutras) is for the purpose of indicating that, this is a restrictive rule applicable only there, where guṇa or vṛiddhi has been ordained by the employment of the words guṇa or vṛiddhi. Therefore, it is not so in the following cases :—द्यौः "sky", पन्थाः "way" सः "he," इमम् "this." द्यौः is the nominative singular of the base दिव्. It is formed by rule VII. 1. 84, which declares that "in the nominative singular the letter औ takes the place of दिव्." Here the letter औ is no doubt a vṛiddhi letter, but as this substitution is not enjoined by the enunciation of the term vṛiddhi, औ does not take the place of the vowel इ of दिव्, but it replaces the final व्. Thus दि + औ + स् = द्यौः.

Similarly rule VII. 1. 85, declares that of the word पथिन्, आ is the substitute. The आ is a vṛiddhi letter no doubt, but not being enunciated by the term vṛiddhi, it takes the place of न् of पथिन् and not of इ. Thus we have पन्थाः, the न being added by VII. 1. 87.

Similarly सः from तद्, which is formed by VII. 2. 102 "short अ is the substitute of *tyad*, &c.," Here अ takes the place of द्. Thus we have त, which is changed again into स by VII. 2. 106.

न धातुलोप आर्द्धधातुके ॥ ४ ॥   पदानि ॥ न, धातु-लोपे, आर्द्धधातुके, (गुणवृद्धी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वेकदेशो धातुस्तस्य लोपो यस्मिन्नार्द्धधातुके तदार्द्धधातुकं धातुलोपं तत्र ये गुणवृद्धी प्राप्नुतस्ते न भवतः ।

4. The Guṇa and vṛiddhi substitutions, which otherwise would have presented themselves, do not

take place, when such an ârdhadhâtuka (III. 4. 114) affix follows, which causes a portion of the root to be elided

This is an exception to sûtra 3. By that sûtra iks were to be gunated or vṛiddhied and by sûtra VII. 3. 84, the root is to be guṇated before all ârdhadhâtuka terminations. All primary affixes, that are applied directly to roots in Sanskrit, are divided into two broad classes, called sârvadhâtuka and ârdhadhâtuka. The affixes marked with an indicatory श (called शित्), and the conjugational affixes, such as तिप्, तः &c., (called तिङ्) are sârvadhâtuka; all other affixes are called ârdhadhâtuka.

Though by the general rule, VII. 3. 84, the root is to be guṇated before ârdhadhâtuka terminations, yet it is not to be so, before those affixes which cause the लोप 'lopping off or ellipses' of a portion or a member of the original dhâtu Thus the termination स्यामि is a first person singular termination of the future tense (लृट्) and is an ârdhadhâtuka termination; when this is added to root जि 'to excel' the इ of जि becomes guṇated and we have जेष्यामि "I shall or will excel." But in those cases where there is a lopa of the member of a root form, caused by an affix, there is no guṇation. Thus in लोलुवः "a great cutter," the original root is लू "to cut" which forms the Intensive verb लोलूय. In forming the noun of agency from the verb लोलूय, an ârdhadhâtuka suffix अच् III. 1. 134, is added. Thus लोलूय + अच्. At this stage, by force of sûtra II. 4. 74. which declares that "before the affix अच् (III. 1. 134) the य of the Intensive verb must be suppressed," the *ya* is dropped and we have लोलू+अ. Here by the general rule VII. 3. 84, the final ऊ would have been guṇated. But by virtue of the present sûtra, no guṇa takes place, because here on account of the ârdhadhâtuka affix अच्, a portion of the root, namely, य, has been elided; therefore no guṇa takes place. Thus we have लोलुवः "a great cutter."

The word धातु "root" has been used in the sûtra, in order to indicate that the exception does not apply where there is an elision of an anubandha or of an affix. As in लूञ्+इता=लो+इता=लविता. Here the indicatory letter ञ् has been elided, but that does not prevent gunation. Similarly in रेड् the affix विच् is added to the root रिष् "to injure." Thus रिष्+विच् (III. 2. 75.) =रिष्+व् (I. 3. 2. and 3.)= रिष्+० (VI. 1. 67.) Here the affix व् is elided, but nevertheless, the guṇa substitute must take place in रिष्. Thus we have रिष्+०=रेष् (VII. 3. 86 and I. 1. 62)=रेड् (VIII. 2. 39).

The word ârdhadhâtuka has been used to indicate that a sârvadhâtuka affix which causes the elision of a portion of a root, does not prevent guṇa or vṛiddhi as in रोरवीति, (Rig Veda IV. 58. 3) "he roars much." रु+यङ् =रोरुय (III. 1. 22). रोरुय+तिप्=रोरु+ति (II. 4. 74.). Here the sârvadhâtuka

affix तिप् causes the elision of श, a portion of the root. The guṇa substitution however takes place, and we have रोरो+ईँ+ति (VII. 3. 94)= रोरवीति, the augment ईट् being added by sûtra VII. 3. 94.

The word "ikaḥ" of the previous sûtra is understood in this sûtra also. The ik letters only are not guṇated or vṛiddhied before such ârdhadhâtuka affixes; the other vowels may do so. Thus in अभाजि the equation is as follows:—अ+भञ्ज्+चिण्=अ+भज्+इ (VI. 4. 33). Here the *â*rdhadh*â*tuka affix चिण् has caused a portion of the root भञ्ज्, to be suppressed, *viz.*, the letter न् has been elided. But nevertheless the अ of भज् is vṛiddhied before चिण् because अ is not included in the pratyâhâra ik; and the exception contained in the present sûtra only applies to the ik letters. So also रञ्ज्+घञ् (III. 18) =रज्+अ (VI. 4. 27.) =रागः (VII. 2. 116. and VII. 3. 52).

क्ङिति च ॥५॥ पदानि ॥ गित्-कित्-ङित्-च । (गुणवृद्धी, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्ङिन्निमित्ते ये गुणवृद्धी प्राप्नुतस्ते न भवतः ॥

5. And that which otherwise would have caused guṇa or vṛiddhi, does not do so, when it has an indicatory क् ग् or ङ्.

Thus the past participle terminations क्त and क्तवतु are ârdhadhâtuka affixes, which would, by the general rule VII. 3. 84, have caused guṇa, but as their indicatory letter क is इत्, the real terminations being, त and तवत् , they do not cause guṇa. Therefore, when these terminations are added to a root, the ik of the root is not guṇated. Thus with the root चि "to collect" we have चित : or चितवान्, श्रु , "to hear," श्रुतः, श्रुतवान् ; भी ; "to fear" भीतः, भीतवान् .

Similarly the terminations क्यप् केलिम, कसु कानच् , क्त्वा, क्तिन् , &c., are all कित् terminations 'the indicatory letters of all being क्,' the real affixes being य, एलिम् , वस् &c. &c. &c. Before these, the root is not guṇated. Thus we have from भृ "to bear" भृत्य, from भिद् "to pierce" भिदेलिम

The terms कित् &c., of this sûtra are in the locative or seventh case. The force of this case termination here is that of निमित्त or cause, that is the guṇa or vṛiddhi which would otherwise have been caused, does not take place, if an affix is कित् , गित्, ङित् . Thus all ârdhadhâtuka and sârvadhâtuk affixes cause guṇation of the *final ik* of the inflective base (VII. 3. 84.) Thus the Sârvadhâtuka affix शप् (अ) in the following :—

भू + शप् +तिप् = भो+अ + ति=भवति "he is." Similarly sârvadhâtuka and ârdhadhâtuka affixes cause the guṇa substitution of the short *penultimate ik* of the inflective base (VII. 3. 85.) Thus बुध् + शप् + तिप् =बोधति.

The general force of the locative case in an aphorism is to cause the operation directed, on the expression immediately preceding it (I. 1. 66.) If the force of the locative case in the present sûtra were also that as

explained in I. 1. 66, then the interpretation would be this :—An affix having an indicatory k, g or ṅ, would not cause the guṇa substitution of the vowel ik, immediately preceding it. The case of the penultimate short ik will not be covered by it. Then though the rule may apply to चि + क्त = चित : "collected" it would not apply to भिद् + क्त ; there would be nothing to bar the guṇa substitution of the penultimate इ of भिद्. This however is prevented by explaining the locative as one of "occasion" and thus भिद् + क्त = भिन्न : "broken."

Similarly from the root जि we have a word जिष्णु : 'victorious,' in which the affix ग्स्नु has an indicatory ग् Thus जि + ग्स्नु = जिष्णु : "victorious" (III. 2. 139), so also स्थास्नु : "durable,"

Similarly the affix, अङ् is a ङित् affix, the real suffix being अ, the ङ् being merely indicatory. Therefore when अङ् is added to a root, there is no guṇation or vṛiddhing. Thus we have from विद् " to know'. विदः

Similarly by I. 2. 4, all sârvadhâtuka affixes that are not marked by an indicatory प्, are treated as ङित्. Thus the second person singular termination तस् is ङित्, and we have चिनुत : "they two collect," similarly चिन्वन्ति, "they collect," मृज् + क्त = मृष्ट : "cleansed," मृजन्ति "they cleanse."

The phrase "when indicated by the term *ik*" is understood in this sûtra. The prohibition, therefore, applies to ik vowels only, and not to all vowels in general. Thus by III. 1. 30, the root कम् " to desire" takes the affix णिङ् ; of this affix the letters ण् and ङ् are indicatory, the real affix is इ. The force of ण् is to cause vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 116). The indicatory ङ् does not prevent such vṛiddhi, as the letter अ of कम् is not included in ik. Thus we have कामि + अते = कामे + अते = कामयते "he desires."

According to the wish of the author of the Mahâbhâshya, the verb मृज् optionally takes vṛiddhi, before kit or *ṅit* affixes beginning with a vowel. As परिमृजन्ति or परिमार्ज्जन्ति "they rub." Here in this sûtra there is prohibition of the guṇa of the short penultimate ik also.

The indicatory ङ् of the verbal tense affixes *i.e.*, लङ्, लिङ्, लुङ्, लृङ्, is an exception to this rule of ङित्. This is an inference deduced from III. 4. 104 which declares "when the sense is that of benediction, then the augment यासुट् of लिङ् is as if it were distinguished by an indicatory क." There would have been no necessity of making यासुट् a कित्, if लिङ् were a ङित्, but the very fact of making यासुट् a कित् indicates by implication or is ज्ञापक that the final ङ of लिङ्, लङ् &c. does not make these tense affixes ङित्. Thus in लङ् or Imperfect tense we have अचिनवम् "he collected" (अचिनु + लङ् = अचिनु + अम् = अचिनो + अम् = अचिनवम् .)

दीधी वेवीटाम् ॥६॥ पदानि ॥ दीधी-वेवी-इटाम् ,(गुणवृद्धी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीधीवेव्योरिटश्चये गुणवृद्धी प्राप्नुतस्ते न भवतः ॥ ६ ॥

6. The guna and vriddhi substitutions, which would otherwise have presented themselves, do not however come, in the place of the vowels of dîdhî 'to shine,' and vevî 'to go,' and of the augment called इट्.

The roots दीधी and वेवी never take the guṇa or vṛiddhi substitutions under ordinary circumstances. Thus the affix ण्वुल् generally causes vṛiddhi substitution when added to any root; and so the affix ल्युट् causes guṇa. But these affixes when applied to the verbs dîdhî and vevî, never cause vṛiddhi or guṇa substitution. As आदीधी + ण्वुल् = आदीधी + अक (VII. 1. 1) = आदीध्यकः (VI. 1. 77). So also आदीधी + ल्युट् = आदीधी + अन (VII. 1. 1) = आदीध्यनम्. Similarly from वेवी we have आवेव्यनम् and आवेव्यकः. In the Vedas, however, these verbs take guṇa. Thus अदीधेत् (Rig Ved. X. 98. 7), and अदीधयुः (Rig Ved. V. 40. 5). These two verbs are confined generally to the Vedic literature, and the present rule therefore, seems to be an unnecessary prohibition; as they take guṇa in spite of such prohibition.

Of the augment इट् the real affix is इ. In the general tenses, it is added to certain terminations beginning with consonants of the वल् class, *i.e.*, all consonants except य (VII. 2. 35). Thus the future termination, first person, singular is स्यामि; this when added to the root चर् "to move" requires an intermediate इ, and thus we have the form चरिष्यामि, 'I shall walk.' This इ is never guṇated or vṛiddhied, though according to the general rule, coming before an ârdhadhâtuka termination, it ought to have been gunated.

The augment इट्, could under no circumstances have taken vṛiddhi, the prohibition therefore, is in the case of the guṇa substitute of इट्

हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, अनन्तराः, संयोगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिन्नजातीयैरज्भिरव्यवहिताः श्लिष्टोच्चारिता हलः संयोग संज्ञा भवन्ति समुदायः संज्ञी ॥

7. Consonants unseparated by a vowel are called conjunct consonants.

This defines the word sanyoga. The sûtra consists of three words, हलः, the plural of the pratyâhâra हल्, denoting all the consonants, अनन्तरः means "without any separation or space" and संयोगः which is the word defined, and means "conjunct consonants." So that the sûtra means, conjunct consonants are those consonants between which there is no heterogeneous separating vowel and which are pronounced jointly, such as क्क in the word कुक्कुटः, "cock." The word "sanyoga" applies to the whole of the conjunct consonants jointly and not to them separately. The plural number shows that the conjunction may be of two or more consonants.

Why do we say "consonant"? If two vowels come together they will not be called "sanyoga". Thus तितउच्छत्रं "a sieve umbrella," the two vowels अ and उ have come together unseparated by any consonant; yet they are not called sanyoga, otherwise the final उ would have been rejected by VIII. 2. 23 "there is elision of the final of that pada which ends in a sanyoga letter." Why do we say "unseparated by a vowel"? If consonants separated by a vowel were also called sanyoga, then in the sentence पचति पनसम्, the syllable सम् would be called sanyoga, and by VIII. 2. 29, the initial स would be elided.

मुखनासिकावचनोऽनुनासिकः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुख-नासिका-वचनः, अनुनासिकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुखसहिता नासिका मुखनासिका, तया य उच्चार्यते वर्णः सोऽनुनासिकसंज्ञो भवति ।

8. That which is pronounced by the nose along with the mouth is called *Anunâsika* or nasal.

This defines the word anunâsika. The sûtra consists of four words मुख "mouth" नासिका "nose" वचनः "utterance or pronunciation" and अनुनासिकः "nasals." Though the words मुखं + नासिका (II. 4. 2) will by the rule of composition form मुखनासिकं and not मुखनासिका, yet the latter form might be held to be an irregularity; or the phrase मुखनासिकावचनं may be regarded as a compound of मुखनासिक + आवचनं, the word âvachana meaning "partial utterance." That is a letter partially uttered by the nose and partially by the mouth would be called anunâsika. Therefore the nasals are those letters which are pronounced from two organs or places, *i.e.*, the mouth and the nose. The pure nasal is anusvâra, while anunasikas are different from this, in as much as, that in pronouncing these, the breath passes through the nose and the mouth.

The vowels are generally so nasalised. 'If, instead of emitting the vowel sound freely through the mouth, we allow the velum pendulum to drop and the air to vibrate through the cavities which connect the nose with the pharynx, we hear the nasal vowels (anunâsika).' Thus अँ, आँ. In the Vedas, the particle आङ् is anunâsika. As अभ्र आँ अपः (Rig Veda. V. 48. 1), so also पर्षि दीने गभीर आँ उग्रपुत्रे (Rig Ved. VIII. 67. 11).

The consonants ङ, ञ, ण, न and म are also anunâsika. Thus ङ is pronounced by the throat along with the nose, ञ by the palate and nose, ण by the upper palate and nose; न by the teeth and nose, and म by the lip and nose.

The semi-vowels य, व and ल are also nasalised and are then called anunâsika. The term anunâsika is used in sûtra V. 1. 126 &c.

Why have we used the word "by the mouth"? This definition will not include anusvâra or the pure nasal, which is pronounced wholly through

the nose. Why have we used the word "by the nose"? In order to exclude the consonants क, च, ट, त, प &c. &c., which are pronounced wholly and solely through the mouth.

तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम् ॥९॥ पदानि ॥ तुल्य-आस्य-प्रयत्नम्, सवर्णम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुल्य आस्ये प्रयत्नो यस्य वर्णस्य येन वर्णेन सह स समानजातीयं प्रति सवर्णसंज्ञो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *ऋकारऌकारयोः सवर्णसंज्ञा वक्तव्या * ॥

9. Those whose place of utterance and effort are equal are called savar*n*a or homogeneous letters.

This defines the word savarṇa or a homogeneous letter. The sûtra consists of four words:—तुल्य "equal or similar," आस्य "mouth or place of pronunciation," प्रयत्न "effort" and सवर्णम् "words of the same class."

The आस्य or places or portions of the mouth by contact with which various sounds are formed are chiefly the following:—1. कण्ठ "throat" 2.' तालु 'palate,' 3. मुर्द्धा, 'head,' 4. दन्ताः 'teeth,' 5. ओष्ठौ 'lips,' 6. नासिका 'nose.'

The प्रयत्नम् or quality or effort is of two sorts primarily, आभ्यन्तरः "internal" and बाह्यः "external." The first is again sub-divided into five parts:—

1. स्पृष्टम् or complete contact of the organs. The twenty-five letters from क to म belong to this class. In pronouncing these there is a complete contact of the root or the tongue with the various places, such as throat, palate, dome of the palate, teeth and lip.

2. ईषत्स्पृष्टम् or slight contact. The letters य, र, ल, व belong to this class of contacts. "In pronouncing these semi-vowels the two organs, the active and passive, which are necessary for the production of all consonantal noises, are not allowed to touch each other, but only to approach."

3. विवृतं or complete opening. The vowels belong to this class.

4. ईषद् विवृतं or slight opening. The letters श, ष, स, ह belong to this class. Some however place the vowels and श &c., into one group and call them all vivṛita.

5. संवृतम् or contracted. In actual use, the organ in the enunciation of the short अ is contracted but it is considered to be open only, as in the case of the other vowels, when the vowel अ is in the state of taking part in some operation of grammar.

The âbhyantara prayatna is the mode of articulation preparatory to the utterance of the sound, the bâhya-prayatna is the mode of articulation at the close of the utterance of the sound.

The division of letters according to âbhyantra prayatna has been already given. By that we get, 1. the sparsa or mute letters, 2. the antastha or intermediate between sparsas and ushmans, or semi-vowel or

liquid letters, 3. the svaras or vowels or vivṛita letters, 4. the ushmans or sibilants or flatus letters.

The division of letters according to bâhya prayatna gives us first surds or aghosha letters, 2. sonants or ghosha letters. The aghosha are also called svâsa letters, the ghoshas are called nâda letters.

The second division of letters according to bâhya prayatna is into;
1. Aspirated (mahâprâṇa). 2. Unaspirated (alpaprâṇa).

The vowel अ has eighteen forms. The *acute* अ (udâtta), *grave* अ (anudâtta) and *circumflexed* अ (svarita). Each one of these three may be nasalised (anunâsika), or not (niranunâsika).

Then lastly everyone of these six may be short, long, or prolated. Thus:—अ, अ॒, अ॑, अँ, अ॒ँ, अँ॑, आ, आ॒, आ॑, आँ, आ॒ँ, आँ॑, अ३, अ॒३, अ॑३, अँ३, अ॒ँ३, अँ॑३.

Similarly the letters इ, उ and ऋ have also eighteen forms. The letter ऌ has no long form; it has therefore 12 modifications. The diphthongs have no short forms, they have therefore, only 12 forms. The antastha or semi-vowels with the exception of र have two forms each *viz.*, nasalised and un-nasalised. The semi-vowels have no homogeneous letters corresponding to them. All letters of a varga or 'class' are homogeneous to each other.

Thus then the homogeneous or savarṇa letters must satisfy two conditions before they could be called savarṇa. First, their place of pronunciation or आस्य must be the same. Secondly their प्रयत्न or quality must be equal. If one condition be present and the other be absent, there can be no savarṇa-hood. Thus च and श are both palatals, their आस्य or place of pronunciation being तालु 'palate,' but still they are not savarṇa, because their प्रयत्न is different, the प्रयत्न of च being sprishṭa and that of श being vivṛita.

Similarly क and च though their प्रयत्न is the same *i.e.*, sprishṭa, yet their आस्य being different, one being guttural and the other palatal, are not savarṇa.

There is exception to this rule in the case of ऋ and ऌ, which though having different आस्य are still called savarṇa by virtue of the vârttika of Kâtyâyana; "the homogeneousness of ऋ and ऌ, one with another, should be stated." Thus होतृ + ऌकारः = होतॄकारः ; here ऋ and ऌ have coalesced into long ॠ by rules of sandhi, on the assumption that they are savarṇa letters.

The word savarṇa occurs in sûtras like अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः : (VI. 1. 101).

Why do we say "the place of pronunciation"? So that there may not be homogeneous relationship between कचटत and प whose prayatna is the same but whose âsya is different. What is the harm if we make them savarṇa? Then in words like तर्प्ता and तर्प्तुम्, the प would be elided, if it be held homogeneous with त, by VIII. 4. 65, "there is optional elision of झर्, preceded by a consonant, when a homogeneous झर् follows."

Why do we say "effort"? That there may be no homogeneity between इ and the palatals, and य and श, whose organ of pronunciation is the same, but whose prayatna is different. What harm if it be so? Then in अरुश्च्योतति, the श would be elided before च by the rule already referred to, VIII. 4. 65.

नाज्झलौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अच् हलौ, (सवर्णम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुल्यास्य प्रयत्नावपि अज्झलौ परस्परं सवर्णसंज्ञौ न भवतः ॥

10. There is however no homogeneity between vowels and consonants, though their place and effort be equal.

This sûtra lays down an exception to the former sûtra. There can be no homogeneity or savarṇa relationship between vowels and consonants, though their आस्य and प्रयत्न may be the same. Thus इ and श have the same आस्य namely तालु 'palate,' and the same प्रयत्न: namely vivṛita, but still they are not to be called savarṇa. Thus in दण्डहस्त, दधिशीतलं &c., the letters अ and ह in the first example, and इ and श in the second not being homogeneous letters; there is no combination or sandhi, which would otherwise have taken place.

Similarly if श and इ be held homogeneous, then विपाश + अण् (IV. 3. 53) = विपाश् + अण् (VI. 4. 148; here श would be elided by VI. 4. 148, but it is not so and we have वैपाश: "belonging to vipâsâ or born therein." So also in आनडुहं "ox-skin," the इ would have been omitted, if held homogeneous with अ.

ईदूदेद्द्विवचनम् प्रगृह्यम् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईद्-ऊद्-एद् द्विवचनम्, प्रगृह्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईत् ऊत् एत् इत्येवमन्त द्विवचनं शब्दरूपं प्रगृह्य संज्ञं भवति ॥

11. A dual case affix ending in ई or ऊ or ए is called Pragṛihya, or excepted vowels which do not admit of sandhi or conjunction.

As a general rule, Sanskrit allows of no hiatus in a sentence. If a word ends in a vowel, and the next word begins with a vowel, the two vowels coalesce, according to certain rules. This is called sandhi. But pragṛihyas are exceptions to this sandhi, "they are certain terminations, the final vowels of which are not liable to any sandhi rules." (VI. 1. 125). This sûtra gives three of these terminations, *viz.*, the duals of nouns or verbs ending in ई (ईत्), ऊ (ऊत्), or ए (एत्). Thus:—कवी इमौ "these two poets," so also वायू इति "two winds;" माले इति "these two garlands." पचेते इति "they two cook" पचेथे इति "you two cook." Here according to the general rule of sandhi, the final इ of कवी and the initial इ of इमौ ought to have coalesced into an ई, but it is not so, because कवी is the nominative dual of कवि.

Why do we say ending in *î*, *û* and *e*? Because when the dual ends in any other vowel this rule will not apply. As वृक्षौ + अत्र = वृक्षावत्र, "these two trees" (VI. 1. 78). Of course it follows from the definition, that ई, ऊ, or ए of the dual number only are pragrihya; if these vowels terminate any other number they will not be pragrihya but will follow the general rule of sandhi, as कुमारीं (1. s.) + अत्र = कुमार्य्यत्र, "the girl is here" (VI. 1. 77).

Vârt: The prohibition of मनीव &c., should be stated in treating of the pragrihya nature of ई, ऊ &c. Thus मनी (two gems) + इव = मनीव "like two gems." So also दम्पतीव "like a couple," जम्पतीव "like man and wife," रोदसीव "like heaven and earth." Some say that this vârtika is unneccessary. Because the final member of the above words is not इव, but the particle व only; which has the same meaning as *iva*.

अदसोमात् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदसः, मात्, (इदूदेत् प्रगृह्यम्)॥

वृत्तिः॥ अदसः सम्बन्धी यो मकारस्तस्मात् पर ईदूदेतः प्रगृह्य संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

12. (The same letters) after the म् of the pronoun अदस् are Pragrihya.

In the pronoun अदस्, the dual termination in ई, ऊ or ए will be pragrihya by force of the last sûtra, but the present sûtra makes this addition, that in the case of अदस्, all terminations ending in ई, ऊ or ए and preceded by म, of *whatever number* they may be, will be pragrihya. As a matter of fact, there are only two such terminations satisfying the above conditions namely अमी and अमू. The rule may therefore be put in the following words of Dr. Max Muller:—"The terminations of अमी and अमू nom. plur. masc. and nom. dual of the pronoun अदस् are pragrihya." As अमी अश्वाः "Those horses," and अमू आसते. There is no example of the word *adas* ending in ए.

Why do we say "of the word adas"? The letters ई, ऊ, ए following after the म् of any other word will not be pragrihya. As शमी + अत्र = शम्यत्र "this sami tree."

Why do we say "after the letter म"? Because in the example अमुके + अत्र = अमुकेऽत्र, "those here," the ए, preceded not by म but by the क of अकच् (V. 3. 71) is not pragrihya, which it would have been by the influence of sûtra 11, which includes ए as well as ई and ऊ, and from which the word dual is not supplied here, else this rule would be useless.

शे ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शे, (प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शे इत्येतत् प्रगृह्यसंज्ञं भवति ॥

13. The affix शे, (the Vedic substitute of the case-affixes), is a pragrihya.

In the Vedic Sanskrit, the declesion of nouns sometimes differs somewhat from the ordinary Sanskrit. One of the peculiar Vedic terminations, which

replace the ordinary declensional terminations is called शे (VII. 1. 39.) Thus अस्मेइन्द्राबृहस्पती.

Of this substitute शे, the initial श is indicatory, the real suffix being ए. This final ए is a pragṛihya.

In the sacred literature there is only one example of this pragṛihya, as given above; while in imitation of this, we have in secular writing phrases as, त्वेइति, युष्मे इति, मे इति &c.

निपात एकाजनाङ् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निपातः, एकाच्, अनाङ्। (प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकश्चासावच्च एकाच् निपातो य एकाच् आङ्वर्जितः स प्रगृह्यसंज्ञो भवति ॥

14. A particle I. 4. 56 consisting of a single vowel, with the exception of the particle आङ् is a Pragṛihya.

This sûtra consists of three words:—निपात: "particle," एकाच् "consisting of one vowel," अनाङ् "with the exception of आङ्."

All such particles technically called nipâta (I. 4. 56) which consist of a simple vowel without any consonant, are pragṛihya and therefore are not liable to the rules of sandhi. As इ इंद्र. "Oh, Indra" उ उत्तिष्ठ "O arise."

It follows from the above definition that those nipâtas which consist of two or more letters, vowel and consonant, are not pragṛihya, e. g. प्र in प्राग्नये वाचमीरय.

आङ् which is not a pragṛihya, has four significations:— As a diminutive particle when joined to adjectives and nouns, as आ+ उष्णम् = ओष्णम् "little hot, tepid" (2) as a prefix to verbs, it expresses the senses of "near" "nearto," and with verbs of "motion," "taking" &c., it shows the reverse of the action, as गम् 'to go,' आगम 'to come;' आ + इहि = एहि, (3) as showing the limit inceptive (अभिविधि) "from," "ever since," as आजन्मन: "ever since his birth," (4) as showing the limit exclusive (मर्यादा), "till" "until" as आ + अध्ययनात् = आध्ययनात्, "until the reading begins." When the particle आ has not any one of the above four senses and is used in expressing regret &c., it is a pragṛihya, as आ एवं किलासीत् "Ah! such there once was," आ एवं मन्यसे. "Oh! do you think so."

The word एकाच् in this aphorism has a peculiar meaning. It means "consisting of one vowel and nothing else." In other words, the vowels themselves when used as निपात, e. g. आ, उ, इ &c. But the term एकाच् has a wider signification than that given to it in this sûtra. It means "a word or a portion of a word consisting of one vowel which can be pronounced at once"—in other words एकाच् means a "syllable." In that sense the words प्र, नि, वि &c., will also be एकाच्, but not so here. Therefore the rule of sandhi will apply

to them, thus प्राग्नये वाच्चमीरय. See sûtra VI. 1. 1. where the word एकाच् means a monosyllable.

Why do we say "a nipâta?" Because if the single vowel is not a particle, but something else, an affix &c., then it will not be a pragṛihya, as the final अ in चकार "he did," is the affix of third person perfect tense, and is liable to sandhi; as चकारात्र.

ओत् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओत्, (प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओदन्तो यो निपातः स प्रगृह्य संज्ञो भवति ॥

15. The final ओ of a particle is a pragṛihya.

This sûtra consists of one word ओत् the final त् is a surplusage. The words "pragṛihya" and "nipâta" are to be supplied from the preceding sûtras to complete the sense. The meaning is that those particles which end in ओ though consisting of several letters, are pragṛihya. As अहो अपेहि "Halloo, go away."

सम्बुद्धौ शाकल्यस्येतावनार्षे ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बुद्धौ, शाकल्यस्य, इतौ, अनार्षे, (प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्बुद्धि निमित्तो य ओकारः स शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन प्रगृह्य संज्ञा भवति इति शब्दे ऽनार्षे अवैदिके परतः ॥

16. The final ओ of the vocative singular (II. 3. 49) before the word इति according to Sâkalya, in secular or non-vedic literature, is pragṛihya.

This sûtra gives the opinion of the Ṛishi Sâkalya, so that it is an optional rule. Thus both forms वायावीति (formed according to the general rule of sandhi) and वायो इति (where ओ is pragṛihya) are correct.

In ârsha literature the sandhi is imperative, not optional, as एता गा ब्रह्मबन्धवित्यब्रवीत्.

The mention of the name of any sage, such as that of Sâkalya in this sûtra, serves generally one of the two purposes:—(1) either it makes the rule an optional one, vibhâshârtham, or (2) the mention is merely for the sake of showing respect to the particular sage, the rule would have stood as well without such mention; pujârtham, as the word Kâsyapa in sûtra I. 2. 25.

उञः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उञः, (प्रगृह्यम् शाकल्यस्येतावनार्षे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उञः प्रगृह्य संज्ञा भवति इतौ शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

17. The particle उञ् before *iti*, according to Sâkalya is a Pragṛihya.

This sûtra consists of the single word उञ् meaning उ. According to the same Ṛishi Sâkalya, उञ् is a pragṛihya, before इति, in modern Sanskrit. This is also an optional rule. Thus उ इति or विति.

ॐ ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ॐ, (शाकल्य०, उञः, प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उञ इतावनार्षे ॐ इत्ययमादेशो भवति दीर्घोऽनुनासिकः शाकल्यस्य मतेन प्रगृह्य संज्ञकश्च ॥

18. The particle ॐ replaces उञ् in non-vedic literature, and it is a pragrihya in the opinion of Sâkalya.

Before the word इति the word उञ् is replaced sometimes by ॐ the long nasal *û*. Thus ॐ + इति = ॐ इति or विति.

In some authorities the sûtras 17 and 18 form but one sûtra, and then it is divided by the method of *yoga-vibhâga*, the division of a single sûtra into two separate sûtras having two distinct rules.

ईदूतौ च सप्तम्यर्थे ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईद्-ऊतौ, च, सप्तमी-अर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईदन्तमूदन्तञ्च शब्द रूपं सप्तम्यर्थे वर्त्तमानं प्रगृह्यसंज्ञं भवति ॥

19. The final ई and ऊ of words giving the sense of the locative case are pragrihya.

This sûtra finds its scope in the Vedic literature generally. There is a sûtra (VII. 1. 39) which declares that "in the Vedic Sanskrit, the case-affixes *sup* are often replaced either by सु (1. s.), or are altogether elided, or they are changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior letter, or आ, or आत्, or शे, or या, or डा, or ड्या, or याच्, or आल् takes their place." Let us take the example where a case-affix is changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior. Thus the case-affix of the seventh case is ङि (इ). In forming the 7. s. of तनू "body," we have तनू + इ. The इ will be changed into a homogeneous letter with ऊ and we have तनू + ऊ = तनू "in the body," as, अध्यस्यां मामकीतनू (for मामक्यां तन्वां). This is the Vedic form, the secular form being तन्वां. Similarly गौरी + इ = गौरी "on the Gaurî," as सोमो गौरी अधिश्रितः (Rig Veda IX. 12. 3). It is in such cases, therefore, that the long *î* and *û* are used in the sense of locative, and are pragrihya.

It is only long *î* and *û* which are pragrihya, and not any other vowel, though used in the sense of locative. Thus by the same aphorism (VII. 1. 39) ḍâ (â) may be employed to denote the seventh case-affix. Thus अग्नि + ङि = अग्नि + डा = अग्ना 'in the fire,' as, प्रियः सूर्ये प्रियो अग्ना भवाति य इंद्राय सुतसोमो ददाशत् (Rig Veda V. 37. 5). Here अग्ना though in the locative case, its final is not pragrihya. Therefore अग्ना + इति = अग्नेति.

The ई and ऊ must be of the 7th case. Therefore मति + टा (3rd s.) = मति + इ (letter homogeneous with the prior) = मती 'with wisdom'. Here *î* is in the sense of the instrumental case and is not pragrihya. Thus मती + इति = मतीति.

The word अर्थे is used in the aphorism, in order to exclude the application of this rule to cases like the following. Thus in forming the compound of वाप्याम् "in the well" and अश्व "horse," the case-affix is elided, and we get वापी + अश्व. Here, no doubt, the word वापी is in the locative case, though the case-affix is elided; but we cannot say that the long ई of vâpî has the *sense* of the locative. Here, therefore, we shall have sandhi; as, वाप्यश्व: "the horse near the well." In other words, the present aphorism is not to apply to the final ई or ऊ of words standing as the prior member of a compound term (pûrva-pada); for words like वापी &c., in the above example, can never, *by themselves* and *alone*, denote the locative case; while words like गौरी, formed in the way described already, give the *sense* of the locative, even alone, though they be placed anywhere in a sentence.

दाधाघ्वदाप् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ दा, धा, घु, अदाप् ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ दारूपाश्चत्वारो धातवो धारूपौ च द्वौ, दाब्दैपौ वर्जयित्वा घुसंज्ञका भवन्ति ॥

20. The verbs having the form of dâ 'to give' and dhâ 'to place,' are called ghu.

This defines the word ghu. Four verbs have the form of दा, or assume it by the application of VI. 1. 45, and two, of धा; they are called घु. The ghu verbs have certain peculiarities of conjugation to be described hereafter.

The घु verbs are the following:—डुदाञ् "to give," as प्रणिददाति; दाण् "to give," as, प्रणिदाता; दो "to cut," as, प्रणिद्यति; देङ् "to pity" as, प्रणिदयते, डुधाञ् "to place" as, प्रणिदधाति, धेट् to "feed" as, प्रणिधयति

In the above examples, because of the verbs being घु, the न of प्रनि is changed into ण by VIII. 4. 17.

Similarly दाप् "to cut" and दैप् "to clean" not being called घु, rules VII. 4. 40 and 47 do not apply to them. Thus दा + क्त = दातं 'what is cut,' as, दातं बर्हिः. So also अवदातं "washed" as, अवदातं मुखं "a bright face." But with दा "to give," &c. दा + क्त = दद् + त (VII. 4. 46) = दत्तः "given;" so also we have प्र + दा + क्त = प्रत्तम् (VII. 4. 47). The word घु occurs in sûtra VI. 4. 66, &c. The word dâp includes also daip by the paribhâshâ given under III. 4. 19, ऐ changed into आ by VI. 1. 45.

आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-अंत-वत्, एकस्मिन् ।

वृत्ति: ॥ आदाविव अन्तइव एकस्मिन्नपि कार्यं भवति ॥

21. An operation should be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final.

This is an atideśa sûtra and consists of four words, आदि "beginning, अन्त "end," वत् "like," एकस्मिन् "in one;" the literal translation being "beginning is end-like in one." The affix वत् has the force of the locative, and the

meaning is "on the beginning," and "on the end," *i.e.*, let an operation be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final. Thus by III. 1. 3. an affix has udâtta or acute accent on its initial vowel. Thus the affix tavya has accent on the first अ, and we have कर्त्तव्यम्. But when an affix consists of a single vowel, it is itself the beginning and the end, and, as such, will have the accent. As in औपगवम् aupagavam the last *á* has the accent, which á represents the affix अण्

Similarly, by VII. 3. 102, the final of a base *ending in* short अ is lengthened before a case-affix beginning with a consonant of यञ् class. Thus राम+भ्याम्=रामाभ्याम्. This rule will apply when the word consists of one letter only, and that letter is a short अ. Thus अ+भ्याम्= आभ्याम् "by those two." Here it must not be objected that the solitary अ is *initial*, and cannot be *final*.

Why do we say "in one"? If a word consists of more than one letter, then the beginning is not like the end. Thus in the word सभा the initial short अ is not like the final long आ; otherwise सभा would get the name of वृद्धम् (I. 1. 73), and the secondary derivative from सभासन्नयन would be formed by the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). But this is not so, the affix अण् is employed instead, and the form is साभासन्नयन:.

तरप्तमपौ घः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तरप्-तमपौ, घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तरप् तमप् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ घ सञ्ज्ञौ भवतः ॥

22. The affixes tarap and tamap are called घ.

This sûtra defines घ affixes. They are two, तर and तम, the प् in them being इत्. The special use of these affixes will be described later on. These affixes are useful in forming the comparative and the superlative degrees respectively of adjectives, adverbs, &c. The base undergoes certain changes before these terminations, which will be treated of in its proper place.

Thus the words कुमारितरा and कुमारितमा are formed by adding the affixes तर and तम to the word कुमारी 'a girl,' whose long ई is shortened before these affixes by sûtra 43 of the third chapter of the 6th Book.

बहुगणवतुडति संख्या ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहु-गण-वतु-डति, संख्या ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुगणवतुडति इत्येते संख्यासंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ *अर्द्धपूर्वपदश्च पूरणप्रत्ययान्तः संख्यासंज्ञो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्, समासकन्विध्यर्थम् ॥

23. The words bahu 'many,' *gana* 'class,' and the words ending in the affix vatu (V. 2. 39), and *d*ati (V. 2. 41) are called numerals (sankhyâ).

This sûtra defines the word saṅkhyâ, or numeral.

These are certain words, besides the ordinary numerals, having some peculiarity of declension. The words like बहु 'many,' and गण 'class', and those that have the affixes वत् and अति after them, belong to this class. The letters उ and ड of वतु and डति are इत्, or indicatory, the actual affixes being वत् and अति.

The word saṅkhyâ means "numerals;" and this class contains, among others, the Sanskrit numerals. The words formed by adding वतु are generally compound pronouns, *e. g.* तावत् "so much," यावत् "as much," एतावत् "so much." similarly words formed by the affix डति, *e. g.* कति "how many," तति "so many," यति "as many."

Thus बहु + कृत्वसुच् (V. 4. 17) = बहुकृत्वः "many times" the affix कृत्वसुच् being added only to saṅkhyâ words in the sense of the repetition of the action. So also बहु + धा (V. 3. 42) = बहुधा "in many ways." Here also the affix धा is added by virtue of बहु being a saṅkhyâ. Similarly बहुकः (V. 1. 22) "purchased for a big sum," बहुशः (V. 4. 43) "manifold." So also गणकृत्वः, गणधा, गणकः, गणशः; so also तावत्कृत्वः, तावद्धा, तावच्छः; कतिकृत्वः, कतिधा, कतिकः, कतिशः.

When the words बहु and गण mean "abundance" and "multitude" they are not saṅkhyâ. It is only when they are expressive of numbers, that they get the designation of saṅkhyâ. The necessity of defining saṅkhyâ arose in order to exclude such words as, भूरि "numerous," &c., which though they express numbers, are not to be treated as "numerals," technically so called.

Vart:—The word अर्द्ध "half" when standing as a first term in a compound number which takes an affix giving the sense of an ordinal, gets the designation of saṅkhyâ, for the purposes of the application of the rules of samâsa and of the affix कन्. The ordinal affixes or pûraṇa pratyayas are like डट् (V. 2. 48), मट् (V. 2. 49), थक् (V. 2. 51), &c. Thus एकादशः "eleventh," पंचमः "fifth," चतुर्थः "fourth," &c. Similarly we have अर्द्धपंचमशूर्पः "purchased for 4½ baskets" (a dvigu). Here अर्द्ध + पंचमा (an ordinal) = अर्द्धपंचम्, a bahuvrîhi compound meaning 4½, *viz.*, that in which half is the fifth term. अर्द्धपंचमैः शूर्पैः क्रीतः = अर्द्धपंचमशूर्पः the taddhita affixes ठञ् and अञ् required by V. 1. 19 and 26 being elided by V. 1. 28.

Here, there is compounding (dvigu) by taking अर्द्धपंचमम् as a saṅkhyâ, and then applying sûtra II. 1. 51. The samâsa here is in the sense of taddhita, and this compounding is only possible by rules (II. 1. 50 and 51), when अर्द्धपंचमम् gets the appellation of saṅkhyâ. Having got this name, it forms dvigu compound in the sense of the taddhita affixes अञ् and ठञ् (V. 1. 26). The word शूर्प takes both these affixes in the sense of "being

bought with." Thus शौर्पिकम् and शौर्पम् both mean "bought with a measure called śûrpa." In the above compound of अर्द्धपंचमशूर्पः the sense is that of the above-named taddhita; but the affixes have been elided by V. 1. 28 after dvigu compounds. So also we have अर्द्धपंचमकः by applying the affix कन्. For these two purposes, namely samâsa and the application of कन्, compounds of ardha, like ardha-pañchama are treated as saṅkhyâ.

ष्णान्ता षट् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ष्-ण्-अन्ता, षट्, (संख्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारान्ता नकारान्ता च या संख्या सा षट्संज्ञा भवति ॥

24. The Sankhyâs having ष or न as their final are called shat.

This sûtra defines the term षट् which is a subdivision of the larger group saṅkhyâ. Those saṅkhyâs which end in ष् or न् are called षट्. The word saṅkhyâ is understood in this sûtra, because the word ष्णान्ता is in the feminine gender, showing that it qualifies saṅkhyâ which is also feminine.

The numerals that end in ष or न are six, namely पंचन् 'five,' षष् 'six,' सप्तन्, 'seven,' अष्टन् 'eight,' नवन् 'nine,' दशन् 'ten.'

It is one of the peculiarities of षट् words that they lose their nominative and accusative plural terminations (VII. 1. 22). Thus षट् तिष्टन्ति, पंच गच्छन्ति ॥

The word अन्त in the sûtra shows that the letters ष and न must be aupadeśika *i.e.*, must belong to the words as originally enunciated and not added afterwards as affix &c. Thus in शतानि 'hundreds,' सहस्राणि 'thousands,' अष्टानाम् 'of eights' the न is not radical, but an augment, and therefore they are not षट् and the nominative and accusative plural terminations are not elided; as शतान् + इ = शतानि &c.

इति च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इति, च, (संख्या, षट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डत्यन्ता या संख्या सा षट्संज्ञा भवति ॥

25. And the saṅkhyâs ending with the affix ḍati are called shat.

This sûtra enlarges the scope of the definition of षट् by including in it, words formed by डति. By sûtra 22, words in डति are already saṅkhyâ; by this they are also षट्. Therefore we have कति पठन्ति, 'how many are reading,' कति पश्य 'see how many.' Here कति has lost its plural termination by VII. 1. 22.

क्तक्तवतू निष्ठा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्त-क्तवतू, निष्ठा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तश्च क्तवतुश्च क्तक्तवतू प्रत्ययौ निष्ठासंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

26. The affixes kta and ktavatu are called Nishṭhâ.

This defines the nishṭha affixes, that is to say, the affixes of the past participle. The actual affixes are त, तवत्, the क and उ being indicatory. They being कित् are liable to all the rules applicable to कित् affixes, such as rule I. 1. 5. Thus we have, कृतः, कृतवान्, भुक्तः, भुक्तवान्.

The force of the indicatory उ in ktavatu is, by IV. 1. 6, to indicate that in forming the feminine of nouns ending in an affix having an indicatory vowel of ûk pratyahâra (उ, ऋ, ऌ), the affix ङीप् (ई) must be added. Thus कृतवत् (masc.), कृतवती (fem.). The word nishṭhâ occurs in sûtra VII. 2. 14.

सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्व-आदीनि, सर्वनामानि ॥

वृत्तिः॥ सर्वशब्द आदिर्येषां तानीमानि सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

27. The words sarva, 'all,' and the rest are called sarvanâma or pronouns.

This defines sarvanâma or pronominals. To know what are the other words comprised in the phrase 'and the rest' we must refer to Pâṇini's Gaṇapâṭha where a list of all groups referred to in the sûtras, is given. Thus we know from it, that the following are sarvanâma:—

सर्व 'all,' विश्व 'all,' उभ 'two,' उभय 'both,' words formed by the affix डतर such as कतर 'which of two,' words formed by the affix डतम as कतम 'which of many,' अन्य 'other,' अन्यतर 'either,' इतर 'other,' त्वत् 'other,' त्व 'other,' नेम 'half,' सम 'all,' सिम 'whole,' त्यद् 'he, she, it,' तद् 'he, she, it,' यद् 'who,' एतद् 'this,' इदम् 'it,' अदस् 'that,' एक 'one,' द्वि 'two,' युष्मद् 'you,' अस्मद् 'I,' भवतु 'you,' किम् 'what.' So also पूर्व 'east,' 'prior,' पर 'subsequent,' अवर 'west or posterior,' दक्षिण 'south or right,' उत्तर 'north or inferior subsequent,' अपर 'other or inferior,' अधर 'west or inferior,' are sarvanâmas when they imply a relation in time or place, as shown above, and not when they are names. So also स्व when it does not mean a 'kinsman or a treasure,' but means 'own.' So also अन्तर when it means 'outer,' or 'an under or lower garment' is a sarvanâma.

There are certain peculiarities in the declension of sarvanâma words. Thus सर्व though ending in अ, is not declined like नर which also ends in अ, the plural of सर्व being सर्वे, that of नर being नराः. Similarly the dative singular नराय, सर्वस्मै; the abl. sing. नरात्, सर्वस्मात्; the loc. sing. नरे, सर्वस्मिन्; the Gen. pl. नराणाम्, सर्वेषाम् &c.

The compounds (with certain exceptions) ending in these words are also sarvanâmas. The word उभ 'both' is always used in the dual number as उभौ, उभाभ्याम्. The object of its being inserted in the list of pronominals, (whilst its declension does not differ from that of नर), is its taking the augment अकच् (V. 3. 71) which it could not have taken, if it were not a pronominal

as उभकौ. Another object gained by its being so called, is the application of II. 3. 27, by which a pronominal may take the case-affix of the 3rd case or the 6th case in denoting cause.

There are two त्व in the above list, namely त्वत् and त्व, having the same meaning, and both ending in अ. But the final अ of one is udâtta, and of the other anudâtta. Some give one त्वत् only and not the other, and say that both have anudâtta accent. The word सम is a sarvanâma, when it is synonymous with the word सर्व 'all,' and not when it means 'equality.' When it has the latter sense of 'equality,' it is declined like नर *i. e.* like ordinary words ending in अ, as Pâṇini himself indicates in I. 3. 10, where he uses the regular genitive plural समानाम्, meaning 'among or of equals.' As a pronominal the genitive plural would have been समेषाम्.

The above words sarva &c. are not to be treated as pronouns when they are used as appellatives. For example, if सर्व be the name of a person then it will be declined like ordinary nouns, as सर्वाय देहि 'give to Sarva (a person'). Here the dative singular is regularly formed. Similarly when these words are so compounded with others as to lose their original independent character, namely when they are उपसर्जन, they are not treated as sarvanâma, but follow the regular declension, as अतिसर्वाय देहि 'give to (him who is) above all.' Here in the compound अतिसर्व 'Above-all' or 'Supreme Being,' the word सर्व loses its independent character and defines and determines the sense of another word. Fuller explanation of the word upasarjana will be given later on in I. 2. 43. This term सर्वनाम is an अन्वर्थसंज्ञा that is a term the application of which accords with its meaning.

विभाषा दिक्समासे बहुव्रीहौ ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, दिक्-समासे, बहुव्रीहौ, (सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिशां समासो दिक्समासो दिगुपदिष्टे समासे बहुव्रीहौ विभाषा सर्वादीनि सर्वनाम संज्ञानि भवन्ति ।'

28. The above words are optionally sarvanâma when they occur in a bahuvrîhi compound signifying direction (II. 2. 26.)

This is an exception to sûtra 29 which follows. As a general rule (see sûtra 29), in bahuvrîhi compounds, these words sarva &c. are declined like ordinary nouns. The present sûtra declares an option to this, in special cases relating to compounds signifying direction. Thus the bahuvrîhi compound of direction उत्तरपूर्वा 'north-east' may form its dative case as a pronominal, e.g. उत्तरपूर्वस्यै or it may form its dative like ordinary words ending in आ, *i. e.* उत्तरपूर्वायै. So दक्षिणपूर्वस्यै or दक्षिणपूर्वायै.

Why do we say "when signifying a direction"? The next sûtra will enjoin that in bahuvrîhi compounds, these words are not treated as pronominals. Therefore, if in the present sûtra, we had not used the word दिक्, it would have been impossible to know where there was option and where prohibition. By employing the word "direction," it is thus determined, that in a samâsa, relating to direction (II. 2. 26), there is allowed option, while there is prohibition in all other kinds of bahuvrîhi compounds.

Why do we say "in compound"? So that the option may be in that bahuvrîhi which is purely samâsa, and in no other bahuvrîhi. There is no option allowed in that bahuvrîhi where there is a semblance of bahuvrîhi but not exact bahuvrîhi.

The quasi-bahuvrîhi, or analogical bahuvrîhi compounds, or to use the Sanskrit phrase, bahuvrîhi-vadbhâva, is taught in sûtra VIII. 1. 9. where words in repetition are treated like bahuvrîhi. Thus एकं + एकं = एकैकम् 'one and one, each one.' Bahuvrîhi compounds are possessive compounds, but in the above example, no idea of possession enters. However the compound here is treated like a bahuvrîhi, for the purposes of the elision of the case-affix of the first member, and the whole compound gets the designation of prâtipadika. In compounds like this, therefore, which are bahuvrîhi-vat, but not exactly bahuvrîhi, the present rule and the succeeding sûtra do not apply. Thus एकैकस्मै देहि 'give to each one,' द्वितीयद्वितीयस्मै देहि ॥

Why do we say "in the bahuvrîhi"? So that there may be no option in the dvandva compound. Thus दक्षिणोत्तरपूर्वाणाम् 'of the south, north and east.' The prohibition in the case of dvandva by rule 31 is absolute and invariable.

न बहुव्रीहौ ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, बहुव्रीहौ, (सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि, समासे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

29. The words sarva &c., are not sarvanâma when occurring in a bahuvrîhi compound.

As a general rule (see sûtra 72), when any definition, rule, operation &c. is made applicable to a particular word, the same would also apply to any other word which ends in that word. Thus the plural of man being 'men' in English, the plural of blackman will be blackmen. So the definition of sarvanâma given to sarva &c., separately, will also apply to the words ending in sarva &c.

This sûtra introduces thus an exception to sûtra 27. In bahuvrîhi or possessive compounds, the nature of which compounds will be described

later on, the above mentioned words are not pronominals, and must follow the ordinary rule of declension. Thus the compound प्रियविश्व meaning 'beloved of all' is a bahuvrîhi compound of प्रिय 'beloved,' and विश्व 'all,' (which is a sarvanâma). The declension of this compound will follow the general rule. Thus, in the dative singular, we have प्रियविश्वाय, though the dative singular of विश्व by itself is विश्वस्मै, like other pronominals. So also प्रियोभयाय "to him who is beloved of both." So also द्व्यन्याय, त्र्यन्याय &c.

Similarly in bahuvrîhi compounds, these words not being treated as pronominals, they do not take also the special affix अकच्, but the general affix कप्. As, त्वत्कपितृकः, मत्कपितृकः (V. 3. 70)

Though the word bahuvrîhi was present in this sûtra by anuvṛitti from the last aphorism, the object of using the word bahuvrîhi again in this sûtra, is this:—that the prohibition may apply to those expressions also which are no longer bahuvrîhi, but whose original components were once bahuvrîhi. Thus the words वस्त्रान्तरा and वसनान्तरा are bahuvrîhi compounds; but when these two words are further compounded into a dvandva compound, the present rule still applies. As, वस्त्रान्तरावसनान्तराः"

तृतीयासमासे ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-समासे, (सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि, न,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयासमासे सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

30. In Instrumental Determinative Compounds the words sarva &c. are not sarvanâma.

This is another exception to the definition of sarvanâma. There is a class of compounds in Sanskrit called tatpurusha compounds, in which the last word governs the preceding one. The word governed may be in any one of the six cases: when it is in the third or instrumental case, the compound is called tritîyâ tatpurusha. When, therefore, there is such a samâsa, the words mentioned in sûtra 26 are not to be declined like pronominals. Thus the word मासपूर्व is a compound of मास and पूर्व = मासेनपूर्व meaning 'prior by a month,' where the word mâsa is in the instrumental case. This compound will be declined like ordinary words, e.g. its dative will be मासपूर्वाय, though the dative of पूर्व, when standing by itself, is पूर्वस्मै; so also संवत्सरपूर्वाय ।'

The tṛitîya-samâsa of the present sûtra has reference to the special tritîyâ-samâsa ordained by the particular sûtra II. 1. 31. namely, "that which ends with the 3rd case affix, is compounded with the words pûrva, sadṛiśa, sama, &c." and has not reference to the tṛitîyâ-samâsa in general, such as one ordained by II. 1. 32, "that which ends with the 3rd case-affix when it denotes the agent or the instrument, is compounded diversely with what ends in a

kṛit affix." Therefore, in phrases त्वयका कृतं 'done by thee,' मयका कृतं 'done by me,' these words are treated as pronominals, though in the instrumental case followed by a word ending in a kṛit-affix. In other words, reading this sûtra with II. 1. 31, we find that pûrva is the only sarvanâma which is so compounded, and to which only the present sûtra would seem to apply.

The word समास may appear to have been mentioned redundantly, as it has already been mentioned in the previous sûtra, the primary object of the sûtra authors being to shorten the rules by the keeping out of every unnecessary word. But here, the word समास has been repeated, to show that even in phrases like मासेन पूर्वाय, though not a compound, but used in construction with an instrumental case, the word पूर्व is not a sarvanâma, that is to say, the prohibition extends even to phrases, which bear the sense of the instrumental compound, though not exhibited in the form of the instrumental compound.

द्वन्द्वे च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वे, च, (सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि, समासे, न) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वे च समासे सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

31. And in Collective Compound, II. 2. 26 the words sarva &c., are not sarvanâma.

This sûtra mentions another exception. In collective compounds the above words are not sarvanâma. Dvandva is a compound in which two words are simply joined together, the compound taking the terminations of the dual or plural according to the number of compounded words, or the terminations of the singular, being treated as a collective term. Thus, the compound वर्णाश्रमेतर means, वर्ण 'the castes,' आश्रम 'the orders' and इतर 'the others'. The word इतर in this compound is not to be treated as a sarvanâma, but an ordinary word. Therefore, in the genitive plural we have:—वर्णाश्रमेतराणाम् and not ॰इतरेषाम्. So also पूर्वापराणाम् 'of the priors and the posteriors.'

The word च 'and' in the sûrta indicates that it closes the list of exceptions or prohibitions that began with sutra. 29.

विभाषा जसि ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, जसि, (सर्वादीनि, सर्वनाम, द्वन्द्वे समासे, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वे समासे जसि विभाषा सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

32. (Their dvandva compounds) are optionally sarvanâma when the nominative plural termination jas follows.

This is a proviso to sûtra 31, and declares that before the termination जस् (which is the termination of the nominative plural, as we shall find later on, and which in the pronominals is replaced by शी), the dvandva

compounds may be treated either as sarvanâmas or as ordinary words. Thus the plural of वर्णाश्रमेतर may be either वर्णाश्रमेतराः or ०तरे, that is, the word may take either जस् or शी.

This sûtra governs the four succeeding sûtras. The option allowed in the case of the application of the affix जस् 1st pl. to the dvandva compounds of pronominals, does not extend to the dvandva compounds of pronominals which take the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71). There the sûtra 31 is absolute. Thus, कतरः + कतमकः = कतरकतमकाः in the plural. This affix अक (अकच्) comes before the last vowel, with what follows it, of the pronominals and indeclinables.

प्रथमचरमतयाल्पार्द्धकतिपयनेमाश्च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथम-चरम-तय-अल्प-अर्द्ध-कतिपय-नेमाः, च (विभाषाजसि,सर्वादीनि,सर्वनामानि)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथम चरम तय अल्प अर्द्ध कतिपय नेम इत्येतेजसि विभाषा सर्वनामसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

33. And also the words prathama 'first'; charama 'last,' words ending with the affix taya (V. 2. 42); alpa 'few' ardha 'half' katipaya 'some,' and nema 'half' are optionally sarvanâma, before the nom. pl. termination.

Thus we have प्रथमे or प्रथमाः, चरमे or चरमाः, अल्पे or अल्पाः, अर्द्धे or अर्द्धाः, कतिपये or कतिपयाः, नेमे or नेमाः, द्वितये or द्वितयाः ॥

The words "optionally when the affix जस् follows" are understood in this sûtra. The governing force of the word "dvandva" does not extend to this, and stops at this. By the word तय in the aphorism, is meant words ending in the affix तय. The rest are prâtipadikas or crude bases. The word नेम has already been enumerated among the pronominals, therefore, the option in its case, is what is called prâpta-vibhâsâ, the result of which will be that though in the nom. pl. it may be declined like नर, the rest of its declension is like sarva, while in the case of prathama &c. the nom. pl. may be like sarva, but the rest of their declension must be like that of nara. The word ubhaya, has been formed by the addition of the affix तय, and it is already enumerated in the list of pronominals, therefore, by the present sûtra its nom. pl. admits of two forms.

The application of the affix kan or akach must depend upon the nature of these words, if pronominals, then akach, otherwise kan.

पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व-पर-अवर-दक्षिण-उत्तर-अपर-अधराणि, व्यवस्थायाम्, असंज्ञायाम्, (विभाषा, जसि, सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वादीनि विभाषा जसि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि भवन्ति व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् ॥

34. The words pûrva 'prior,' para 'after,' avara 'posterior,' dakshi*n*a 'south,' uttara 'north.' apara 'other,' and adhara 'inferior,' when they discriminate relative position, not when they are appellatives, are optionally sarvanâma before the affix jas.

These seven words have already been mentioned in the list of sarvanâmas. They are always sarvanâmas, when they have the meaning given to them in the list, *i. e.*, when they imply a relation in time and space, but when used in any other sense than the one which has been determined or fixed for them, they are not sarvanâmas, nor are they so when they are used as appellatives (संज्ञा). Thus, when the word दक्षिण means 'clever,' it is not a sarvanâma, as, दक्षिणा इमे गाथकाः 'these clever minstrels,' similarly in उत्तराः कुरवः 'the northern Kurus,' the word उत्तर is not a pronominal, for though it declares a direction, it is a proper noun.

When these seven words are sarvanâma, they are declined like sarva, except in the nominative plural, when they may be declined either as sarvanâmas, or as ordinary nouns. The option allowed in the case of these words is a prâptavibhâsâ.

That there is a 'specification' (niyama), or tacit implication, of a determinate point (avadhi), with reference to which something is to be described by the word itself, is what we mean when we say "that a relation in time or place (avasthâ) is implied." For example, if we wish to describe Benares as being southern (dakshiṇa), to do this, we may specify some point, say one of the peaks of the Himâlayâ with reference to which Benares may be described as a "place to the southward." Again we in the north may thus speak of the people to the south of the Vindhyâ mountains, as being southern, not with reference to the inhabitants of Ceylon, but with reference (as every one here understands by tacit implication) to us ourselves, who live to the north the Vindhya range. Thus, (पूर्वे or पूर्वाः, अवरे or अवराः, परे or पराः) दक्षिणे or दक्षिणाः ; उत्तरे or उत्तराः ; अपरे or अपराः ; अधरे or अधराः.

स्वमज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वम्, अज्ञाति-धन-आख्यायाम्, (विभाषा, जसि, सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वमित्येतच्छब्दरूपं जसि विभाषा सर्वनामसंज्ञं भवति न चेज् ज्ञाति धनयोः संज्ञारूपेण वर्त्तते ॥

35. The word sva 'own,' when it does not mean a kinsman or property is optionally sarvanâma before the affix jas.

The word स्व when it does not mean a ज्ञाति 'kinsman' or धन 'property' or 'wealth' is always a sarvanâma, in every number and case, as it has been

enumerated among the pronominals, except in the nominative plural where it is optionally so. Thus स्वे पुत्राः or स्वाः पुत्राः 'one's own sons,' स्वे गावः or स्वा गावः 'one's own cows'.

But when it means 'kinsmen' or 'articles of property' स्वाः alone is the nom. pl. As, स्वा ज्ञातयो 'these kinsmen' प्रभूताः स्वाः 'much riches'

अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंव्यानयोः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तरम्-बहिर्योग-उपसंव्यानयोः (विभाषा, जसि, सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तरमित्येतच्छब्दरूपं विभाषा जसि सर्वनामसंज्ञं भवति बहिर्योग उपसंव्याने गम्यमाने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *अपुरीति च वक्तव्यम्* ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *विभाषा प्रकरणे तीयस्य वा ङित्सु सर्वनामसंज्ञेत्युपसंख्यानम्* ॥

36. The word antara being always a sarvanâma, when meaning "outer" or "a lower garment," is optionally so before the affix jas.

The word अन्तर when it means बहिर्योग, *viz.*, 'outer' is always sarvanâma, so also, when it means उपसंव्यान or 'a lower garment.' Thus, अन्तरे गृहाः or अन्तरा गृहाः 'outer houses, the residence of Chandal, and other low castes.' So अन्तरे or अन्तराः शाटकाः 'the inner garments, such as petticoats worn under the upper garments." The word अन्तर when used in the above sense is always sarvanâma, but in the nominative plural, it is optionally so. But, when it is not used in the above senses, it is never a sarvanâma, e. g., ग्रामयोरंतरे वसति 'he lives between the two villages,' where the regular locative is अन्तरे. With this sûtra ends the section on sarvanâmas, which began with sûtra 26.

Vart:—The word अन्तर when qualifying the word पुरि 'a city,' is not to be treated as a sarvanâma, and is, therefore, declined like ordinary nouns. As, अन्तरायां पुरि वसति 'he lives out of the city.'

Vart:—The words formed by the affix तीय such as, द्वितीय and तृतीय, are optionally declined as sarvanâma before the case-affixes having an indicatory ङ (ङित्), which are the singular terminations of dative, ablative, genitive and locative, as, द्वितीयस्मै or द्वितीयाय, तृतीयाय or तृतीयस्मै.

स्वरादि निपातमव्ययम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वर्-आदि, निपातम्, अव्ययम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरादीनि शब्दरूपाणि निपाताश्चाव्ययसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

37. The words svar 'heaven,' &c., and the particles (I. 4. 56) are called indeclinables.

This defines avyaya or indeclinables. The words स्वर् &c. must be found out from the Gaṇapâṭha; they are the following:—

स्वर् 'heaven,' अन्तर् 'midst,' प्रातर् 'in the morning,' पुनर् 'again,' सनुतर् 'in concealment,' उच्चैस् 'high, aloft' नीचैस् 'low, down,' शनैस् 'slowly,' ऋधक्

'rightly, separately, aside, singly, particularly, truly,' ऋते 'except, without,' युगपत् 'at the same time, at once,' आरात् 'near, far from, directly.' पृथक् 'separately, apart,' ह्यस् 'yesterday,' श्वस् 'to-morrow,' दिवा 'by day,' रात्रौ 'by night or in the night,' सायम् 'at eve,' चिरम् 'long, long since, a long time,' मनाक् 'a little,' ईषत् 'slightly, a little,' शश्वत् 'ever,' जोषम् 'gladly,' तूष्णीम् 'silently,' बहिस् 'outside,' अविस् 'below, without, outside. समया 'near,' निकषा 'near, hard, close by,' स्वयम् 'of one's self,' वृथा 'in vain,' नक्तम् 'at night, by night,' नञ् 'negative particle, not,' हेतौ 'for this reason, by reason of,' इद्धा 'truly, really' हे ह 'exclamation,' अद्धा 'evidently, truly,' सामि 'half,' वत बत 'enclitic like, as Brâhmaṇavat, priestly,' सनत् सनात् 'perpetually,' उपधा 'division,' तिरस् 'crookedly, awry, over,' अन्तरा, अन्तरेण 'except, without' ज्योक, योक 'long,' कम् 'expletive particle,' शम् 'ease,' सना 'perpetually,' सहसा 'suddenly, hastily,' विना 'without,' नाना 'variously,' स्वस्ति 'greeting, peace,' स्वधा 'exclamation, oblation to Manes,' अलम् 'enough,' वषट् 'exclamation,' श्रौषट्, वौषट् (interjection) 'oblation of butter,' अन्यत् 'again, moreover, otherwise.' अस्ति 'being present,' उपांशु 'in a low voice, secretly, privately,' क्षमा 'patience, pardon,' विहायसा 'aloft in the air,' दोषा 'at night or in the evening,' मृषा, मिथ्या 'falsely,' मुधा 'in vain,' पुरा 'formerly,' मिथो or मिथस् 'mutually, together,' प्रायस् 'frequently, almost,' मुहुस् 'again, repeatedly' प्रवाहकम् or प्रवाहिका 'at the same time,' आर्यहलम् 'violently' अभीक्ष्णम् 'repeatedly,' साकम् or सार्धम् 'with' नमस्, 'reverence,' हिरुक् 'without,' धिक् 'fie!' अथ 'thus,' प्रताम् 'with fatigue,' प्रशान् 'alike,' प्रतान् 'widely,' मा, माङ 'do not.'

So, also the words formed by the affixes ktvâ tosun, kasun, by the kṛit affixes ending in म् or ए, ऐ, ओ or औ, and the avyayîbhâva compounds, are indeclinables. So, also the words formed by the affixes beginning with तसिल् (V. 3. 7) and ending with पाशप् (V 3. 47), by the affixes beginning with शस् (V. 4. 42) and ending with समासांत: (V. 4. 68), by the affixes कृत्वसुच्, सुच्, आस् and थाल् by the affixes having the sense of the affix च्वि, or by the affixes अम् or आम्, तसि or वति, न or नाञ् are also indeclinables.

The words called nipâta will be given under sûtras, I. 4, 56 to 61. Thus a word which changes not (न व्येति), remaining alike in the three genders and in all cases, and in all numbers, is what is termed an अव्यय or indeclinables.

तद्धितश्चासर्वविभक्तिः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धितः, च, असर्व-विभक्तिः (अव्ययम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितान्तः शब्दोऽसर्वविभक्तिरव्ययसंज्ञो भवति ॥

38. And the words ending in taddhita or secondary affixes (IV. 1. 76.) which are not declined in all the cases are also indeclinables.

This expands the definition of avyaya. There are three words in the sûtra taddhitaḥ, cha and asarva-vibhaktiḥ. Taddhitas or secondary affixes are certain affixes, by which nouns are derived from other nouns, such as, from मनु we have मानवः, sârva-vibhaktis are those words which take all case-terminations, asarva-vibhaktis are those which do not take all vibhaktis but some only. Thus the adverb यतः is declined in the singular ablative only, and does not take the dual and plural terminations.

Those derivative words which do not take all the case-terminations, but only some of them and which are formed by the addition of Taddhita affixes are indeclinables. As ततः 'thence,' तत्र 'there.' Both these words are formed by taddhita affixes from the pronoun तद् 'that,' the one is used in the ablative case only and the other in the locative. So also यतः, यत्र, तदा, यदा, सर्वदा, सदा &c.

कृन्मेजन्तः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्, म-एज्-अन्तः (अव्ययम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ कृद्यो मकारान्त एजन्तश्च तदन्तं शब्दरूपमव्ययसंज्ञं भवति ॥

39. The words formed by those krit or primary affixes, (III. 1. 93) which end with म् or in ए, ओ, ऐ and औ are also indeclinables.

All affixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds:—1. Those by which nouns are derived directly from roots: Primary affixes. 2. Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns: Secondary affixes. The former are called kṛit, the latter, taddhita.

Words formed by kṛit affixes which end in म or ए, ओ, ऐ, or औ (connoted by the pratyahara एच्) are avyayas. Thus the affix तुम् (technically तुमुन्) and अम् (technically णमुल्, III. 3. 10) are affixes which end in म्. The words formed by the addition of these affixes will be indeclinables. Thus दातुम् 'to give,' and स्मारम् 'remembering' are avyayas. So also words like जीवसे 'to live,' पिबध्यै 'to drink,' are also avyayas as they end in ए, &c.

Thus, in the following examples, the words within quotation are avyayas 'स्वादुंकारं,' 'संपन्नंकारं,' 'लवणंकारं,' भुङ्क्ते, 'he eats first having made it relishing' (III. 4. 26). "वक्षे" रायः (वच् + से III. 4. 9=वक्षे); ता 'वामेषे,' रथनामुर्वीम् गव्युतिमेषां (इ + से=एषे. Rig Veda V. 66. 3). अस्मे शतं शरदो 'जीवसे' धा अस्मे वीराञ्छश्वत इंद्र शिप्रिन् (Rig Veda III. 36. 10). आपः पृणीत भेषजं वरूथं तन्वे मम। ज्योक् च सूर्यं 'दृशे,' (Rig Veda I. 25. 21, दृश् + केन् III. 4. 11 दृशे).

The word अन्त is used in this sûtra for the same purpose, as it was employed in sûtra 24, showing that these terminations must be 'aupadeśika,' and not derivative. Therefore the following words are not avyayas:—आधये (d. s.), आधेः (g. s.) चिकीर्षवे। चिकीर्षोः। कुम्भकारेभ्यः। नगरकारेभ्यः॥

क्त्वातोसुन्कसुनः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्त्वा, तोसुन्-कसुनः, (अव्ययम्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्त्वा तोसुन् कसुन् इत्येवमन्तं शब्दरूपमव्ययसंज्ञम्भवति ॥

40. The words ending with ktva, tosun (III. 4. 16) and kasun are indeclinables.

As कृत्वा 'having done' उदेतोः 'having risen,' विसृपः 'having spread.' Thus in the following examples the words within quotation are indeclinables :—पुरासूर्य 'स्योदेतो' राधेयः । पुरावत्साना 'मपाकर्त्तोः' । पुराक्रूरस्य 'विसृपो' विरप्शिन्नु दादाय पृथवीं जीवदानुम् ॥ (Yajur Veda. I. 28) य ऋते चिदभिश्रिषः पुरा जर्तृभ्य 'आतृदः' । (Rig Ved. VIIIa. 1. 12).

अव्ययीभावश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावः-च (अव्ययम्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावसमासोऽव्ययसंज्ञो भवति ॥

41. (The compound called) Avyayîbhâva (II. 1. 5) is also indeclinable.

The Avyayibhava or adverbial or indeclinable compounds are formed by joining an indeclinable particle with another word. The resulting compound, in which the indeclinable particle forms generally the first element, is again indeclinable, and generally ends, like adverbs, in the ordinary terminations of the nominative or accusative neuter. Thus अधिहरि 'upon Hari,' अनुरूपं 'after the form *i.*, *e.*, accordingly.'

The word च in the sûtra shows that here ends the definition of avyaya. The avyayas, therefore, are all those words which are comprised in the above five sûtras.

What is the object gained by making the avyayibhâva compounds avyayas? Three objects are gained, by making these compounds, indeclinables, *viz.*, we can apply to them (1) the rule relating to the elision (लुक्) of the case-affixes and feminine affixes, *i.e.*, sûtra II. 4. 82 thus, in the following example, the words upâgni and pratyagni though qualifying the word śalavâḥ, do not take the gender and number of the latter, उपाग्नि प्रत्यग्नि शलाभाः पतन्ति (2) the rule relating to accent when an avyaya is compounded with the word mukha, (मुख स्वर), *i.e.*, sûtras VI. 2. 167 & 168. Thus, उपाग्नि मुखः, here, sutra VI. 2. 167, required the final vowel to take the udatta accent, but the preceding word being an avyaya, sûtra VI. 2. 168, intervened, and the first word retains its natural accent: (3) the rule relating to the change of visarga : into स्, this change being technically called उपचारः thus उपपयःकारः, उपपयःकामः, as compared with अयस्कारः Here, the compound उपपयः being treated as avyaya sûtra VIII. 3. 46, applies and prevents the change of : into स्.

The four sûtras 38,39,40, and 41 have all been enunciated under the svaradigaṇa. see sûtra 37. These sûtras properly, therefore, belong to the gaṇapaṭha; their repetition here in the Ashtâdhyâyî indicates that these rules are अनित्य or not of universal application, *viz.*, all rules relating to avyayas in general, do not apply to them. Thus II. 3. 69. declaring that the genitive case is not used along with an avyaya is not a rule of universal application, for we see

indeclinables like उद्देतोः governed by the genitive case as, सूर्यस्योद्देतोः; or क्रूरस्य विरुपः.

शि सर्वनामस्थानम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शि, सर्वनामस्थानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शि इत्येतत्सर्वनामस्थानसंज्ञम्भवति ॥

42. The affix शि (VII. I. 20) is called sarvanâmasthâna.

This defines the word sarvanâmasthâna. The affix शि is the nominative and accusative plural termination of neuter nouns. It replaces the ordinary nominative and accusative plural affixes जस् and शस् used in every other gender. The श् of शि is servile, and the actual termination is इ; the peculiarity of the affix शि is that it lengthens the penultimate vowel (VI. 4. 8) and adds a न् (VII. 1. 72). Thus the plural of फल 'fruit' is फलानि 'fruits.' So also कुण्डानि तिष्ठन्ति, and कुण्डानि पश्य. Here, there is no difference of form in the nominative and the accusative cases. So also मधूनि, अपूणि, जतूनि. The word sarvanâmasthâna occurs in sûtra VI. 4. 8.

सुडनपुंसकस्य ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुट्, अनपुंसकस्य, (सर्वनामस्थानम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ सुडिति पञ्च वचनानि सर्वनामस्थानसंज्ञानि भवंति नपुंसकादन्यत्र ॥

43. The first five case affixes comprised in the pratyâhâra *suṭ*. (*i. e.*, the three case-terminations of the nominative, and the singular and dual of the accusative) are called also sarvanâmasthâna; except the case-affixes of the neuter gender.

This defines further the word sarvanâmasthâna. The case-terminations in Sanskrit are 21 as arranged below :—

		Singular	Dual	Plural.
Nominative	प्रथमा	सु (स्)	औ	जस् (अस्)
Accusative	द्वितीया	अम्	औट्	शस् (अस्)
Instrumental	तृतीया	टा (आ)	भ्याम्	भिस्
Dative	चतुर्थी	ङे (ए)	,,	भ्यस्
Ablative	पंचमी	ङसि (अस्)	,,	,,
Genitive	षष्ठी	ङस् (अस्)	ओस्	आम्
Locative	सप्तमी	ङि (इ)	,,	सुप् (सु)

The above are the 21 vibhaktis, the ज् of जस्, the श् of शस्, the ट् of औट् &c. are indicatory. All these vibhaktis are included in the pratyâhâra सुप् formed by taking the first vibhakti and the last letter of the last vibhakti. Similarly the first five terminations (सु, औ, जस्, अम् and औट्) are represented by सुट् and are called sarvanâmasthâna in the masculine and feminine genders. In the declension of nouns, it will be seen, that some nouns have two bases, one before these sarvanâmasthâna and the other before the rest.

Thus the word राजन् 'king' has the base राजान् before the सुट् vibhaktis, while in the remaining cases, the base is राज्ञ् and राज as :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
Nominative	राजा	राजानौ	राजानः
Accusative	राजानम्	राजानौ	राज्ञः
Instrumental	राज्ञा	राजभ्यां	राजभिः

But in the neuter nouns there is no such difference.

न वेति विभाषा ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, वा, इति, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नेति प्रतिषेधो वेति विकल्पस्तयोः प्रतिषेधविकल्पयोर्विभाषेति संज्ञा भवति ॥

44. "May or may not" is called vibhâshâ or option.

This sûtra defines the word विभाषा. We had already had occasion to use this word in sûtras 28 and 32. Where there is a prohibition as well as an alternative course left open, it is called option or vibhâshâ. The commentators mention three kinds of vibhâsha:— prâpta-vibhâshâ., aprâpta-vibhâshâ and prâptâprâpta-vibhâshâ. The first occurs where there is a general rule already given, and then follows the optional rule ; the second belongs to that class where there is no such general rule, but there is an optional rule, the third is intermediate between the two.

Thus the root श्वि 'to swell,' by virtue of the rule विभाषा श्वे (V. 1. 30), forms its perfect tense, either by samprasârana, or in the ordinary way. Thus the third person singular is either शुशाव or शिश्वाय.

इग्यणः संप्रसारणम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि॥ इक्, यणः, संप्रसारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इग्यो यणः स्थाने भूतो भावी वा तस्य संप्रसारणमित्येषा संज्ञा भवति ॥

45. The ik vowels which replace the semi-vowels ya*n* are called samprasâra*na*.

This defines the word samprasâraṇa. It is the name given to the change of semi-vowels into vowels. The pratyâhâra ik includes the four simple vowels इ, उ, ऋ and ऌ, and their corresponding semi-vowels are य्, व्, र्, and ल् included in the pratyâhâra yaṇ. The word samprasâraṇa is properly the name of the vowel which has replaced the semi-vowel. Thus the past participle of स्वप् 'to sleep,' is formed by adding the nishṭhâ affix क्त (see sûtra 26). So that we have स्वप् + त. But there is a rule (VI. 1. 15) by which there is samprasâraṇa of the व of स्वप् before the कित् affixes, and we have the form सुप्तः 'slept.' Similarly from वद्-उदितः, यज्-इष्टम्, व्यध्-विद्धः, ग्रह्-गृहीतम्-प्रच्छ्-पृष्टम्. The term samprasâraṇa is also employed to designate the whole process of the change of the semi-vowels into vowels as in VI. 1. 13; VI. 4. 131.

आद्यन्तौ टकितौ ॥४६॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-अन्तौ, ट्-क्-इतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिष्टिद्भवति अन्तः किद्भवति षष्ठी निर्दिष्टस्य ॥

46. Of whatsoever the augments enunciated are distinguished by an indicatory ट् or क्, they precede or follow it accordingly.

This sûtra explains the special use of two of the indicatory letters ट् and क्. Where the indicatory letter of an augment is ट् that augment is to be placed before the word in the genitive case with regard to which it is enjoined; while a कित् augment is to be added after the word exhibited in the 6th case with regard to which it is enjoined. Thus, there is a sûtra (VII. 2. 35) which says "ârdhadhâtuka affixes beginning with a consonant except य, have इट्". The question may arise where is this इट् to be added, in the beginning or the end or the middle of the ârdhadhatuka affix? This sûtra answers the question. The indicatory ट् shows, that it is to be placed before the ârdhadhâtuka affix. Thus the future termination स्यति, is an ârdhadhâtuka affix: when this is added to the root, it takes the augment इट. Thus भू+इट्+स्यति= भविष्यति, 'he will be.' Similarly लविता 'he will cut'.

Similarly by sutra VII 3. 40. the root भी takes the augment षुक् in forming the causative This having an indicatory क् is to be added after the word भी, as, भी +षुक्+णिच्+त = भीषयते 'he frightens.

मिदचोऽन्त्यात्परः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मित्, अचः, अन्त्यात्, परः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचां सन्निविष्टानामन्त्यादचः परो मिद्भवति ॥

47. The augment that has an indicatory म् comes after the last among the vowels, and becomes the final postion of that which it augments.

This sûtra explains the use of the indicatory म्. The augments having an indicatory म्, technically called मित् augments. are placed immediately after the final vowel of a word. Thus there is an augment called नम्, in which उ and म् are इत्, and the actual augment is न्. When, therefore it is said "let नुम् be added to the word," the letter न् is added after the last vowel. Thus the plural of पयस् 'milk' is formed in the following way:—पयस+नम्+इ (VII. 1. 72 = पयांसि (VI. 4. 8). Here न् is added between य and स् *i. e.* after the अ of य, which is the final vowel of the word: and before this न् the preceding short vowel is lengthened. Similarly मुच् + श + ति (III. 1. 77) = मुच् + नुम् + श + ति (VI. 1. 59) = मुञ्चति। Similarly विरुणाद्धि.

The word अचः is in the genitive case, having the force of nirdhâraṇa or specification; it has the force of the plural, though exhibited in the singular, being taken as representing the class. The meaning is 'among the vowels.' This sûtra is an exception to sûtras I. 1. 49 and III. 1. 2, by which an affix is added at the end of the word exhibited in the 6th case.

There is, however, an exception, in the case of the root मस्ज्, in

which the augment नुम् is added not after the last vowel अ of म, but between स् and ज्. The result of adding the augment नुम् between स् and ज् is, that sûtra VIII. 2. 29. applies, and the स् is elided. Thus मस्ज् + ता = मस्ज् + नुम् + ता (VII. 1. 60) = मस्नज् + ता = मञ्ज् + ता (VII. 2. 29)= मङ्क्ता "He will immerse". So also मग्नः 'immersed,' मग्नवान्, मङ्क्तुम्.

एच इग्घ्रस्वादेशे ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ एचः, इक्, ह्रस्व-आदेशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एचो ह्रस्वादेशे कर्तव्यइगेव ह्रस्वो भवति नान्यः ॥

48, Of एच् vowels, इक् is the substitute, when short is to be substituted.

This sûtra points out the ह्रस्व substitutes of एच्. We know there are short and long vowels in Sanskrit, but properly speaking the एच् vowels have no corresponding short vowels. Therefore, when, in any rule, एच् vowels are told to be shortened, this sûtra declares that the short vowels of ए and ऐ, ओ and औ, for the purposes of the rule, will be इ and उ respectively. Thus, I. 2. 47 declares:—"the short vowel is the substitute in the neuter of a crude form provided it end in a vowel." Therefore in compounding अति + रै, the ऐ must be shortened. Properly speaking ऐ has no short vowel corresponding to it, but by virtue of this sûtra, इ supplies the place of such a short vowel, and we have अतिरि 'extravagant' so नौ, अतिनु 'disembarked or landed,' गो, उपगु 'near a cow.' All avyayîbhâva compounds are neuter (II. 4. 18).

Why do we say 'of एच्'? Because the short of other vowels will not be इक्. Thus the short of आ is अ. As, अति + खट्वा = अतिखट्वः, अति + माला = अतिमालः।

Why do we say 'when short is to be substituted?' Because when प्लुत or prolated vowels are to be substituted for एच्, the इक् will not be the substitute. As दे३वदत्त O Devadatta! देवद३त्त!

षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, स्थाने-योगा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इह शास्त्रे या षष्ठी अनियतयोगा श्रूयते सा स्थानेयोगैव भवति नान्ययोगा स्थानेयोगानिमित्तभूते सति सा प्रतिपत्तव्या ॥

49. The force of the genitive case in a sûtra is that of the phrase "in the place of" when no special rules qualify the sense of the genitive.

This sûtra explains the mode of interpreting words used in the possessive case (sixth case) in the sûtras of Pâṇini. The genitive case or shâshṭhi denotes many sorts of relations in Sanskrit, such as causation, possession, relation in place, comparison, nearness, proximity, change, collection, component member, &c. So that when a word is in the genitive case in a sûtra generally, the doubt may arise in what sense that genitive is to be used. This aphorism

lays down the restrictive rule for the interpretation of such words. It says that the force of such genitive is to convey the meaning of 'in the place of.'

Thus in the sûtra 3, the word इक् is in the genitive case; the literal translation being:—"of ik there is guṇa and vṛiddhi." But "of" here means by virtue of the present rule of interpretation "in the place of." So that the sûtra means 'in the place of इक्.' Similarly in the sûtra immediately preceding this, *viz.* 48, we have the word एच् in the genitive case and the sûtra means 'of एच्.' Here also "of" means "in the place of."

Thus in sutra हन्तेर्ज (VI. 4. 36) 'of hanti, there is ज' the word हन्ते, is the genitive of हन्ति; this genitive is used generally and its force is that of "in the place of." Therefore, ज displaces the verb हन in लोट or imperative mood, and we have जहि 'kill thou.'

This sûtra is also thus translated by Dr. Kielhorn:—Only that which is enunciated in a rule, *i. e.* that which is read in a rule or rather that which in the real language is like that which is read in a rule in a genitive case, or that which forms part of that which is enunciated in a genitive case, assumes the peculiar relation denoted by the word स्थान 'place' *i. e,* is that in the place of which some thing else is substituted, but some thing suggested by the former does not assume that relation.

The word स्थान here is synonymous with प्रसङ्ग or 'occasion.' Thus in the sentence दर्भाणां स्थाने शरैः प्रस्तरितव्यम्, the word sthâne, means 'prasange' i. e. wherever there is occasion to spread darbha grass, spread there the śara instead. Similarly in sûtras अस्तेर्भूः (II. 4. 52), or ब्रुवो वचिः (II. 4. 53), the words 'asti,' and 'brû' are in the genitive case, and mean, 'wherever there arises occasion to use the verbs अस् or ब्रू use there the verbs भू or वच् instead respectively.' Thus भविता, भवितुम्, भवितव्यम्, are the future, gerund, and passive participle respectively of अस्; so slso, वक्ता, वक्तुम् and वक्तव्यम् are the same forms of ब्रू.

The word स्थानेयोगा is a bahuvrîhi compound of two words, not in apposition, (vyadhikaraṇa bahuvrîhi, see II. 2. 248 35), and it qualifies the word shashṭhî. The compound means स्थाने योगोऽस्या, 'that which assumes the peculiar relation denoted by the word sthâna.' Consequently the seventh case-affix is not elided in this compound; on the analogy of compounds like कण्ठेकालः &c.

स्थानेऽन्तरतमः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थाने-अन्तरतमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थाने प्राप्यमाणानामन्तरतम आदेशो भवति सदृशतमः ॥

50. When a common term is obtained as a substitute, the likest of its significates to that in the place of which it comes, is the actual substitute.

This sûtra also lays down another rule of paribhâsha. To explain this we must take an example. The guṇa of इ, उ, ऋ, and ऌ, is अ, ए, ओ. There is nothing to specify what letter is the guṇa of what. It might be said that ओ is the guṇa of इ because the definitions as laid down up to so far, do not say anywhere that ओ is not the guṇa of इ. So that when in a word like चि we are told 'let there be the guṇa of इ' we do not know what specific guṇa letter is to be substituted, whether it is अ, ए or ओ. To clear up this doubt, this sûtra declares that the likest of its significates is to be substituted. Now the nearest in place to इ is ए, both having their place of pronunciation, the palate. Similarly ओ is the guṇa of उ, because both are labials.

There are four sorts of proximity or nearness :—(1) nearness in place or स्थान (*i. e.* palate, throat &c.); (2) nearness in meaning or अर्थ (such as, singular terminations to be used after words used in the sense of singular); (3) nearness in quantity or प्रमाण (such as a short vowel to replace a short vowel, a long vowel, a long one); (4) nearness in quality or गुण (such as aspirates to replace aspirates, and sonants to replace sonants). Of all these approximates the first *viz.*, the nearness in the organ of utterance has preference, in the selection of proper substitute.

(1). Thus in applying rule VI. 1. 101, "when a homogeneous vowel follows ak, the corresponding long vowel is the substitute for both," we must have recourse to the present sûtra for finding the proper vowel. Thus— दण्ड + अग्रं = दण्डाग्रं ; here the substitution of the long आ, for the two short अ's, is an example of substitution by nearness of place, for both अ and आ are guttural.

(2). A good example of substitution by the sense of the word is afforded by VI. 1. 63 :—"The words पद्, दत्, नस् &c., are the substitutes when the case-affixes शस् (acc.-pl.) &c., follow." Here, we know the substitutes, but we do not know of what they are the substitutes. We apply the maxim of अर्थतः "that only can become a substitute which has the power to express the *meaning* of the original, *i. e.*, a substitute takes the place of that the meaning of which it is able to express." Thus we find that पद् is the substitute of पाद, दत् of दन्त, नस् of नासिका, &c., which convey the same *meaning* and contain almost the same letters. Another example of this is afforded by VI. 3. 34, by which feminine words in a compound are changed into masculine. Thus वातण्डी (fem) + युवति = वातण्डयुवति

(3). An example of prosodial substitution (प्रमाणतः) is afforded by rule VIII. 2. 80, "उ is the substitute of what comes after the द् of अदस् not ending in स् and in the room of द् there is म् ." Thus अम + स्मै = अमु + अस्मै = अमुष्मै ; अम + भ्याम् = अमा + भ्याम् (VII. 3. 102) = अमू + ऊभ्याम् = अमूभ्याम्. Here, short उ replaces the short अ, and the long ऊ replaces the long आ.

(4). An illustration of qualitative substitution is afforded by VII. 3. 52, "a letter of the guttural class is substituted for च् and ज् when an affix having an indicatory घ् follows." Applying the rule of गुणत: we find that क् which is an alpaprâṇa and aghosha letter replaces च् having the same quality; while ज् which is ghosha, and alpaprâṇa is replaced by the letter ग् possessing similar quality. Thus पच् + घञ् (III. 3. 18) = पाकः; त्यज् + घञ् = त्यागः; रञ्ज् + घञ् = रागः ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of the word sthâna was understood in this sûtra from the last, the repetition of this word indicates the existence of the following paribhâshâ :—

Wherever there exist several kinds of proximity between that for which something else shall be substituted, and its possible substitutes, there the proximity as to the organ of speech is weightier than the rest, *i. e.*, there that only is substituted which is nearest as regards the organs of speech with which both are uttered.

Thus in finding the guṇa substitutes of इ and उ out of the three guṇa letters अ, ए and ओ, we find that अ is a proximate substitute having regard to prosodial measure, *i. e.*, अ and इ and उ have all one mâtrâ; while having regard to the proximity of the organ of utterance, we get ए and ओ; the latter however prevails to the exclusion of the first; as, चेता, स्तोता.

Why do we use the word "likest" in the superlative degree? Where there are many sort of proximities, the likest must be taken. Thus वाक् + हसति = वाग्घसति. Here, by VIII. 4. 62, "after a letter of झय् class, ह् is changed into a letter homogeneous with the preceding," ह् must be changed into a letter of the class क्. Out of the five letters of this class, ख् and घ् are both aspirates, but ख् is hard, and घ् is soft; so ग् and ङ् are both soft, but ग् is unaspirate, and ङ् is aspirate, therefore these must be rejected; the only letter which has the nearest approach to ह्, is घ्, which is both soft and aspirate. Similarly in त्रिष्टुब्भसति, the ह has been changed into भ्.

उरण् रपरः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उः, अण्, र-परः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उः (ऋकारस्य) स्थानेऽण् प्रसज्यमान एव रपरो वेदितव्यः ॥

51. When a letter of अण् pratyâhâra comes as a substitute for ऋ it is always followed by a र.

This sûtra consists of three words *viz.*, उः which is the genitive singular of ऋ and means literally 'of ऋ' or 'in the place of ऋ'; the second word is अण्, a pratyâhâra denoting अ, इ and उ long and short; the third word is रपरः which qualifies अण् and means 'having a र after.'

This sûtra is useful in fixing the proper substitutes of ऋ. Thus there

are only three guṇa vowels अ, ए and ओ. Of these what is the proper guṇa for ऋ? By the application of the rule of 'nearness of place' we see that अ is the nearest substitute. So that अ is the guṇa of ऋ; and further by this rule, this अ must have a र् after it. Thus though technically speaking अ is the guṇa of ऋ, the actual substitute is अर्. Thus कृ+ता=कर्त्ता; similarly हर्ता.

So also when ऋ is replaced by इ as by sûtra VII - 100, this substitute इ must be followed by a र्. As कॄ+अति=कि+र्+अति=किरति 'he scatters;' similarly गिरति 'he swallows.'

So also when ऋ is replaced by उ, as by sutra IV. 1. 115 this उ must be followed by a र्. As द्वि + मातृ + अण् = द्वैमातुरः 'son of two mothers'

This र् is to be added only when ऋ is replaced by अ, इ or उ (अण्) vowels, and not when it is replaced by any other letter.

Thus by IV. 1. 97, "the ऋ of the word सुधातृ is replaced by अक् (technically अकङ्) when the affix इञ् is added." Thus, सुधातृ + इञ् = सुधात् + अक् + इ = सौधातकिः, 'a descendant of Sudhâtṛi' Here the substitute of ऋ, that is to say, the syllable अक् is not followed by र्.

The र in the text has been taken by some to be a pratyâhâra formed by the letter र् and अ of लण्; and thus it includes the letters र् and ल्. In that case the sûtra would mean that अण् substitutes of ऋ and ऌ are always followed by र् and ल् respectively. Thus guṇa of ṛi=ar, of ḷi=al

अलोऽन्त्यस्य ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलः, अन्त्यस्य, (आदेशः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्य य उच्यते आदेशः सोऽन्त्यस्यालः स्थाने वेदितव्यः ॥

52. The substitute takes the place of only the final letter (of that which is denoted by a term exhibited in the genitive or sixth case).

The rule of substitution by nearness of place applies to the last letter of the word which is exhibited in the genitive case and not to all its letters. Thus by sûtra VII. 2. 102, it is declared त्यदादीनामः "in the place of त्यद् &c., there is अ." It does not mean that the whole word त्यद्, is replaced by अ; though at first sight it may appear to mean so; but it means, by virtue of the present explanatory sûtra, that the last letter of त्यद्, namely द् is to be replaced by अ.

So also in sûtra I. 2. 50 इद्गोण्याः the short इ replaces only the final letter of गोणी and not the whole word, as पंचगोणिः 'purchased for five goṇis.' दशगोणिः

ङिच्च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङ्-इत्, च, (आदेशः, अलः, अन्त्यस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङिच्च य आदेशः सोऽनेकालपि अलोऽन्त्यस्य भवति ॥

53. And the substitute which has an indicatory ङ (even though it consists of more than one letter) takes the place of the final letter only of the original expression.

This sûtra is an exception by anticipation to sûtra 55. By that all substitutes, consisting of more than one letter, replace the whole word.

Thus in forming the dvandva compound of मातृ and पितृ there is a rule (VI. 3. 25) by which it is declared:—'In the place of words ending in ऋ there is the substitution of आनङ् in forming dvandvas.' Now the substitute आनङ् is a ङित् substitute, and therefore it applies to the *last* letter of the word and not to the *whole* word, *viz*, the ऋ of मातृ is only changed into आ and not the whole word; and we have the compound मातापितरौ, so also होतापोतारौ.

There is an exception, however, in the case of the substitute तातङ् (VII. 1. 35) which, though it has an indicatory ङ, yet replaces the whole expressions तु and हि and not only their finals. As जीवतात् 'may he live, or may you live'; instead of जीवतु 'may he live,' or जीव 'live thou.'

आदेः परस्य ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदेः, परस्य, (अलः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्य कार्यं शिष्यमाणमादेरलः प्रत्येतव्यम् ॥

54. That which is enjoined to come in the room of what follows is to be understood as coming in the room only of the first letter thereof.

When any operation is to be made in a word *following another*, such operation is to be made in the *initial* letter of such subsequent word. To give an illustration:—there is a rule (VI. 3. 97) by which it is declared: "In the place of अप् used after the words द्वि and अन्तर् and the particles called उपसर्ग there is ई." This rule may be stated in other words as:—'In the place of अप् there is ई when अप् follows द्वि or अन्तर्.' Now it is clear that ई is not to replace all the letters of अप् but only one. By sûtra 52 that letter would have been the last letter of अप्, but this sûtra makes an exception, namely, where an operation is directed to be made in a word, simply by reason of its being placed *after* another word; such change is to be made in the *beginning* of such second word. Therefore, the ई replaces the अ of अप् and we have द्वि + अप् = द्वीपं (the final अ is added by V. 4. 74) 'an island,' अन्तरीपं 'promontory.' So also in the sûtra ईदासः (VII. 2. 83) 'long ई is the substitute of आन when the latter comes after the root आस्.' Thus आस् + आन = आस् + ईन = आसीनः. Here also the ई replaces the initial आ of आन.

How can we find when an operation is to be performed on a subsequent word? When the previous word is exhibited in the 5th or ablative case. see sûtra 67.

अनेकाल् शित्सर्वस्य ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनेक-अल्, शित्, सर्वस्य, (आदेशः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनेकाल् य आदेशः शिच्च सर्वस्य षष्ठी निर्दिष्टस्य स्थाने भवति ॥

55. A substitute consisting of more than one letter, and a substitute having an indicatory श take the place of the whole of the original expression exhibited in the sixth case.

This sûtra is an exception to sûtra 52 by which it was declared that an âdeśa or substitute replaces only the last letter. This sûtra on the contrary enjoins that an âdeśa consisting of more than one letter replaces the whole expression in the genitive case, and not only its last letter. Even where an âdeśa consists of a single letter, but if it has a श् as its indicatory letter, it replaces the whole word.

Thus, there is a sûtra ब्रुवो वचिः (II. 4. 53) which means 'in the place of ब्रू let there be वच्.' Here the âdeśa वच् consists of three letters (more than one), and therefore, it replaces the whole word ब्रू and not only the last letter ऊ. That is to say in forming certain tenses the verb ब्रू is replaced by वच्. Thus the future tense of ब्रू is वक्ता 'he will speak.'

So also there is a sûtra (V. 3. 3.) by which it is declared:—"In the place of इदम् there is इश्." Here the âdeśa इ is an âdeśa having the श् for its indicatory letter, and though it consists of only one letter, it replaces the whole word इदम्, and not only its last letter म्.

Of course, it must be understood that the phrase 'consisting of more than one letter' applies to the *actual* substitute, and not to the substitute with its indicatory letters, the latter being for the purposes of counting regarded as mere surplusages and not to be taken into account. To see whether an affix is अनेकाल् or not, the indicatory letters must not be counted; and the affix must be stripped of all its इत् letters.

स्थानिवदादेशोऽनल्विधौ ॥५६॥ पदानि ॥ स्थानि-वत्, आदेशः, अनल्-विधौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थानिवदादेशो भवति स्थान्याश्रयेषु कार्येष्वनलाश्रयेषु स्थान्यलाश्रयाणि कार्याणि वर्जयित्वा ॥

56. A substitute (âdeśa) is like the former occupant (sthânî) but not in the case of a rule the occasion for the operation of which is furnished by the letters of the original term.

This is an explanatory sûtra, or this may be considered also as an atideśa sûtra, in as much as it declares that the operations to be performed

on or by the original, may be similarly performed on or by the substitute, but with certain restrictions. The words of this sûtra require some detailed exposition. Sthâni is the word or the portion of a word which is replaced. *A*deśa is the expression which replaces something. Al-vidhi is a compound of 'al' meaning alphabet or letters in general, and 'vidhi' rule i. e. any rule applicable to letters.

There is an exception, however, to this rule in the case of rules, the occasion for the operation of which, is furnished by the letters of the original term. That is to say for the purposes of orthographic rules, an âdeśa is not like the sthâni. A rule which is applicable to the *letters* of the sthâni, need not be applicable to the letters of the âdeśa.

Thus the gerund of verbs is generally formed by adding the affix क्त्वा e. g. ग्रह् + त्वा. Now VII. 2. 35. prescribes the insertion of an intermediate इट् before ârdhadhâtuka affixes beginning with any consonant except य. This rule is clearly an al-vidhi, because the occasion for its application is conditional on the letters of the affix. The affix त्वा begins with त् and is an ârdhadhâtuka affix and fulfils all the conditions of the rule. Therefore, we have गृह् + इ + त्वा = गृहीत्वा (VI. 1. 16; VII. 2. 37).

Now in compound verbs the affix त्वा is replaced by य (tech. ल्यप्). Thus संगृह् + य. This âdeśa य which takes the place of त्वा has all the functions of त्वा viz. it has the power of making gerunds; it makes the word an indeclinable (see rule 41 *ante*), as the affix त्वा does. But the affix त्वा takes an intermediate इ; should, therefore, the âdeśa य take also the इ or not? Now the augment इ which त्वा takes is by virtue of VII. 2. 35, because it begins with a consonant of वल् pratyâhâra; while य is the only consonant which is not included in this pratyâhâra. Therefore, for the purposes of taking इ by rule VII. 2. 35. the âdeśa य is not like त्वा; since that rule is one which has its scope when there are certain initial letters; or an al-vidhi. Therefore, we have संगृह्य.

Substitutes replace either a धातु 'root,' or an अङ्ग 'base,' or a kṛit affix 'primary affix,' or a taddhita affix 'secondary affix,' or an avyaya 'indeclinable,' or a सुप् affix 'case affix,' or a तिङ् affix 'conjugational affix,' or lastly the full word or pada.

The substitute of a dhâtu becomes like a dhâtu. Thus sûtras II. 4. 52 and 53 declare :—'भू is the substitute of the root अस्, and वच् of the root ब्रू when an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows.' Here the substitutes भू and वच् are treated as dhâtu, and as such get the affixes तव्य &c. by III. 1. 96, &c. Thus भविता, भवितुम्, भवितव्यम्; वक्ता, वक्तुम्, वक्तव्यं.

The substitute of an anga becomes like an anga. Thus VII. 2. 103 declares:—'क is the substitute of the base किम् when a case-affix follows.'

Here, क gets the designation 'base' and so rules applicable to base, are applied to क also. Thus in केन, काभ्याम्, कैः &c., we have इन, the lengthening of the vowel, and ऐस् substituted by VII. 1. 12, and VII. 3. 102, and VII. 1. 9.

The substitute of a kṛit affix becomes like a kṛit affix. Thus VII. 1. 37 declares:—'ल्यप् is the substitute of the kṛit affix क्त्वा when the verb is a compound, the first member of which is an indeclinable, but not नञ्.' Here, ल्यप् is also called a kṛit affix, and as such, sûtra VI. 1. 71 applies, and तुक् is added. As प्रकृ+ल्यप् = प्रकृ + त् + य = प्रकृत्य; similarly प्रहृत्य &c.

The substitute of a taddhita affix is like a taddhita. Thus VII. 3. 50 declares :— 'इक् is the substitute of the affix ठ' as दधि + ठक् (IV. 2. 18) = दाधिकम्, here, इक् being treated as a taddhita, sûtra I. 2. 56 applies and the word formed by it, gets the name of prâtipadika, and is so declined.

The substitute of an avyaya is like an avyaya. As, प्रस्तुत्य; प्रहृत्य. The affix क्त्वा makes avyayas (I. 1. 40), its substitute ल्यप् will also make the word an avyaya, and as such sûtra II. 4. 82 applies, and the case-affixes are elided after these words.

The substitute of sup-affixes becomes like sup. Thus VII. 1. 13 declares:—'य is the substitute of the sup-affix ङे after an inflective base ending in short अ.' Here, य is treated as a sup-affix, and therefore sûtra VII. 3. 102 applies, and there is lengthening of the vowel, as, वृक्षाय; प्लक्षाय.

The substitute of tiṅ becomes like tiṅ. Thus III. 4. 101 declares :— 'ताम्, तम्, त and अम् are substituted for तस्, थस्, थ, and मिप् when tense-affixes having indicatory ङ् follow.' Here the substitutes ताम् &c., also make the words ending in them pada by rule I. 4. 14 as, अकुरुताम्, अकुरुत &c.

The substitute of a pada is like a pada. Thus VIII. 1. 21 declares :— 'वस् is the substitute of युष्मान्, युष्मभ्यम्, युष्माकम्, and नस् of अस्मान्, अस्मभ्यम् and अस्माकम्.' Here, वस् and नस् are treated as pada, and the final स् is changed into visarga, as वः, नः.

Why have we used the word वत् in the sûtra? Without it the aphorism would have been स्थान्यादेशोऽनल्विधौ, and this being a chapter treating of definitions, the meaning would have been, 'an âdeśa is called sthâni.' This certainly is not intended, for had it been so, then all operations would be performed by or on the substitute, but none by the original. But this is not so. Thus rule I. 3. 28, says 'the root हन् preceded by आ is âtmanepadî.' वध the substitute of हन् will be âtmanepadî, as आवधिष्ट; but हन् also will be so in its proper sphere, as, आहत.

The word âdeśa is used in the sûtra to indicate, that the rule applies even to partial substitutions : as changing the इ of ति into उ (III. 4. 86) in the Imperative e. g. पचतु.

The word al-vidhi is used in order to indicate that the substitutes of दिव्,

पथिन् , त्यद् &c., such as the change of व् into औ (VII. 1. 84), न् into आ (VII. 1. 85), द् into अ (VII. 2. 102), are not to be treated like the original : as द्यौः, पन्थाः, सः Had these substitutes been treated like the original, rule VI. 1. 68 would apply, and the case-affix सु would have been elided.

अचः परस्मिन्पूर्वविधौ ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, परस्मिन्, पूर्व-विधौ, (स्थानिवत् आदेशः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजादेशः परनिमित्तकः पूर्वविधौ कर्त्तव्ये स्थानिवद्भवति ॥

57. A substitute in the room of a vowel caused by something that follows, should be regarded as that whose place it takes when a rule would else take effect on what stands anterior to the original vowel.

This sûtra consists of three words:—अचः genitive of the pratyâhára अच् meaning 'of a vowel,' and means an âdeśa which takes the place of a vowel. The words âdeśa and sthânivat are understood and are to be supplied from the preceding sûtra. The second word is 'parasmin' loc. sing. of 'para' meaning 'in the subsequent.' The locative has the force of 'on account of or by reason of.' The third word is pûrva-vidhau loç. sing. of pûrva-vidhi meaning 'a rule applicable to a preceding thing.' The whole sûtra thus comes to mean that an âdeśa which replaces a vowel, becomes sthânivat (like vowel), provided that the substitution has been occasioned on account of something following and when a rule is to be applied to any thing preceding such an âdeśa.

Thus there is an affix called णिच् the actual affix being इ; the other letters ण् and च् being इत्. The peculiarity of every affix having an indicatory ण् is to cause the vṛiddhi of the penultimate अ; (sûtra VII. 2. 116) as पच + इ = पाचि. Now in forming the denominative verb from the word पटु, we have to add the affix णिच्. Thus पटु + इ; but before nich, the उ of पटु is substituted by a 'lopa' or blank, and this blank takes the place of the vowel उ of पटु and becomes sthânivat by force of the present sûtra. The result of becoming sthânivat is that though the अ of पट् is really a penultimate and ought to be vriddhied before 'ṇich' it is not so, the lopa-substitute not allowing the अ tobe regarded as penultimate, and thus we have the form पटि the present tense third person singular of which is पटयति. The equation being पट् + ० + इ, the zero preventing the अ of पट् from becoming penultimate. So also in the word अवधीत्, the aorist (लुङ्) of वध. Thus अ + वध + ईत् = अ + वध् + ० + ईत. Here, the अ of वध is elided by VI. 4. 48. (when an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows there is elision of the short अ of that which ends in short अ;) this elision is thus caused by something which follows (parasmin.) Now there is a rule (VII. 2. 7.) which declares 'vriddhi is optionally the substitute of a laghu अ preceded by a consonant when सिच् (aorist) follows.' However in the present case the zero is consi-

dered as sthânivat, and prevents the application of sûtra VII. 2. 7; otherwise we get the form अवाधीत् which is inadmissible.

Similarly बहुखट्वा + कप् = बहुखट्वकः। Here, the short अ is the substitute of the long आ of खट्वा by VII. 4. 15; because of the subsequent (parasmin) affix 'kap'. However, the word बहुखट्व will not be considered as a word ending in a short vowel, for the purposes of the application of rule VI. 2. 174, (the udâtta accent falls on the last vowel but one of a word that ends in a short vowel and is the last member of a bahûvrîhi compound followed by the affix kap). On the contrary the short अ is regarded as sthânivat to long आ. Thus बहुखट्वकः.

It is needless to say that this rule applies only to vowel âdeśa, therefore, where an âdeśa replaces a consonant, the previous sûtra 56 has its scope and prevents its being sthânivat. Thus there is a kṛit affix called ल्यप्, the real suffix being य, the ल् and प् being diacritical letters. Before this य the verb आगम् (to come) loses it म्, and lopa or blank takes the place of म्. Here then lopa or blank is an âdeśa and म् a consonant is sthâni.

Now there is a rule which says (VI. 1. 71), that before kṛit affixes having an indicatory प्, the letter त is added after verbs *ending* in light vowels. Now in आगम्, when म् is omitted, the अ of ग becomes final; and therefore a त् is required before य (which is a पित् affix). Thus we have आगत्य.

But had lopa or blank become sthânivat to म् then the अ of ग would have remained penultimate as it was when it was आगम्; and no त् would have been required. But it is not so.

Similarly in forming the word प्रश्नः. Thus प्रच्छ् + नङ् (III. 3. 90) प्रश् + नङ् (VI. 4. 19). Here, श् is substituted for छ्; this will not be sthânivat to छ्; though this substitute is caused by something that follows (parasmin). Were it to be sthânivat, there would come the augment तुक् (त्) by VI. 1. 73.

Similarly अक्राष्टाम्, the aorist of कृष्. Thus अ + कृष् + सिच् + ताम् = अ + कृष् + ० + ताम् (VIII. 2. 26). Here the स् is elided on account of what follows, but still the lopa substitute here is not sthânivat for the purposes of VIII. 2. 41. Had it been sthânivat, ष् of कृष् would be changed into क्.

Moreover this rule applies where a vowel is changed *on account of something which follows* (parasmin). Therefore, where the change has not been occasioned by anything subsequent, the âdeśa (though of a vowel) is not sthânivat. Thus the words युवजानिः and वधुटीजानिः.

The word युवजानि is a bahuvrîhi compound of युवति and जाया, meaning 'he who has a young wife.' In forming this compound, the आ of या is replaced by नि (tech. निङ्) by sûtra V. 4. 134. This नि will not be sthânivat to आ, as it is not caused by anything which follows. Had it been regarded as sthânivat, the य could not be elided by VI. 1. 66 ('there is elision of व

and य when any consonant except ह् or य् follows'). Thus, युवजाया+नि=युवजाय् + ० + नि (V. 4. 134) = युवजानिः (VI. 1. 66).

Similarly the word वैयाघ्रपद्यः, 'a descendant of व्याघ्रपात्' also illustrates this rule. व्याघ्रपाद् is a bahuvrîhi compound of व्याघ्र and पाद, meaning 'whose foot is like that of a tiger.' Now the final अ of 'pâda' is elided in such compounds by V. 4. 138. This lopa substitution is not caused by anything that follows, therefore, this lopâdeśa will not be sthânivat for the purposes of the application of sûtra VI. 4. 130 ('पत् is the substitute of the word पात् when part of an inflective base ending in the word पाद् and entitled to the name of Bha. I. 4. 18'). Therefore, व्याघ्रपाद् +यञ् (IV. 1. 105)=वैयाघ्रपद्यः. Had the lopa been like the original, there could not have been the substitution of 'pad' for 'pâd.'

Similarly the word आदीध्ये, 1st per. sing. atm. present tense of the root दीधी 'to shine.' Thus आदीधी+इट्=आदीधी+ए (III. 4. 79). This change of इ into ए is not caused by anything that follows, hence ए is not sthânivat to इ, for the purposes of the application of rule VII. 4. 53 ('the finals of dîdhî and vevî are elided when an affix beginning with य or इ follows'). Had ए been sthânivat, the final ई would have been elided.

Similarly an âdeśa though of a vowel, and even though occasioned by a subsequent something, would not be sthânivat, if there is not the application of a rule to something that precedes the âdeśa (pûrva-vidhi). If the rule is to be applied to something subsequent to the âdeśa; it will be applied to the exact âdeśa without considering what was the letter which the âdeśa had replaced. It is only when a rule is to be applied to a prior object, that it becomes important to consider whether the âdeśa is sthânivat or not. Thus the vocative case of गो is हे गौः। The vocative is formed from the nominative case (II. 3. 49). The nominative of गो is formed by changing ओ into औ and adding the case termination स्. Here the âdeśa औ, replaces ओ, on account of the subsequent termination स्. Now there is a rule applicable to vocative cases which declares that the final स् is dropped after short vowels and ए and ओ (VI. 1. 69).

Now is the औ of गौ to be regarded as sthânivat to ओ, which it replaces; for the purposes of this rule of elision of finals? If so, the consequence would be that the final स् would have to be dropped in the vocative. But it is not so. Because the rule VI. 1. 69, which ordains the dropping of स् after short vowels and ए and ओ applies to a letter, which is not *anterior* to the âdeśa औ, but to one which follows it, and consequently there being no pûrva-vidhi here, the final स is retained and we have the vocative गौः।

Similarly the word बाभ्रवीयाः, 'the pupils of Bâbhravya.' The word बाभ्रव्य is derived from बभ्रु in this wise. बभ्रु + यञ् (IV. 1. 105) = बाभ्रो

+ यञ् (VI. 4. 146 and VII. 2. 117) = बाभ्रव् + यञ् (VI. 1. 79) = बाभ्रव्यः. From this is formed बाभ्रवीय in this wise:—बाभ्रव्य + छ (IV. 2. 114) = बाभ्रव्य+ईय (VII. 1. 2) = बाभ्रव्य् + ईय (VI. 4. 148) = बाभ्रव् + ईय (VI. 4. 150). Here, had the substitute अव् which replaced the ओ of बाभ्रो, been sthânivat to ओ, rule VI. 4. 150 ('there is elision of the य of a taddhita affix coming after a consonant, when long ई follows'), could not have applied. But this substitute अव् is not sthânivat for the purposes of rule VI. 4. 150, inasmuch as that rule does not apply to any letter that *precedes* the substitute अव्, but to the very letters of the substitute itself.

Similarly the word नैधेयः, which is evolved from the root धा, in this wise नि + धा + कि (III. 3. 92) = नि + धा + इ (I. 3. 8) = नि + ध् + ० + इ (VI. 4. 64) = निधि. Let us then form a secondary derivative from the word निधि applying ढक् (IV. 1. 122), the whole of which affix is replaced by एय (VII. 1. 2). Thus निधि + एय = निध् + एय (VI. 4. 148) = नैधेय (VII. 2. 118). Here, the lopa substituted for the आ of धा by VI. 4. 64 is not sthânivat for the purposes of the application of IV. 1. 122 by which the affix ढक् is added. Rule V. 1. 122 says, 'ḍhak is added to a word ending in इ, provided it be a word containing *two* vowels.' Now निधि ends in इ and contains two vowels ; but if the lopa were sthânivat to the elided आ, then it would be a word of *three* syllables. That is however not so ; because the rule enjoining the affix ढक् is not applicable to anything *preceding* the lopâdeśa, but is enjoined with regard to something after this substitution.

न पदान्तद्विर्वचनवरेयलोपस्वरसवर्णानुस्वारदीर्घजश्चर्विधिषु ॥५८॥

पदानि ॥ न, पदान्त- द्विर्वचन- वरे- यलोप-स्वर-सवर्ण- अनुस्वार-दीर्घ- जश्-चर्- विधिषु, (स्थानिवत्)

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेणातिप्रसक्तः स्थानिवद्भाव एतेषु विधिषु प्रतिषिध्यते ॥

58. Not so, in rules relating to the finals of words, to the doubling of letters, to the affixing of varach, to the elision of ya, to accent, to homogeneous letters, to anusvâra, to the lengthening of vowels, and to the substitution of jaś and char letters.

This sûtra lays down an exception to the previous sûtra, by which it was ruled that an âdeśa which replaced a vowel becomes sthânivat under certain conditions. This sûtra says that a vowel âdeśa is not sthânivat under the following circumtances.

1. पदान्तविधिः—'A rule relating to the last letter of a word.' Thus the अ of अस् is elided before the terminations of dual and plural numbers (VI. 4. 111). Thus we have अस्ति 'he is,' स्तः 'they two are,' सन्ति 'they are.' Now in the technical phraseology of Sanskrit grammarians, the अ of स्तः and सन्ति is

replaced by an âdeśa called लोप्, the peculiarity of which is that the whole of it vanishes. So that before the word स्त: there is this âdeśa existing, though it is in an invisible form. This invisible âdeśa will be sthânivat, as it replaces a vowel, by reason of something that follows, i. e. the affixes त: and अन्ति being ङित् (I. 2, 4); and it will have all the powers of अ by the last sûtra, in the absence of any rule to the contrary. Therefore, in the sentence कौ स्त: 'who two are' the final औ of कौ and the invisible अ of स्त: ought to coalesce by rules of sandhi into आव (VI. 1. 78). But this incongruity is prevented by the present sûtra, by which the change of औ into आव् is a पदान्त विधि or a rule relating to the finals of a word, therefore, we have कौ स्त:। So also in तानि सन्ति, rule VI. 1. 77 is not applied.

2. द्विर्वचनविधि: 'a rule relating to the doubling of letters.' In the sandhi of दधि + अत्र we have दध्यत्र. Here इ is changed into य्. If this य were sthânivat to इ, then the rule by which ध् could be doubled before य् would be inapplicable. But य् is not equivalent to इ, though its substitute; and we have the doubling of ध् and get the form दद्ध्यत्र. Therefore, in rules relating to the doubling of letters the âdeśa is not equivalent to the sthânî.

3. वरेविधि: 'a rule relating to the affix वरच्.' The affix वरच् is a kṛit affix which is added to certain roots to form nouns of agency; thus from ईश् 'to rule' we have ईश्वर: 'ruler.' So from the intensive verb यायाय we have यायावर: 'a vagrant.' It is formed in this wise यायाय + वर (III. 2. 176) = यायाय् + ० + वर (VI. 4. 48). Here the अ of य has been dropped and replaced by lopa, on account of its being followed by the ârdhadhâtuka affix वरच्. The next step is to drop the य् by rule VI. 1. 66 which declares that the letters व् and य् are dropped before affixes beginning with any consonant except य् *i. e.*, beginning with consonants of वल् pratyâhâra. Thus याया + o + वर. Now there is a rule (VI. 4. 64) which declares that the final long आ of a base is dropped before ârdhadhâtuka affixes having an initial vowel. Here therefore, if the âdeśa 'lopa,' which replaced the vowel अ, be considered as sthânivat, and वर be considered as an affix having a latent initial vowel, then the आ of याया requires to be dropped. But this sûtra prevents this and we have the form यायावर; as. अप्सु यायावर: प्रवपेत पिण्डान् ॥

4. यलोपविधि: 'a rule relating to the dropping of ya.' Thus there is a verb कण्डूय 'to scratch'. In forming an abstract noun from it, the affix ति (tech. क्तिच्) is added. Thus कण्डूय + ति = कण्डूय् + ० + ति, the अ of य being dropped by VI. 4. 48. Now there is a rule (VI. 1. 66) already mentioned above which requires the elision of य् before consonantal affixes. Now if the lopa-substitute be considered as sthânivat to अ, then the affix ति is not an affix having an initial consonant and the rule, which requires the dropping of य्, would not apply. The present sûtra, however, provides for this, and we have the form कण्डूति: 'scratching.'

5. स्वरविधिः 'a rule relating to accent.' There is a sûtra (VI. 1. 193) which says that when a word is formed by an affix that has an indicatory ल्, the vowel that immediately precedes such an affix has the udâtta accent. Now ण्वुल् is an affix that has an indicatory ल्, the real affix being अक (VII. 1. 1.). It is an affix used in forming nouns of agency. Adding this affix to the desiderative verb चिकीर्ष 'desirous of doing' we have:— चिकीर्ष + अक = चिकीर्ष् + ० + अक, the अ being dropped by VI. 4. 48. Now if the zero be considered as sthânivat, then the accent must fall on this latent अ but it is not so. The accent falls on the ई of की; and we have चिकीर्षकः, so also जिहीर्षकः ॥

6. सवर्णविधिः 'a rule relating to the substitution of homogeneous letters. To explain this, let us form the second person singular of the verb शिष् in the imperative mood. The affix हि is the sign of the second person imperative singular; and the verb शिष् belongs to the seventh-class of verbs called Rudhâdi. This class of verbs take the vikarana श्नम् (III. 1. 78) the श् and म् being indicatory the real affix is न. This न is inserted between the radical vowel and the final consonant (I. 1. 47). Therefore we have the following equation:—शिष् + श्नम् + हि = शि + न + ष् + हि = शि + न् + ० + ष् + हि. The अ of न is dropped by VI. 4. 111, which declares that the अ of श्नम् is dropped before those sârvadhâtuka terminations which are कित् or ङित्. By I. 2. 4 all sârvadhâtuka terminations which have not got an indicatory प् are considered as ङित्. The affix हि therefore is a ङित् sârvadhâtuka affix, and by rule III. 4. 87, हि is to be regarded as अपित्, not having an indicatory प्. The next stage is :—शि + न् + ० + ष् + धि; the हि being changed into धि by rule (VI. 4. 101) which says that 'हि is changed into धि, when it follows a root which ends in a consonant of झल् pratyâhâra:' here ष् and ध् are changed by general rules of sandhi into ड् and ढ् and we have शि + न् + ० + ड् + ढि (VIII. 4. 41). Then there is a rule (VIII. 3. 24), which says that in the body of a word the न् is changed into anusvâra when followed by a consonant of झल् pratyâhâra.' Therefore we have :—शि + ं + ० + ड् + ढि. This is the form to which the present rule is applicable. Thus, there is a rule (VIII. 4. 58) which says that an anusvâra followed by a letter of यय् pratyâhâra *i.e.*, any consonant except ह्, श्, ष् and स् is changed into a letter homogeneous or savarna to the letter that follows. Therefore, if we regard zero as sthânivat to the अ which it replaces, the anusvâra cannot be changed into ण् as homogeneous to ड्. But it is not to be so regarded, and we have the form शि + ण् + ड् + ढि = शिण्ड्ढि or शिण्ढि; so also पिण्ढि.

7. अनुस्वारविधिः 'a rule relating to anusvâra.' The above example will serve the purpose here :—शि + न् + ० + ड् + ढि. This by the rule already mentioned (VIII. 3. 24), requires the न् to be changed into anusvâra.

Now if zero be considered as sthânivat, then न् is not followed by a letter of झल् pratyâhâra, and cannot be changed into anusvâra. However, the zero is not regarded as sthânivat, and we change the न् into anusvâra. Other examples are शि + न् + ० + ष् + अन्ति = शिंषन्ति; so also पिंषन्ति ॥

8. दीर्घविधि: 'a rule directing the substitution of long vowels for short vowels.' Let us form the Inst. sing. of the noun प्रतिदिवन्. The termination of the Inst. sing. is टा or आ. Therefore, we have प्रतिदिवन् + आ = प्रतिदिव् + ० + न् + आ. Here the अ has been elided by rule VI. 4. 134, which teaches that words ending in अन् lose their अ before terminations technically called *Bha*. The termination of Inst. sing. is a *Bha* termination by force of rule I. 4. 18. The next rule that now comes into operation, is VIII. 2. 77, which requires the lengthening of the short penultimate vowels, of the इक् pratyâhâra, of words that end in र् or व् and are followed by a consonant. Here दिव् is a root that ends in व्; and if the zero be considered as sthânivat, then this व् is not followed by a consonant, but by a latent vowel, and so the short इ of दिव् will not be lengthened. This rule, however, provides for such lengthening, and therefore we have:—प्रतिदिव् + ० + न् + आ = प्रतिदीव्ना ॥

9. जश्विधि: 'a rule requiring the substitution of soft unaspirate consonants, of pratyâhâra जश्, in the place of hard consonants' In this case also the âdeśa that takes the place of a vowel is not sthânivat.

Let us add the affix क्तिन् to the root अद् 'to eat,' compounded with the word स or समान. In Vedic literature अद् is replaced by घस्, (II. 4. 39); so we have, स + घस् + क्तिन् = स + घस + ति = स + घ् + ० + स् + ति (VI. 4. 100) = स + घ् + ० + ० + ति (VIII. 2. 26) = स + घ् + ० + ० + धि (VIII. 2. 40).

It is at this stage, that rule VIII. 4. 53 requires the घ् to be changed into ग्. This is a जश् rule, and teaches that in the place of letters of झल् class, the letters of जश् class are substituted, if followed by letters of झश् class. If the zero which was obtained by dropping the अ of घ, be considered as sthânivat, then the घ is not followed by a consonant of झश् class, and cannot be changed into ग्. But it is not so. Therefore सघ् + ० + ० + धि = सग्धि: (Yaj. Ved. XVIII. 9). The various rules, by which first अ is omitted, and then स् is dropped, have been referred to in brackets, and will be explained in their proper places.

Similarly the word बब्धाम्, which is the Imperative (loṭ) 2nd per. dual of the root भस्, and is thus evolved. This root belongs to the Juhutyâdi class, and therefore, there is reduplication. Thus भस् + ताम् = भस् + भस् + ताम् = भ + भस् + ताम् = ब + भस् + ताम् = ब + भ् + ० + स् + ताम् (VI. 4. 100) = ब + भ् + ० + ० + ताम् (VIII. 2. 26) = ब + भ् + ० + ० + धाम् (VIII. 2. 40) = ब + ब् + ० + ० + धाम् = बब्धाम् ॥ Here the change of भ् into ब् is by the application of VIII. 4. 53, which is a jaś rule, and therefore, the zero is not sthânivat.

10. चर्विधिः 'a rule requiring the substitution of the letters of चर् pratyâhâra instead of other consonants.' In the application of this rule, also the substitute that replaces a vowel is not sthânivat.

Let us form the 2nd pers. sing. perfect of the verb अद् 'to eat.' अद् is replaced by घस् (II. 4. 40) and अतुस् is the termination of the second person singular of liṭ or perfect tense. घस् + अतुस् = घस् + घस् + अतुस् (VI. 1. 8) = घ + घस् + अतुस् (VII. 4. 60) = ज + घस् + अतुस् (VIII. 4. 54) = ज + घ् + ० + स् + अतुस् (VI. 4. 98) = जघ् + ० + सतुस्.

At this stage comes the चर् rule in operation, which says that the letters of झल् pratyâhâra are replaced by those of चर् pratyâhâra, when followed by letters of खर् pratyâhâra. Here घ् is a letter of झल् class, and if zero is not sthânivat, it is followed by स् which is a letter of खर् class, and therefore घ् is required to be changed into क् of चर् class. By the present rule, zero is not sthânivat and thus we have :—जक्+सतुस्=जक्षतुः (VIII. 3. 60).

Similarly अक्षन् the 3rd per. plural aorist of घस् is thus formed:—अ + घस् + च्लि + अन् = अ + घस् + अन् (II. 4. 80) = अ + घ् + ० + स् + अन् (VI. 4. 98). Here had the lopa been sthânivat, rule VIII. 4. 55 could not have applied. But it being a char rule, the lopa is not sthânivat. Therefore we have, अक्षन्.

When lopa is the substitute of a vowel, it is not sthânivat, for the purposes of the application of the rules of accent, rules relating to the doubling of letters, and the rules relating to the elision of ya. In other places, with the exception of the above three ; the lopa substitute of a vowel is, and must be treated as sthânivat. Thus बहुखट्वकः, कियोः, गियोः, वाय्वोः. In these cases the lopa-âdeśa being sthânivat, the rules relating to accent, lengthening and the elision of ya, do not apply.

द्विर्वचनेऽचि ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विर्वचने, अचि, (स्थानिवत्, आदेशः, अचः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विर्वचननिमित्तेऽचि अजादेशः स्थानिवद्भवति द्विर्वचन एव कर्त्तव्ये ॥

59. Before an affix having an initial vowel, which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel is like the original vowel even in form, only for the purposes of reduplication and no further.

This sûtra has been explained in different ways by the authors of the Kasika and of the Siddhânta Kaumudi. According to the latter, the sûtra means :—'when an affix beginning with a vowel follows, that is a cause of reduplication, a substitute shall not take the place of a preceding vowel, whilst the reduplication is yet to be made : but the reduplication having been made

the substitution may then take place.' The explanation given by Kasika is more in harmony with the Great Commentary. For all practical purposes, the two explanations lead to the same conclusion. According to Kasika, the vowel-substitute is sthânivat, in the sense, that it is exactly of the same form as the original, and retains this form only for a fixed time *viz.*, so long as the reduplication is being made; but as soon as the reduplication has been made, the substitute takes its proper form. This rule has its scope in the rules relating (a) to the elision of long आ, (b) to the elision of the penultimate, (c) to the elision of the affix णिच्, (d) to the substitution of semi-vowels for vowels, and lastly (e) to the substitution of अय्, अव्, आय् and आव् for ए, ओ ऐ and औ respectively by the rules of sandhi.

(*a*). Elision of आ. Let us form the 2nd person perfect tense of the root पा 'to drink.' The termination of 2nd person perfect is अतुस्. This is, therefore, a termination beginning with a vowel, and it causes the reduplication of the root. The conditions of the present sûtra all exist in this. Thus we have पा + अतुस् = प् + ० + अतुस् (VI. 4, 64). Here the आ is elided by VI. 4. 64. which teaches that 'the आ of the root is elided before ârdhadhâtuka affixes beginning with a vowel and which are कित् or ङित् and before इट्.' The affix अतुस् is such an affix (I. 2. 5, III. 4. 115).

Now comes the rule about reduplication which is contained in sutra VI. 1. 8, and teaches that a root consisting of a single vowel is reduplicated before the terminations of the perfect. Here, by the elision of आ, the only visible root left to us is प् which is a consonant without any vowel. The rule of reduplication, therefore, would not have applied to it, because there is no vowel in it, but for the present sûtra, which solves the difficulty. Here the vowel-substitute zero must be considered sthânivat i. e. as if it were the very आ itself. Thus we have पा + प् + ०+ अतुस् = पपतुस् (VII. 4. 59). The long आ of the reduplicative syllable has been shortened by VII. 4. 59. So also पपुः।

(*b*). The elision of the penultimate. Let us form the same tense of हन् 'to kill.' हन् + अतुस् = ह् + ० + न् + अतुस् (VI. 4. 98).

Here also the preliminary conditions are all fulfilled, the affix begins with a vowel and it causes the reduplication of the root. The penultimate अ of हन् is replaced by the substitute lopa by VI. 4. 98, which teaches that the roots गम् 'to go' हन् 'to kill' and a few others lose their penultimate before affixes beginning with a vowel and which are also कित् or ङित्. We know अतुस् to be such an affix. For the reasons already given, we can not reduplicate the consonants ह्न् as they have no vowel. However, this reduplication is effected by virtue of the present rule, and we have:—ह + ह्न + अतुस् = जघ्नतुः (VII. 4. 62, VII. 3. 55). The first ह् is changed into ज् by VII. 4. 62 and the second ह् into घ् by VII. 3. 55.

(*c*). The elision of the affix णिच्. Let us form the Aorist (luṅ) of the causative form of अट्. The causative is formed by adding the affix णिच् to the root; and the aorist takes the augment अ. Thus we have:—अ + अट् + णिच् + त्=आट् + इ + त्=आट्+इ+चङ्+त्. The affix चङ् (III. 1. 48) is added in forming the aorist of causatives. The letters च् and ङ् are indicatory, the real affix being अ. Now by VI. 4. 51, the affix णिच् is elided before an ârdhadhâtuka affix that does not take the intermediate इ. Now चङ् is such an affix. Therefore we have आट् + ० + अत्.

At this stage, comes into operation another rule (VI. 1. 11), which declares that 'the root is reduplicated before the affix चङ्.' The चङ् is, thus, an affix which causes reduplication; it is an affix which also begins with a vowel. Therefore, it satisfies the conditions of this sûtra. Therefore, the zero which was a substitute in place of the vowel इ, becomes sthânivat to इ; as if it were the very इ itself. Thus we have the reduplicative syllable टि, by rule VI. 1. 2, which says that a verb beginning with a vowel reduplicates its second syllable. But as soon as the reduplication is over, the âdeśa takes up its original form of zero. Thus आटिट् + ० + अत् = आटिटत्.

(*d*). The fourth class of cases, where this sûtra has scope, is the substitution of यण् for vowels. Thus let us form the perfect 2nd person singular of कृ 'to do':—कृ + अतुस् = क्र् + अतुस्, the semi-vowel र् taking the place of ऋ by the general rule of sandhi VI. 1. 77. Now we have already learned that अतुस् is an affix which causes reduplication and it begins with a vowel. Now र् is a substitute which comes in the place of a vowel (*i. e.*, ऋ), it will therefore be sthânivat by this sûtra. Had it not been sthânivat, the consonants क्र् could not be reduplicated, as they have no vowel. The substitute र् being taken equal to ऋ, we reduplicate कृ; in reduplication the क is changed into च् by VII. 4. 62, and ऋ into अ by VII. 4. 66. Thus we have:—चक्रतुः; similarly चक्रुः।

(*e*). The fifth case is the substitution of आय् &c. Let us form 1st person singular of the perfect of नी 'to lead:' नी + णल् = नै + अ = नाय् + अ. The ई is vriddhied before the termination अ of the perfect (VII. 2. 115), and then changed into आय् by the general rule of sandhi (VI. 1. 78). Now the अ of the perfect causes reduplication, and it is an affix which begins with a vowel. It satisfies the conditions of this sûtra. Therefore the आय् which was a substitute for ऐ, being a vowel substitute, becomes sthânivat to ऐ in form. In reduplicating the word नाय्, we reduplicate as if it were still नै. Thus we have the form निनाय and not ननाय. Similarly निनय, लुलव, and लुलाव.

Why have we used the word "dvirvachane" in the sûtra? Without it, the aphorism would have stood thus:—"Before an affix having an initial vowel which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel

is like the original vowel." Let us form जग्ले the 3rd per. sing, perfect tense (लिट्) of the root ग्लै "to be exhausted," in the atmanepada. The affix of 3rd per. sing. atm. of liṭ, is एश् (III. 4, 81). Thus ग्लै + एश् = ग्ला + एश् (VI. 1. 45). Now here ऐ is changed into आ, on account of the affix एश्; this affix causes reduplication, but still आ is not to be considered as sthânivat to ऐ. For if आ be considered so, then in the next stage ग्ला + एश् = ग्ल् + ० + एश् (VI. 4. 64) the lopa will be regarded as sthânivat to ऐ and the reduplicative syllable will be जि and not ज; the form being जिग्ले and not जग्ले. But आ is not sthânivat to ऐ, because *for the purposes of reduplication*, the change of ऐ into आ is immaterial; it is the second and further change of आ into zero which is *directly* connected with reduplication, (for if zero be not considered sthânivat, there can be no reduplication); and therefore, this substitute zero should be regarded as sthânivat to आ.

Why do we say "which causes reduplication?" Without these words the sûtra would have stood thus:—"Before an affix having an initial vowel, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel is like the original vowel, for the purposes of reduplication." In that case we could not get the form दुद्यूषति, 3rd per. sing, desiderative present tense of दिव् 'to shine, to play.' This form is thus evolved:—दिव्+सन् (III. 1. 7) = दि+ऊ+सन् (VI. 4. 19) = द्य्+ऊ+सन् (VI. 1. 77). Here, the change of इ into य् is caused by ऊ (tech. ऊठ्), which begins with a vowel; is this य् to be regarded as sthânivat to इ? No, because ऊ does not *cause* reduplication, it is सन् which causes reduplication. Therefore the equation is:—द्यू + सन् = दुद्यूस (VI. 1. 9) = दुद्यूषति. If य् could be regarded like इ, then the form would have been दिद्यूषति.

Why do we say "beginning with a vowel"? Otherwise the sûtra would have run thus:—"Before an affix which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel, is like the original vowel, for the purposes of reduplication." The affix यङ् of the Intensive verbs causes reduplication (VI. 1. 9); but as it does not begin with a vowel, the substitute will not be sthânivat. Let us form जेघ्रीयते the 3rd per. sing. Intensive of the root घ्रा 'to smell.' Thus घ्रा + यङ् = घ्री + यङ् (VII. 4. 31) = जेघ्रीयते (VII. 4. 82). Here, आ is changed into ई on account of यङ्; but ई is not sthânivat to आ; had it been so, the form would have been जाघ्रीयते. Similarly देध्मीयते.

अदर्शनं लोपः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदर्शनम्, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदर्शनमश्रवणमनुच्चारणमनुपलब्धिरभावो वर्णविनाश इत्यनर्थान्तरमेतैः शब्दैर्योऽर्थोऽभिधीयते तस्य लोप इतीयं संज्ञा भवति ॥

60. The substitution of a blank (lopa) signifies disappearance.

This defines elision. When a letter or word-form becomes latent,

is neither heard, nor pronounced, nor written, it becomes lopa or is said to be elided. Lopa is the term for the disappearance of anything previously apparent.

In Sanskrit Grammar, this "lopa" is considered as a substitute or âdeśa, and as such this grammatical *zero* has all the rights and liabilities of the thing which it replaces. This blank or lopa is in several places treated as having a real existence and rules are made applicable to it, in the same way as to any ordinary substitute that has an apparent form. The Grammarians do not content themselves with one sort of blank, but have invented several others; there are many kinds of them, such as lopa blank, ślu blank, lup blank, and luk blank, which like different sorts of zeroes of a Mathematician, have different functions.

The word lopa occurs in sûtras VI. 1. 66 and VI. 4. 118 &c. The lopa substitute is a sense substitute, and not a form substitute. Thus when we say 'let the substitute lopa take the place of such and such a letter or word,' we do not mean that the letters ल्, ओ, प् and अ should be substituted there, but the sense of the thing, namely 'disappearance.'

प्रत्ययस्य लुक्श्लुलुपः ॥ ६१ ॥पदानि॥ प्रत्ययस्य, लुक्-श्लु-लुपः, (अदर्शनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययादर्शनस्य लुक् श्लु लुप् इत्येताः संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

61. The disappearance of an affix when it is caused by the words luk, ślu or lup are designated by those terms respectively.

When an affix is elided by using the term luk, that disappearance gets the appellation of luk, similarly when an affix is elided by using the terms ślu or lup, the disappearance gets the name of ślu or lup.

Thus in अद्+शप्लुक्+ति=अत्ति 'he eats.' Here the vikaraṇa शप् has been elided by using the word luk (II. 4. 72). Similarly in जुहोति 'he invokes,' the vikaraṇa शप् is elided by the word ślu (II. 4. 75), so in वरणाः 'a city in the vicinity of weeds called varaṇâ.' Here the Taddhita affix indicating vicinity has been elided by the word lup. (IV. 2. 82),

Why do we use the words "of the affix"? Without these words, the sûtra would have run thus:—"The disappearance is called luk, ślu or lup." So that the disappearance of a *base* would also be caused by the use of these terms. Thus in II. 4. 70, there would have been 'luk' of the bases âgastya, and kauṇḍinya; which however is not intended. In that sûtra, the 'luk' of the affixes is only intended. So also in sûtra IV. 3. 168 there would have been the substitution of 'luk' for the *bases* of the words.

प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्यय-लोपे, प्रत्यय-लक्षणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययलोपे कृते प्रत्ययलक्षणं प्रत्ययहेतुकं कार्यं भवति ॥

62. When elision of an affix has taken place (lopa), the affix still exerts its influence, and the operations dependant upon it, take place as if it were present.

This sûtra declares that when an affix disappears by lopa-elision its potency does not disappear. Thus the term 'pada' is defined to be that which ends in a case-affix or a conjugational-affix. But after certain bases, these affixes vanish; still those bases become 'pada' in spite of the vanishing of the whole affix. How can an operation directed by an affix take place, when the affix itself vanishes, is a doubt which may naturally arise. This sûtra answers the question. Though an affix may be elided by lopa, yet an operation of which such an affix was the cause, must take place. Thus अग्निचित् is a pada though the case-termination has been elided. Similarly the word अधोक् 'he milked;' which is the Imperfect (लङ्) of दुह्, and is thus formed. अदोह्+तिप्=अदोह्+त् (III. 4. 100)=अदोह्+० (VI. 1. 68)=अदोघ्+ (VIII. 2. 32) (here ह् is changed into घ् by taking the word 'aduh' as a 'pada') अधोघ्+० (VIII. 2. 37)=अधोग् (VIII. 2. 39)=अधोक्.

Why have we used the word प्रत्यय in this aphorism again, when its anuvṛitti was understood in this sûtra from the last? This repetition indicates that the present rule applies where the *whole* of the affix is elided, and not when a *portion* of an affix is elided. The present sûtra, therefore, does not apply to forms like आघ्नीय and सङ्ग्मीय. These forms are the 1st person sing. लिङ् Atmanepada of हन् and गम्. Thus आहन् + इट् = आहन् + अ (III. 4. 106) = आहन् + सीयुट् + अ (III. 4. 102) = आहन् + ईय्+अ. Here, स् a portion of the affix सीयुट् is elided by VII. 2. 79; now there will be no प्रत्ययलक्षण of this partial elision of an affix. Had it been so, the final nasal न् of आहन् would have been elided by VI. 4. 37: but that is not so: and we have आघ्नीय (VII. 3. 54 and VI. 4. 98).

The word लक्षण means that by which a thing is recognised. The word प्रत्ययलक्षण, therefore, means the effect by which an affix could be recognised. The orthographical changes, like the following, are not however pratyaya-lakshaṇa. In forming the genitive singular of रै 'wealth,' we have रै + अस् = रायः, here, the change of ऐ into आय् by the rules of sandhi, though caused by the affix अस्; is not such an effect, which the affix causes, *by virtue of being an affix*, but it is an effect caused by the accidental fact, that the affix begins with a vowel, and thus gives scope to the euphonic rule VI. 1. 78. Therefore, when in forming the genitive compound of रायः + कुलं, we elide the case-affix अस्, we get the form रैकुलम्. Here the elided affix will not cause the peculiar orthographic change mentioned above, which is dependent upon its letters, and not upon the affix as such.

न लुमताङ्गस्य ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लुमता, अङ्गस्य, (प्रत्यय-लक्षणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुमता शब्देन लुप्ते प्रत्यये यदङ्गं तस्य प्रत्ययलक्षणं कार्यं न भवति ॥

63. Of the base (anga), whose affix has been elided by the use of any of the three words containing लु, the operations dependent on it do not take place, regarding such base.

This sûtra is a special exception to the previous aphorism which was too extensive. It declares, that when an affix is elided by using the words लुक्, श्लु, or लुप्, then the 'sign' or लक्षण or the peculiar virtue of the affix also vanishes. Thus there is an important difference in the elision of an affix by force of the words लुप् &c.; and by the word लोप. In one case the virtue of the affix subsists inspite of the elision, in the other it does not.

The word अङ्ग in this sûtra requires some explanation. "A root, followed by a suffix (pratyaya), is raised to the dignity of a base (prâtipadika), and finally becomes a real word (pada) when it is finished by receiving a case-termination (vibhakti). Every base, with regard to the suffix which is attached to it, is called Anga, body."

Thus the word गर्गाः is the plural of the word गार्ग्यः. The word गार्ग्यः is formed by adding the affix यञ् to गर्ग (IV. 1. 105); the force of the indicatory ञ् being to cause the vṛiddhi of the first vowel of the word (VII. 2. 117). But in forming the plural of गार्ग्य, rule II. 4. 64 presents itself, which declares that there is *luk* of the affix यञ् when the word takes the plural. Here the affix यञ् is elided by the word *luk*, which means not only the elision of the य of गार्ग्य but also the shortening of आ into अ, that is, the affix being elided, it vanishes altogether, leaving no trace behind, in the shape of the vṛiddhing of the first vowel, which the affix was competent to cause.

Similarly मृष्टः is the 3rd per. dual present tense of मृज् 'to clean.' It belongs to Adâdi class in which the vikaraṇa शप् is elided by 'luk' (II. 4. 72); and hence there is no vṛiddhi substitution, which would have taken place by VII. 2. 114, (the ik of the base मृज् is vṛiddhied before verbal affixes).

Similarly जुहुतः 'they two sacrifice'; here the vikaraṇa शप् has been elided by using the word 'ślu' (II. 4. 75, let ślu be substituted in the room of śap after the verbs hu &c). The effect of this elision is, that there is no guṇa substitution of the vowel of the base, which शप् was competent to cause.

When an affix is elided in any other way than by the enunciation of the three terms containing लु, it is competent to cause its proper effect. Thus कृ+णिच्+यक्+ते=कारि+यक्+ते=कार्+यक्+ते=कार्यते. Here the elision of the affix ṇich is by 'lopa,' (VI. 4. 51) and hence though the affix vanishes, its effect remains. Why do we say 'in respect of an Anga or inflective base?' Observe पञ्च 'five,' सप्त 'seven,' पयः 'milk,' साम 'sâma veda.' Here in the word pañcha, the plural case-affix is elided by VII. 1. 22

(after the words called shaṭ, the जस् and शस् are elided by 'luk'). Here the affix is elided ~~by enouncing~~ the word 'luk,' the result is, that ~~the affix~~ cannot produce any change which it would otherwise have caused, in the *anga* or inflective base; such as lengthening, as in râjan, 'a king,' 1. p. râjânaḥ 'kings.' But though it is inoperative as regards the *anga*, the elided affix is not altogether inactive. It retains the virtue of raising the base to the dignity of a pada. Thus:—पंचन् + जस् = पंचन् + ०, (luk VII. 1. 22). The word pañchan is now a *pada*, and as such, it drops its final न्.

अचोऽन्त्यादि टि ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, अन्त्यादि, टि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचां संनिविष्टानां योऽन्त्योच् तदादि शब्दरूपं टिसंज्ञं भवति ॥

64. The final portion of a word, beginning with the last among the vowels in the word, is called टि.

This sûtra defines टि. It is that portion of a word which is included between the last letter and the nearest vowel. Thus in the word अग्निचित् the portion इत् is टि; so also in सामसुत् the portion उत्. The word टि occurs in sûtra III. 4. 79.

The word अचः in the sûtra is in the genitive case, which has the force of nirdhâraṇa or specification; and though it is in the singular number, it represents class name, meaning 'among the vowels.'

अलोऽन्त्यात्पूर्व उपधा ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलः, अन्त्यात्, पूर्वः, उपधा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वादौवर्णसमुदायेऽन्त्यादलः पूर्वो यो वर्णः सोऽलेवोपधा संज्ञो भवति ॥

65. The letter immediately preceding the last letter of a word is called the penultimate.

This defines उपधा or penultimate. Thus in the words पच्, भिद्, बुध्, वृत् the letters अ, इ, उ, and ऋ are उपधा.

The word 'upadhâ' occurs in sûtra VII. 2. 116.

तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मिन्, इति, निर्दिष्टे, पूर्वस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थनिर्देशे पूर्वस्यैव कार्यं भवति नोत्तरस्य ॥

66. When a term is exhibited in the seventh case in these sûtras, the operation directed, is to be understood as affecting the state of what immediately precedes that which the term denotes.

This is a declaratory or interpreting sûtra. When in a sûtra, a word is used in the locative case, the operation ordained by that sûtra is to be per-

formed on the word preceding it. Thus in the sûtra इको यणचि (VI. 1. 77) the word अचि is in the locative case, which sûtra, therefore, means that इ, उ, ऋ ऌ followed by a vowel (अच्) are changed into य्, व्, र्, ल्, (यण्). The literal translation of the sûtra being:—'Of इक् there is यण् in अच्.' The force of '*in*' or the locative case being to induce changes in the letter preceding the vowel. Thus दधि + उदकम् = दध्युदकम् ; so मध्विदम् , पचत्योदनम् ॥

The word nirdishṭa (meaning 'exhibited') has been used in the sûtra to indicate immediateness. Thus in अग्निचित्, the इ of अग्नि is not directly followed by the इ of चित्, there being the letter च् intervening, therefore, rule VI. 1. 77, does not apply here: and we have no sandhi.

तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात् , इति, उत्तरस्य, (निर्दिष्टे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मादिति पञ्चम्यर्थनिर्देश उत्तरस्यैव कार्यं भवति न पूर्वस्य ॥

67. An operation caused by the exhibition of a term in the ablative or fifth case, is to be understood to enjoin the substitution of something in the room of that which immediately follows the word denoted by the term.

This sûtra explains the force of words in the ablative case when employed in these aphorisms. As the locative case refers to a preceding word, so the ablative refers to a succeeding word.

Thus sûtra VIII. 4. 61 declares that 'after उद्, of sthâ and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior.' Thus उद्+स्थानम्. Here the word उदः is exhibited in the original sûtra in the ablative case, and by the present sûtra it means that a dental letter थ् must be substituted in the place of sthâna, and by I. 1. 54 *ante*, this dental takes the place of स्; we have उद्+ थ्थानम् = उत्थ्-थानम्. Similarly in sûtra तिङ्ङतिङः (VIII.2. 18, 'a word ending in a conjugational affix, when following after a word ending in a non-conjugational affix, becomes anudâtta.') Here the word 'atiṅaḥ' is exhibited in the ablative case, therefore, the operation directed by this aphorism, namely, the substitution of anudâtta accent, must take place in the word that follows. Thus ओदनं पचति ; but not so in पचत्योदनमिति ॥

स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वम् , रूपम् , शब्दस्य, अशब्दसंज्ञा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शास्त्रे स्वमेव रूपं शब्दस्य ग्राह्यं बोध्यंप्रत्याय्यं भवति न वाह्योऽर्थः शब्दसंज्ञां वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * सित्तद्विशेषाणां वृक्षाद्यर्थम् * ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * पित्पर्यायवचनस्य च स्वाद्यर्थम् * ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * जित्पर्यायवचनस्यैव राजाद्यर्थम् * ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * झित्तद्विशेषाणाञ्च मत्स्याद्यर्थम् * ॥

68. In this Grammar, when an operation is directed with regard to a word, the individual form of the word possessing meaning is to be understood, except with regard to a word which is a definition.

This is a rule of interpretation. The word स्वं which means 'one's own' denotes 'the meaning,' and the word रूप denotes 'the individual form of a word.' The sense of the sûtra is that a word denotes both things expressed by those two words स्वं and रूप, *viz.*, its meaning, and its form. Thus a rule applicable to अग्नि will be applicable to the word composed of अ, ग्, न् , इ and not to the words synonymous with agni, such as, पावक:, ज्वलन: &c.

In this science, therefore, the very word-form is to be taken, and understood and operated upon, and not external sense: with the exception of words which are definitions, in the latter case the things defined are to be taken.

This sûtra is begun in order to remove the difficulty which might otherwise arise from a consideration that a word connotes a certain meaning, and as no grammatical operation is possible in a concrete object, we must take the words having the same meaning. As when a person is called to bring a 'cow,' he brings the animal cow, and not the letters c, o, w. It may therefore be said, that as no grammatical operation is possible in a material thing, we may take all the names synonymous with the word and operate upon them; this sûtra removes that doubt.

Thus the sûtra अग्नेर्ढक् (IV. 2. 33) declares :—"that the affix 'ḍhak' comes after the word 'agni'." Thus अग्नि + ढक् = आग्नेयम् "belonging to agni," as in the following sentence आग्नेयमष्टाकपालं निर्वपेत्. Here the word अग्नि indicates the individual word-form अग्नि and not its synonyms. Similarly sûtra IV. 2. 19 declares :—'let there be optionally ठक् after उदश्वित्.' As औदश्वित्कम् (VII. 3. 50 and 51) or औदश्वितम्. The rule applies to the word-form 'udaśvita' meaning 'curd-milk' and not to तक्र, अरिष्ट, कालशेय, दण्डाहत and मथित, which are synonyms.

There is an important exception to this rule, and that is in favour of terms which are technical terms of Grammar and have been so defined.

Thus दाधाघ्वदाप् (I. 1. 20) and तरप्तमपौ घ: (I. 1. 22). Here the words 'घु' and 'घ' denote the words connoted by those terms and not to their word-form. There are, however, some sûtras in Pâṇini which are ap-

parently exceptions to this rule. These exceptions have been arranged under four heads, technically called सित्, पित्, जित्, and झित्. When there is a rule about a word, it may mean that very word-form, or words representing species falling under that word, or words which are synonymous with it. Thus rule II. 4. 12 declares, :—"वृक्ष 'tree' मृग 'deer,' तृण 'grass,' &c., may optionally be compounded as dvandva." Here the word वृक्ष stands as a generic name for the species falling under it, and does not represent the word-form, वृक्ष. Thus we have dvandva-compound of प्लक्ष + न्यग्रोध, as प्लक्षन्यग्रोधम् or प्लक्षन्यग्रोधाः। Such sûtras are called सित्.

Then in sûtra III. 4. 40, we have an example of पित्. That sûtra means "the word पुष 'to feed' takes the affix णमुल् (अम्) when compounded with the word स्व." Here the word 'स्व' means both the word-form स्व, as well as the synonyms of स्व and the species of स्व. Thus स्व and धन 'wealth' are synonyms; while स्व 'wealth' and गो 'cow' are genus and species. Thus स्व + पुष् + णमुल् = स्वपोषम्. Similarly रैपोषम्, धनपोषम, गोपोषम्, अश्वपोषम्. Such sûtras are called पित्.

Then in sûtra II. 4. 23, we have an example of जित्. "A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word सभा 'court' is neuter, provided that it is preceded by the word râjâ, or by a word denoting a non-human being." Here the synonyms only of the word 'râjâ' are taken, and neither the word-form 'râjâ,' nor the special instances falling under it. Thus इन 'king'+ सभा = इनसभम् 'king's assembly,' ईश्वर + सभा = ईश्वरसभम् 'king's assembly.' But not राजसभम्, but राजसभा. Nor can we take particular kings, such as चन्द्रगुप्त or पुष्पमित्र. In their case we must have पुष्पमित्रसभा, चन्द्रगुप्तसभा.

Then in sûtra IV. 4. 35, we have an example of झित्. The sûtra means "the words पक्षि 'bird' मत्स्य 'fish' मृग 'deer,' take the affix ठक् when the meaning is the killer thereof." Here the words पक्षि &c. denote both the word-forms पक्षि &c. as well as the species denoted by those terms, but not their synonyms. Thus पक्षि + ठक् = पाक्षिकः 'a bird-killer,' मात्स्यिकः, 'a fish-catcher.' शकुनि + ठक् = शाकुनिकः 'a vulture-killer.' But we cannot take the synonyms of 'पक्षि,' &c. except in the case of 'मत्स्य,' when we may take the word 'मीन.' As मात्स्यिकः and मैनिकः 'a fish killer.'

अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्, उदित्, सवर्णस्य, च, अप्रत्ययः (स्वंरूपं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अण् गृह्यमाण उदिच सवर्णानां ग्राहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य प्रत्ययं वर्जयित्वा ॥

69. The letters of the Pratyâhâra अण् i. e. the vowels and semi-vowels, and a term having उ for its indicatory letter, refer to their own form as well as to their

homogeneous letters, except when they are used as pratyâvâs or affixes.

The pratyâhâra अण् in this sûtra includes all the vowels and liquids. This is the only instance where अण् pratyâhâra refers to the second ण् of ऌण्. The letters included in अण्, and the letters having an indicatory उ, refer to, and include their homogeneous letters also. Thus कु refers to all the five gutturals क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, similarly चु, टु, तु, and पु, as in sûtra I. 3. 8. Similarly अ includes short, long and protracted अ. The words 'its own form' are understood in this sûtra, being drawn from the previous sûtra. Thus sûtra आद्गुणः (VI. 1. 87), 'when a vowel comes after अ, guṇa is the single substitute for both.' Here though the rule mentions only short अ, we take the long आ also. Thus not only नर + ईशः = नरेशः; but महा + ईशः = महेशः। So also in sûtra अस्य च्वौ (VII. 4. 32), 'there is long ई in the room of अ when the affix 'chvi' (V. 4. 50) follows.' Here long आ is also included; thus कृष्ण + करोति = कृष्णीकरोति, and खट्वा + करोति = खट्वीकरोति. So also in sûtra यस्येति च (VI. 4. 148). 'When long ई follows, there is elision of the इ or अ of the base,' the rule applies to the bases ending in long ई and आ also.

This rule of course does not apply to affixes. Thus sûtra III. 2. 168, says, 'after words ending in the affix san, and the words âśansa and bhiksha, there is उ.' Here उ is an affix and therefore does not include long ऊ. Thus भिक्षुः 'a beggar.' So also in IV. 3. 9, the short अ only is to be taken and not the long one.

तपरस्तत्कालस्य ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ त-परः, तत्-कालस्य, (स्वं रूपम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तपरो वर्णस्तत्कालस्यात्मनातुल्यकालस्य गुणान्तरयुक्तस्य सवर्णस्य ग्राहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥

70. The letter which has त् after or before it, besides referring to its own form, refers to those homogeneous letters which have the same prosodial length or time.

By the previous sûtra it was declared that a vowel standing by itself included all the letters of its class. Thus अ includes आ; and इ, ई; &c. This sûtra lays down the rule by which the very form of the letter is taken and not all the letters of its class. This is done by placing a त् either after or before the letter. Thus अत् means the very letter अ and not all its homogeneous letters. Similarly उत् means short उ only and not long or protracted उ. We had to refer to this sûtra, in our very first sûtra, in explaining the term आत्.

The sûtra consists of two words तपरः and तत्कालस्य. Taparaḥ means that which has a त् after it or that which is after त्. Tat-kâla means having the same time. According to time the vowels are divided into short, long and protracted. Short vowels have one measure, long vowels two, and protracted vowels three. A consonant lasts half the time of a short vowel. Therefore a letter preceded or followed by त्, refers to its own form as well as to those only of its homogeneous letters which have the same time. Thus the letter अत् will include the udâtta, anudâtta, svarita (both nasalised and non-nasalised) अ and not the long and protracted forms.

This sûtra declares an injunction. The anuvṛitti of अण् of the previous sûtra does not run into this sûtra. Any other letter than अण् may be followed by त् and the rule of this sûtra will apply to that also. This rule qualifies the previous sûtra which would therefore mean that an अण् letter which is not followed or preceded by a त् includes its homogeneous letters also.

Thus in the sûtra VII. 1. 9 अतोभिस ऐस्. 'After words ending in अत् (i. e. short अ), ऐस् takes the place of भिस्.' Thus वृक्षैः. But in खट्वा which ends in long आ and whose prosodial time is different from अ, this rule will not apply, and we have खट्वाभिः

आदिरन्त्येन सहेता ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, अन्त्येन, सह, इता, (स्वं रूपम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिरन्त्येनेत्संज्ञकेन सह गृह्यमाणस्तन्मध्यपतितानां वर्णानां ग्राहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥

71. An initial letter, with a final इत् letter as a final, is the name of itself and of the intervening letters.

This sûtra explains the mode of interpreting pratyâhâras. Thus the pratyâhâra अक् means those letters whose beginning is अ and whose final इत् is क्.

Why do we say with the '*final* indicatory letter?' Because a pratyâhâra like सुट् would be otherwise ambiguous. It might be doubted whether it is formed with the final ट् of औट् and refers to the first five case-affixes, or whether it is formed with the initial ट् of टा and therefore refers to the first seven case-affixes. The present sûtra clears up the doubt. A pratyâhâra is formed with the final इत् and not with the initial इत्.

येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ येन, विधिः, तद्-अन्तस्य; (स्वं रूपम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येन विशेषणेन विधिर्विधीयते सतदन्तस्यात्मान्तस्य समुदायस्य ग्राहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * समास प्रत्ययविधौ तदन्तविधेः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ *

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * उगिद्वर्णग्रहणवर्जम् ॥ *

परिभाषा ॥ * यस्मिन्विधिस्तदादावल्ग्रहणे ॥ *

72. An injunction which is made with regard to a particular attribute, applies to words having that attribute at their end as well as to that attribute itself.

This sûtra consists of three words :—येन 'by what (attribute),' विधिः 'rule,' तदन्तस्य 'having that (attribute) at its end.'

This is a rule of interpretation. When a rule is made with regard to a particular attribute or letter, it means also words having those attributes or letters at their end. Thus there is a rule (III. 1. 97) declaring "let there be the affix यत् after the vowels." Here the phrase "after the vowels" means and includes "after the roots *ending* in vowels, as well as roots consisting of a single vowel." Thus चि + यत् = चेयम्. Therefore, this sûtra means that when a rule is laid down in this grammar with regard to a particular attribute, that rule, besides being applicable to that particular attribute, is also applicable to words ending in that particular attribute. Thus a rule laid down generally with regard to vowels, will apply to words *ending* in vowels; a rule laid down with regard to certain forms, will apply to words ending in those forms.

Thus the sûtra एरच् (III. 3. 56) 'after इ there is अच्' declares that the affix ach would come not only after इ, but after any expression that ends in इ. Thus इ + अच् = अयः, चि + अच् = चयः ॥

Vart:—The present rule, (called tadanta-vidhi) must not be applied to rules relating to compounds (samâsa), and to pratyayas (affixes). Thus sûtra II. 1. 24, declares that a word in the accusative case is compounded with the words śrita, atita &c. As कष्ट + श्रितः = कष्टश्रितः 'involved in pain.' The present sûtra must not be applied here, and we cannot say that a word in the accusative case would be compounded with another that *ends* in śrita; for tadanta-vidhi does not apply here. Hence we cannot form a compound of कष्ट + परमश्रितः ॥

Similarly, in rules of affixes. Thus sûtra IV. 1. 99 declares "that the words नड &c., take the affix फक्." Thus नड + फक् = नाडायनः। But we cannot apply the affix phak to the word सूत्रनड, the tadanta-vidhi not being applicable here. The descendant of सूत्रनड will be called सौत्रनाडि and not as above.

The above vârtika is however qualified by the following :—

Vart:—The above vârtika does not apply to words formed by affixes

that have an indicatory उक् (उ, ऋ, लृ), short or long, or where a rule is propounded with regard to letters. Thus the affix ktavatu (I. 1. 26) has an indicatory उ, and we have कृतवत्. A rule which will apply to kṛitavat will apply also to the word which ends in kṛitavat. Thus the feminine of kṛitavat is कृतवती (IV. 1. 6), the feminine of sukṛitavat will be sukṛitavatî. Similarly rule IV. 1. 95 अत इञ् says "after अ there is the affix इञ्." This is a rule relating to pratyayas, but as it is propounded by mere letters, the rule of tadanta-vidhi will apply here. Thus दक्ष + इञ् = दाक्षि 'the son of Daksha.'

Vart :—When a term, which denotes a letter, is exhibited in a rule in the form of the locative case and qualifies something else which likewise stands in the locative case, that which is qualified by it must be regarded as beginning with the letter which is denoted by the term in question, and not as ending with it.

Thus sûtra VI. 4. 77, achi śnu dhâtu bhruvâm yvor iyaṅ uvaṅau, means "iyaṅ and uvaṅ are the substitutes of what ends with the pratyaya śnu and what ends in a verbal root in इ or उ, whether long or short, and of the inflective base bhrû, when an affix beginning with a vowel follows." Here the word 'achi' is exhibited in the seventh case, which literally means 'when a vowel follows;' but by virtue of the present vârtika it means, 'when an affix beginning with a vowel follows,' as. श्रियः, भ्रुवः ॥

वृद्धिर्यस्याचामादिस्तद् वृद्धम् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिः, यस्य, अचाम्, आदिः, तद्, वृद्धम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचांमध्ये यस्य वृद्धिसंज्ञक आदिभूतस्तच्छब्दरूपं वृद्धसंज्ञं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ *गोत्रान्तादसमस्तवत्प्रत्ययो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्* ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * वा नामधेयस्य वृद्ध संज्ञा वक्तव्यः ॥ *

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * जिह्वाकात्यहरितकात्य वर्जम् ॥ *

73. That word, among the vowels of which the first is a vriddhi, is called vriddham.

This defines the word वृद्धम्. The sûtra consists of five words :— वृद्धिः 'the vṛiddhi vowel;' यस्य 'whose,' अचाम् 'among the vowels,' आदिः 'is first;' तद् 'that;' वृद्धम् 'is called vṛiddham.'

If a word consisting of many vowels, has a vṛiddhi vowel coming first in the order of vowels, that word is called vṛiddham. Thus the words माला, शाला &c., have the first vowel आ a vṛiddhi vowel, therefore, they are called vṛiddham.

The word vṛiddham has been defined in order to make applicable to these peculiar words certain taddhita affixes. Thus there is a rule (IV. 2. 114) by which the affix छ is added to vṛiddham. Thus माला + छ = मालीयः॥

Why do we say "*the first?*" Because a word like सभासंनयनः, which is not a vṛiddha word, will not admit of the affix छ. Its corresponding derivative will be साभासंनयनः ॥

Vart:—A proper noun, though not coming under the above definition, may yet be regarded optionally as a vṛiddham. Thus देवदत्त + छ = देवदत्तीया, or we may have दैवदत्ता.

Vart:—A compound ending in a Gotra word, is regarded for the purposes of the addition of this affix, as if it was not compounded. Thus रौढि is a Gotra word and also vṛiddham. Its compound घृतरौढि will be regarded as a vṛiddham too, for the addition of the affix. As घृतरौढि + छ = घृतरौढीयाः 'the students of Ghṛitarauḍhi.' So also ओदनपाणिनीयाः, वृद्धाम्भीयाः वृद्धकाश्यपीयाः &c.

Vart:—Exception must be made in the case of जिह्वाकात्य and हरितकात्य। They do not take छ. Thus जैह्वाकाताः and हारितकाताः.

त्यदादीनि च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यद्-आदीनि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदादीनि शब्दरूपाणि वृद्धसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

74. The words tyad &c., are also called vṛiddham.

The त्यद् &c. have been given in the list of sarvanâmas. See sûtra 27. These words are also called vṛiddham. Thus तद् + छ = तदीयम्, एतदीयम्, त्यदीयम् इदमीयम्, अदसीयम्, त्वादायनिः, मादायनिः &c.

एङ् प्राचां देशे ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ एङ्, प्राचाम्, देशे, (यस्याचामादिः, वृद्धम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एङ् यस्याचामादिस्तत्प्राग्देशाभिधाने वृद्ध संज्ञं भवति ॥

75. A word that has the letters ए and ओ as the first among its vowels, gets also the designation of vṛiddham, when it is the name of Eastern countries.

As गोनर्द is a country of the east, it is a vṛiddham word and we have गोनर्द + छ = गोनर्दीयः; similarly एणीपचनीयम्, भोजकटीयः.

The word prâk in the sûtra has been differently interpreted. The Grammarian Kuṇin takes the word prâk as an epithet qualifying the word âchâryạ, 'professor' understood. In that case the sûtra will be thus translated:—'In the opinion of the Eastern (or ancient) professors, a word that has the letters *e* and *o* as the first among its vowels, and is the name of a country, is called vṛiddham.' Under this interpretation, this will be an optional rule only, giving the opinion of eastern or ancient grammarians.

Others however take the word prâk as qualifying the word deśa and the meaning then is as given in the text.

Why do we say 'having the letters ए and ओ? If a simple vowel is first among the vowels, of a word, that word will not be called vṛiddham: and as such will not take the affix छ; as आहिच्छत्रः, कान्यकुब्जः.

Why do we say of 'Eastern country'? Because this rule does not apply to a word like देवदत्तः which is the name of a town in the Punjab, which is not an eastern country. Its secondary derivative will be दैवदत्तः, born in Devadatta.

Why do we say 'country'? The rule will not apply to rivers &c. Thus from गोमति we have गौमताः 'fish born in the river Gomati.'



ओ३म्

॥ अथ प्रथमाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER II.

गाङ्कुटादिभ्योऽञ्णिन्ङित् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाङ्-कुट-आदिभ्यः, अञ्णित् ङित्, त् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाङ्कुटादिभ्यः परेऽञ्णितः प्रत्यया ङितो भवन्ति, ङिद्वद्भवन्तीत्यर्थः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * व्यचेः कुटादित्वमनसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

1. All affixes after the verb gâṅ 'to study' and the verb kuṭ 'to be crooked,' and the rest, are as if they had an indicatory ङ् (ṅit), except those affixes which have an indicatory ञ् (ñit) or ण् (ṇit).

This is an atides'a sûtra, and makes certain affixes, though not having an indicatory ङ्, to produce the same effect as if they were really ङित्.

The root गाङ् is substituted for the verb इङ् in certain tenses, in which the verb इङ् is defective (II, 4. 49). The कुटादि verbs are roots belonging to the Tudâdi class of verbs, and they are forty roots beginning with कुट् 'to be crooked' and ending with कुङ् 'to groan.'

After these roots all affixes are treated as if they were marked with a ङ् with the exception of those affixes which are ञित् or णित्.

Thus from गाङ् we have in the aorist the form अध्यगीष्ट; which is thus evolved. अधि + अट् + इङ् + सिच् + त = अध्य + गा + स् + त (II. 4. 50.) = अध्य + गी + स्त (VI. 4. 66) = अध्यगीष्ट 'he studied,' अध्यगीषाताम् 'they two studied'; अध्यगीषत 'they studied.' Here by VI. 4. 66, the आ is changed into ई before the affix सिच्, which is regarded as ङित्.

Similarly, after the verbs कुट् &c., all affixes are treated as ङित्, with the exceptions already mentioned.

Thus कुट् + तृच् (III. 1. 133) = कुट् + इट् + तृच् (VII. 2. 35) = कुटितृ, nominative singular कुटिता 'who acts crookedly.' Here the affix तृच् being, regarded as ङित् does not cause the guṇa substitution of the उ of कुट्, by I. 1. 15.

Similarly with the affixes तुमुन् and तव्यम्, we have कुटितुम् and कुटितव्यम्. So on with all the forty roots of kuṭâdi class: e.g. उत्पुटिता, उत्पुटितुम्, उत्पुटितव्यम्.

But the affixes marked with ञ् or ण् will not be so treated. Thus णिच् by which causatives are formed, is such an affix; e.g. उत्कुट् + णिच् + शप् + तिप् = उत्कोट् + इ + अ + ति = उत्कोटयति. Here there is guṇa of the उ of कुट्. So also before the affix णल् of the perfect tense, we have उच्चुकोट, and before the affix ण्वुल् we have उत्कोटकः।

Vârtika:—The root व्यच् 'to deceive,' is also treated like kuṭâdi verbs, except before the affix असि. As विचिता 'he shall deceive,' विचितुम् 'for the purpose of deceiving' विचितव्यम् &c. Here there is samprâsaraṇa before the ṅit terminations ता, तुम् and तव्यम् and the य of व्यच् is changed into इ by rule VI. 1. 16.

But the affix असि is not ṅit and consequently there is no samprasâraṇa before it. Thus उरुव्यचाः 'an imp.'

विज इट् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि विजः, इट्, (ङित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओविजी भयचलनयोः अस्मात्पर इडादिः प्रत्ययो ङिद्भवति ॥

2. An affix that begins with the augment इट् (VII. 2. 35) is ṅit after the root *vij.*, 'to fear, to move.'

The root विज् does not strengthen its vowel before the affixes that take the intermediate इ, because those terminations are treated like ङित् affixes. The root विज् belongs to the Tudâdi class. Thus उद्विजिता 'he will be agitated,' उद्विजितुम् 'for the purpose of being agitated,' उद्विजितव्यम् 'ought to be agitated.'

But those affixes, which are not preceded by the augment इट्, are not like ङित्, and they consequently produce their own proper action, such as guṇation &c. As उत् + विज् + ल्युट् = उद्वेजनम्, उद्वेजनीयम् 'that which ought to be agitated.'

विभाषोर्णोः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, ऊर्णोः। (ङित्, इट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्णुञ् आच्छादने अस्मात्पर इडादिः प्रत्ययो विभाषा ङिद्भवति ॥

3. After the verb ûrṇa 'to cover,' the affix beginning with the augment इट् is regarded optionally like ṅit.

Thus before the इडादि termination इता of the future, we may have either प्रोर्णुविता or प्रोर्णविता "he will cover."

The equation of the form is:— प्र + ऊर्णु + इ + ता = प्र + ऊर्णुव् + इता (VI. 4. 77) = प्रोर्णुविता. When the affix is not regarded as ङित्, it produces guṇa, and we have the second form प्रोर्णविता ॥

Of course there is no option allowed before those affixes which do not take the augment इट्, and before those terminations, consequently, we have only one form: as प्रोर्णु+ल्युट् = प्रोर्णो + अनम् = प्रोर्णवनम्, 'covering,' प्रोर्णवनीयम् 'which ought to be covered'

सार्वधातुकमपित् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सार्वधातुकम्, अप्-इत, (ङित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सार्वधातुकं यदपिच्चण्ङिद्भवति ॥

4. A *Sârvadhâtuka* (III. 4. 113) affix not having an indicatory प् is like ṅit.

The terminations which are added to roots are either *Sârvadhâtuka* or *ârdhadhátuka*. The *Sârvadhâtuka* terminations are all those that are marked with a श् and also the tense terminations called तिङ्, the latter are the following:—

	sing.	dual.	pl.	
3rd Pers.	तिप्	तस्	झि	Parasmaipada.
2nd Pers.	सिप्	थस्	थ	
1st Pers.	मिप्	वस्	मस्	
3rd Pers.	त	आताम्	झ	Atmanepada.
2nd Pers.	थास्	आथाम्	ध्वम्	
1st Pers.	इट्	वहि	महिङ्	

Except the terminations marked with a प् such as ति, सि and मि, &c., all the other Sârvadhâtuka terminations are ङित्. The शित् terminations like शतृ, शानच्, &c., are also Sârvadhâtuka terminations. These affixes are also ङित्, unless they have a प् as indicatory, as शप्. Thus the affix तस्, being an अपित् Sârvadhâtuka affix, is a ङित्, and before it the vowel is not gunated e. g. कुरुतः 'they two do.' The equation is:—कृ+उ+तस् (the उ is added by Rule III. 1. 79) = कर्+उ+तस् (VI. 4. 110) = कुरु + तस् = कुरुतः ॥ Similarly कुर्वन्ति 'they do.'

Here the अ of कर् is changed into उ and we have कुर्, by virtue of rule VI. 4. 110, which declares that the अ of the verb कर् is changed into उ before those Sârvadhâtuka affixes which are ङित् or कित्. Here तस् is a Sârvadhâtuka ङित् affix by the present rule, and hence the change.

These four sûtras describe the ङित् terminations.

Why do we say 'a Sârvadhâtuka affix'? Because an ârdhadhâtuka affix, though not being marked with an indicatory प्' will not be a ङित्. As कर्त्ता 'doer,' कर्तुम् 'to do,' कर्तव्यम् 'duty.'

Why do we say 'not having an indicatory प्'? If a Sârvadhâtuka affix has an indicatory प् it will not be ṅit. As कृ+उ+तिप् = करोति 'he does' करोषि 'thou doest,' करोमि 'I do.'

असंयोगाल्लिट् कित् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ असंयोगात्, लिट्, कित्, (अपित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असंयोगान्ताद्धातोः परो लिट् प्रत्ययोऽपित् किद्भवति ॥

5. The affixes of Lit (Perfect Tense) not coming after a conjunct consonant, are as if they had an indicatory क् (kit).

With this sûtra begins the description of affixes which are regarded as कित् though not actually having a क् to mark them as such. The terminations of लिट् (Perfect) not being पित् terminations, are कित्, after verbs that have no compound consonants. The phrase अपित् (not being marked with प्) qualifies this sûtra also, being drawn from the previous sûtra by the rule of Anuvṛitti.

Thus from भिद् 'to tear' the Reduplicated non-*pit* second person perfect is बिभिदतुः 'thou hast torn.' बिभिदुः 'They have torn.'

Similarly चिच्छिदतुः 'thou hast divided'; चिच्छिदुः 'you divided'; ईजतुः and ईजुः.

This rule will not apply if the root ends in a conjunct consonant. Thus स्रंस् 'to fall down' forms its second person Perfect:—सस्रंस्+अतुस्=सस्रंसतुः. Here the affix is not treated as *kit*; for had it been so treated, it would have caused the elision of the penultimate nasal (anusvâra) of स्रंस by Rule VI. 4. 24. Similarly from ध्वंस् we have दध्वंसे.

The *pit* terminations of the Perfect are not *kit*; and therefore we have बिभेद 'he has divided,' where the root is gunated before the 3rd person singular termination णल् which is a पित् termination, because it being the substitute of तिप् is regarded like तिप् by I 1. 56.

इन्धिभवतिभ्यां च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्धि-भवतिभ्याम्, च, (लिट् कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्धिभवतीत्येताभ्यां परो लिट् प्रत्ययः किद्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * श्रन्थिग्रन्थिदम्भिस्वञ्जीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

6. The Lit or Perfect Tense affixes after the roots *indhi* 'to kindle,' and *bhu* 'to become,' also are *kit*.

After these two roots the terminations of the Perfect are कित्. These roots have been especially mentioned, because the root इन्धि ending in a compound consonant will not be governed by sûtra 5; and the root भू is mentioned because all the terminations of the Perfect are कित् after भू, not excepting the पित् terminations. Thus the verbs समीधे and ईधे are illustrations of Perfect Tense from the root इन्धू as in the following examples:—समीधे दस्युहन्तमम्, (Rig Veda VI. 16. 15), and पुत्र ईधे अथर्वणः, (Rig Veda VI. 16. 14). Here the nasal of the root is dropped by regarding the affix as कित् ॥ Similarly from the root भू, we have बभूव, बभूविथ ॥

Vart.:—This rule should be applied also to the verbs श्रंथ् 'to loosen, ग्रंथ 'to fasten,' दंभ् 'to injure' and स्वंज् 'to embrace.' As श्रेथतुः 'thou hast

loosened,' श्रंथ+अतुस्=श्रथ्+अतुस्. (The न् is elided by the rule already mentioned in the last sûtra, *viz.* VI. 4. 24).

=श्रथ्+श्रथ्+अतुस् =श्रेथतुः (VI. 4. 120). Similarly ग्रेथतुः ; देभतुः, परिषस्वजे, परिषस्वजाते.

मृडमृदगुधकुषक्लिशवदवसः क्त्वा ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मृड-मृद-गुध कुष-क्लिश-वद-वसः , क्त्वा (कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मृड मृद गुध कुष क्लिश वद वस् इत्येतेभ्यः परः क्त्वाप्रत्ययः किद्भवति ॥

7. The affix *ktvâ* is *kit* after mr̥id 'to be gracious,' mr̥id 'to squeeze,' gudh 'to wrap up,' kush 'to tear,' klîs' 'to suffer,' vad 'to speak' and vas 'to dwell.'

After these seven verbs, the gerundial *ktvâ* is *kit.* It might be said, what was the necessity of this sûtra? The affix *ktvâ* is clearly a *kit* affix, as it is marked with the diacritical letter क्, and it was useless to call it a *kit* affix after these verbs. The reason of this apparent repitition is this. Though *ktvâ* is a *kit* affix generally; yet there is a later sûtra in this chapter (I. 2. 18) which declares that the prefix क्त्वा is not कित्, if it is preceded by the intermediate इ. Or in other words, if क्त्वा is added to those verbs, which are called सेट् verbs, viz., that take an intermediate इ, it is not then *kit.* Thus the verb शी 'to sleep' is सेट्. Therefore शी+इ+त्वा=शे+इ+त्वा =शयित्वा.

Now it happens that all the seven verbs mentioned in the sûtra are सेट् verbs, and take an intermediate इ. The क्त्वा before these verbs would have lost its *kit*ness by virtue of sûtra 18; therefore arose the necessity of this sûtra, to provide in anticipation an exception to that sûtra, in favour of these verbs, where the affix *ktvâ* is *necessarily kit.* Thus we have मृडित्वा 'being gracious,' मृदित्वा 'having squeezed,' गुधित्वा 'having wrapped' कुषित्वा 'having torn,' क्लिशित्वा 'having suffered,' उदित्वा 'having spoken,' उषित्वा 'having dwelt.' The व् *v* of वद् and वस् are changed into उ by the rule of Samprasâraṇa (VI. 1. 15).

Moreover in the case of the verbs गुध्, कुष् and क्लिश्, sûtra 26 would have made क्त्वा *optionally kit*; the present sûtra makes it *necessarily* so.

रुदविदमुषग्रहिस्वपिप्रच्छः संश्च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुद-विद-मुष-ग्रहि-स्वपि-प्रच्छ-संश्च, (क्त्वा कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुद विद मुष ग्रहि स्वपि प्रच्छ इत्येतेभ्यः संश्च क्त्वा च कितौ भवतः॥

8. The affixes *ktvâ* and *san* (III. 1. 7) are *kit,* after *rud* 'to weep,' *vid* 'to know,' *mush* 'to steal,' *grah* 'to seize,' *svap* 'to sleep,' and *prachchh* 'to ask.'

After the above mentioned verbs the *ktvâ* though taking an intermediate इ, and the affix सन् are कित्. The affix सन् is employed in forming desiderative verbs. The न् of सन् is इत्, the real affix being स. The root is reduplicated before this सन् affix. Thus रुदित्वा 'having cried,' रुरुदिषति 'he wishes to cry'; विदित्वा 'having known,' विविदिषति 'he wishes to know'; गृहीत्वा (VI. 1. 16.) 'having taken,' जिघृक्षति 'he wishes to take'; मुषित्वा 'having stolen,' मुमुषिषति 'he wishes to steal'; सुप्त्वा (VI. 1. 15) 'having slept,' सुषुप्सति 'he wishes to sleep,' पृष्ट्वा (VI. 1. 16) 'having asked' पिपृच्छिषति 'he wishes to ask.' The verb ग्रह् is changed into गृह्, स्वप् into सुप्, प्रच्छ् into पृच्छ before *kit* affixes by samprasâraṇa (VI. 1. 16.)

The *ktvâ* and *san* would have been *optionally kit* after the verbs रुद्, विद् and मुष् by virtue of Rule 26 of this chapter, but this sûtra makes them *necessarily* so, after these three verbs. In the case of the verb ग्रह्, these affixes are *kit* by virtue of this sûtra only. In the case of the verbs स्वप् and प्रच्छ् the affix क्त्वा is of course *kit*, because these two verbs are aniṭ, that is, they do not take the intermediate इ; and therefore the क्त्वा being directly affixed to them, and rule 18 not applying, the indicatory *k* would make it *kit*. In reference to these verbs, therefore, the present sûtra teaches something new, only with regard to the affix सन्, by making that also *kit*. The verb प्रच्छ् takes the intermediate इ when the affix सन् follows, by virtue of sûtra VII. 2. 75.

इको झल् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, झल् (सन्, कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्ताद्धातोः परो झलादिः सन् किद्भवति ॥

9. The affix *san* beginning with a letter of the *Pratyâhâra jhal* is like *kit*, after verbs ending in *ik* vowels.

In this sûtra there is the *anuvṛitti* of सन् only and not of क्त्वा. The sûtra literally translated means:—"After *ik* the *jhal*." The *Pratyâhâra* इक् contains the four letters इ, उ, ऋ, ऌ. The Pratyâhâra झल् contains all the consonants, except the nasals and the liquids. After the verbs ending in इक् the desiderative suffix सन् is *kit*, when it is झलादि, that is to say when the affix सन् does not take the intermediate इ. The affix सन् is an affix which begins with स् a letter of the झल् class. But if the intermediate इ is added before it, it is no longer a झलादि affix, and in that case it is not कित्. Thus from जि 'to conquer,' which is a verb ending in इक्, we have जिगीषति 'he wishes to conquer', यु 'to mix' युयूषति; so also कृ 'to do,' चिकीर्षति, तॄ 'to cross' तितीर्षति, भू 'to be' बुभूषति.

If however, verbs ending in इ or उ or ऋ or ऌ, take an intermediate इ, they likewise take guṇa. As:—स्मि 'to smile' takes guṇa, and makes its desiderative सिस्मयिषति.

The झलादि सन् is not *kit* after verbs ending in any other letter than the इक्. As पिपासति (from पा) 'he wishes to drink.' So from स्था we have तिष्ठासति.

The object of making the affix सन् *kit* affix after verbs ending in *ik* vowels, is to prevent the guṇa of the vowel of the root, as in चिचीषति 'wishes to collect', तुष्टूषति 'wishes to praise.' To this it might be objected "this cannot be: for rule VI. 4. 16 (when सन् beginning with a *jhal*, *i.e.*, not preceded by the augment इट् follows, a long vowel is the substitute of verbs ending in a vowel, and of the verbs हन् and गम्) would prevent guṇa by substituting long vowel." To this it may be replied: "if rule VI. 4. 16, enjoining long vowel, debars rule VII. 3. 84 requiring guṇa, it should *a fortiori* debar rule VI. 4. 51 which requires the elision of the affix णि before Ardha-dhâtuka affixes not taking the augment इट्. But evidently that is not so; for the elision of णि is not debarred by VI. 4. 16. Therefore, the present sûtra is made, so that even by giving scope to the rule of lengthening, the affix सन् be treated as कित्." Thus in चिचीषति scope is given to rule VI. 4. 16, and the vowel is lengthened. But this rule in its turn will be debarred in those cases where rule VI. 4. 51 will apply: in such cases the maxim contained in I. 4. 2 is our guide, and a subsequent rule will debar a prior rule of Pâṇini when both find their scope in a single case. Thus in forming the desiderative of the verb ज्ञप् 'to inform,' both the rules VI. 4. 16 and VI. 4. 51 present themselves, but the latter prevails. The verb ज्ञप् belongs to the churâdi class of verbs, and takes the affix णिच्. Thus ज्ञप् + णिच् + सन् + तिप्; here the present sûtra comes into force, and सन् being treated as कित्, the guṇa of the इ of ज्ञपि is prevented. Thus sûtra VII. 3. 84 requiring guṇa being set aside, sûtra VI. 4. 51 comes into play and causes the elision of णिच् and we have ज्ञप्+स+ति=ज्ञीप्सति (VII. 4. 55 आ changed to ई) 'he wishes to inform.'

हलन्ताच्च ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ हल्-अन्तात्, च, (इक्, सन्, झल्, कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तादिक्समीपाद्धलः परः सन् झलादिः किद्भवति ॥

10. And after a root ending in a consonant and preceded by a vowel of the *pratyâhara ik*, the affix *san* beginning with a *jhal* consonant, is like *kit*.

Thus from भिद् 'to pierce' we have बिभित्सति 'he wishes to break,' here the root भिद् contains the *ik* vowel इ; it ends in a consonant द्; the affix स is directly added without taking an intermediate इ, and therefore it fulfils all the conditions of the sûtra; and the vowel is not gunated.

If the final consonant of the verb is not preceded by a vowel of the *ik* class, the affix सन् is not *kit* after such a verb. As यज्+सन्+ते =यियक्षते 'wishes to sacrifice.' Had the affix सन् been here a *kit* affix, there would have been samprasâraṇa by rule VI. 1. 16 which declares that there is samprasâraṇa of the verbs वच्, स्वप्, and यज् &c., before *kit* affixes.

If the *san* takes the intermediate इ and is then no longer a झलादि सन् it is not *kit*; and causes guṇation *etcetera*. As वृत् + इ + सन् = विवर्तिषते 'he desires to be.' Here there is guṇa of *ri*.

Roots like दम्भ्, तृंह् &c., are governed by this rule, though they end in conjunct consonants, for the word हल् of the sûtra means *jâti* or class; thus दम्भ्+सन्+तिप्=दभ्+सति (VI. 4. 24, the *m* being elided by treating सन् as कित्)=धीप्सति or धिप्सति (VII. 4. 56).

लिङ्सिचावात्मनेपदेषु ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्-सिचौ, आत्मनेपदेषु (हलन्तात् इक झल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तादिक्समीपाद्धलः परौ झलादी लिङ्सिचौ आत्मनेपदेषु परतः कितौ भवतः ॥

11. After roots ending in a consonant, that adjoins a vowel of *ik* pratyâhâra, the substitutes of liṅ (III. 3. 161) and *sich* (III. 1. 44) when they begin with a consonant of jhal pratyâhâra, are *kit*, when the âtmanepada affixes follow.

The sûtra consists of two words लिङ्सिचौ and आत्मनेपदेषु, literally meaning "the affixes *liṅ* and *sich* in the Atmanepada." The other phrases, given in the above text must be supplied from the previous sûtras, to complete the sense. The *anuvṛitti* of the word सन्, that began with sûtra 8, does not extend further. As :– भित्सीष्ट 'may he break' and भुत्सीष्ट 'may he know,' अभित्त 'he broke', अबुद्ध 'he knew.'

Thus the root भिद् ends with a simple consonant, is preceded by इ a letter of *ik* pratyâhâra; after this root the jhalâdi affix सीष्ट of Benedictive in the Atmanepada is treated like कित्; therefore there is no guṇa substitution of the vowel of the root before this affix. भिद्+सीष्ट=भित्सीष्ट. Similarly in the Aorist we have अभित्त=अ+भिद्+सिच्+त, the स of the Aorist being elided by VIII. 2. 26. So also बुध्+सीष्ट=भुत्+सीष्ट (VIII. 2. 37)=भुत्सीष्ट.

If the final consonant is not preceded by an *ik* vowel, this rule will not apply. Thus Ben. यज् + सीष्ट = यष् + सीष्ट (VIII. 2. 36) = यक् + सीष्ट (VIII. 2. 41) = यक्षीष्ट (VIII. 3. 58). Similarly its Aorist is अयष्ट. Had the affixes सीष्ट and त been *kit*, they would have caused samprasâraṇa of य by VI. 1. 16.

This rule will not apply, if the Benedictive and Aorist affixes are Parasmaipadi. Thus the Aorist of सृज् 'to let off,' is अ + सृज् + सीत् = अ + सृ + अ + ज् + सीत् (VI. 1. 58) = असृज् + सीत् (VI. 1. 77) = अस्राक्षीत् (VII. 2. 1). Similarly from दृश् we have Aorist Parasmaipadi अद्राक्षीत्. Had the Aorist been कित्, rule VI. 1. 58 (अम् is the augment of the verbs सृज् and दृश् when an affix beginning with a *jhal* and not having an indicatory क् follows), would not have applied.

This rule will also not apply, if the verb ends in a vowel. Thus of the verb चि, we have Ben. चेषीष्ट, Aor. अचेष्ट. Had the affixes been कित्, there would have been no guṇa substitution of *i* into *e*.

The rule will not apply, if these affixes are not *jhalâdi*, but take the augment इट्. Thus Ben. वृत् + इषीष्ट = वर्तिषीष्ट, so also Aorist अवर्तिष्ट. Had they been कित्, there would have been no guṇa substitution.

This rule, of course, is confined to the Benedictive and the Aorist. Other tenses will not be affected by this rule. Thus the 1st and 2nd Future of द्विष् is द्वेष्टा and द्वेक्ष्यति.

उश्च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उः, च, (लिङ्सिचौ आत्मनेपदेषु झल कित्)

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋवर्णान्ताद्धातोः परौ लिङ्सिचावात्मनेपदेषु झलादी कितौ भवतः ॥

12. And after verbs ending in ऋ, the substitutes of liṅ and the affix *sich*, are *kit*, when they begin with *jhal*, and the Atmanepada affixes follow.

As from कृ 'to do' the benedictive is कृषीष्ट 'may he do.' So also सिच्, as अकृत 'he did.' So also हृषीष्ट and अहृत.

Of course this rule would not apply if these terminations take the intermediate इ; as वृ + इषीष्ट = वरिषीष्ट 'may he choose,' (Benedictive); अ + वृ + इष्ट = अवरिष्ट or अवरीष्ट 'he chose or covered,' the इ being lengthened by VII. 2. 38.

वा गमः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, गमः, (लिङ्सिचौ, आत्मनेपदेषु झल कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गमेर्धातोः परौ लिङ्सिचावात्मनेपदेषु झलादी वा कितौ भवतः ॥

13. Optionally after the verb *gam*, the liṅ and *sich* beginning with *jhal* consonants, in the Atmanepada, are *kit*.

The verb गम् 'to go' is Atmanepadi after the preposition सम् by Rule I. 3. 29.

The result of its being *kit* is that the nasal is dropped in the Atmanepada, in forming the Aorist with सिच्, and the Benedictive. Thus we have

the forms :—संगंसीष्ट or संगसीष्ट in the Benedictive; and समगत or समगंस्त in the *sich* Aorist. These forms are thus evolved:—

सम् + गम् + सीष्ट = सम् + ग + सीष्ट (VI. 4. 37) = संगसीष्ट 'may he combine.' Here the nasal म् of गम् is elided by treating the affix सीष्ट as कित् by Rule VI. 4. 37. In the alternative we have संगंसीष्ट.

So in the aorist सम्+गम्+सिच्+त=सम्+अट्+गम्+त (VI. 4. 37)=समगत. The सिच् being elided by VIII. 2. 27 (after a short inflective base, there is elision of सिच्, if a *jhal* follows). So when म् of गम् is elided by VI. 4. 37, there remains only ग which is a base ending in short अ, hence, the elision of सिच्. But in the alternative we have समगंस्त.

हनः सिच् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, सिच् । (कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्धातोः परः सिच् किद्भवति ॥

14. The *sich* Atmanepada affixes are *kit* after the root *han* 'to kill.'

As आहत, आहसाताम्, आहसत are the aorist of हन्. When a सिच् or second aorist is *kit* the verb loses its nasal, by Rule VI. 4. 37. After the verb हन् the सिच् is only *kit* and not the Benedictive लिङ् terminations, as was the case in the previous sûtra; hence the repetition of the word *sich* in this sûtra. The sûtras 12 and 13 were governed both by लिङ् and सिच्; from and after this sûtra, the governing power of लिङ् ceases. The governing power of the word "Atmanepada" in sûtra 11 does not however cease, and its anuvṛitti runs through the succeeding sûtras; though as regards this sûtra, its anuvṛitti is redundant, inasmuch as before the Parasmaipada terminations, the root हन् is always replaced by वध् in the aorist, there is no necessity of making the affix *sich* a *kit*. For the object served in making *sich, kit*, after the verb हन्, is to elide the nasal, while in the case of वध्, no such purpose can be served.

यमो गन्धने ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यमः, गन्धने, (सिच् आत्मनेपदेषु कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यमेर्धातोर्गन्धने वर्त्तमानात्परः सिच् प्रत्ययः कित् भवति आत्मनेपदेषु परतः ॥

15. The affix *sich* before Atmanepada affixes, is *kit* after the verb *yam*, when meaning 'to divulge.'

The word *gandhana* means 'to divulge,' 'to make known that which had been concealed.' The verb यम् has various meanings.

The result of *kit* is that the nasal is elided. The verb यम् becomes Atmanepada when preceded by the preposition आङ् by rule I. 3. 28. Thus उत् + आ + यम् + त=उदायत='he divulged,' उदायसाताम्, उदायसत, the *sich* is elided by VIII. 2. 27 and म् by VI. 4. 37. When the verb यम् has any other meaning than 'to divulge,' then the सिच् in the Atmanepada is not *kit*; as उदायंस्त पादम् 'he raised the foot.' So also उदायंस्त कूपादुदकम् 'he raised water from the

well.' Though here the verb *yam* is in the transitive form and takes an object after it, yet it is Atmanepadi by Rule I. 3. 75 which declares "after the verb *yam* to strive, preceded by सम्, उत् and आङ् when it does not refer to a book, the Atmanepada is employed."

विभाषोपयमने ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उपयमने, (यमः सिच् आत्मनेपदेषु कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यमेर्धातोरुपयमने वर्त्तमानात् परः सिच् प्रत्ययो विभाषा किद्भवति आत्मनेपदेषु परतः ॥

16. The *sich* before âtmanepada affixes is *kit* optionally, when *yam* means 'to espouse.'

Thus उपायत कन्याम् or उपायंस्त कन्याम् 'he espoused the girl,' उपायत or उपायंस्त भार्याम् 'he espoused his wife.'

The word 'Upayamana' in the sûtra means 'to accept in marriage,' 'to espouse.' The verb यम् preceded by the preposition उप is Atmanepadi when it means 'to espouse' by Rule I. 3. 56.

स्थाघ्वोरिच्च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्था, घ्वोः, इत्, च (सिजात्मनेपदेषु कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिष्ठतेर्धातोः घुसंज्ञकानाञ्च इकारश्चान्तादेशः सिच्च किद्भवति आत्मनेपदेषु परतः ॥

17. The affix *sich* before Atmanepada affixes, is *kit* after *sthâ* "to stand" and *ghu* (I. 1. 20) verbs, and these verbs change their आ into इ before these terminations.

The roots स्था 'to stand,' दा 'to give,' धा 'to place', दे 'to pity', धे 'to feed', दो 'to cut' change their vowels into इ before the terminations of the Aorist of the Atmanepada; and those terminations are also *kit*. As उपास्थित, 'he worshipped', उपास्थिषाताम्, उपास्थिषत; अदित 'he gave', अधित 'he fed.'

न क्त्वा सेट् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, क्त्वा, सेट, (कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्त्वाप्रत्ययः सेण्न किद्भवति ॥

18. The affix *ktvâ* when it takes the augment इट् (*i. e.* when it is sét) is not *kit*.

We had had occasion to refer to this sûtra in explaining sûtra 7. The affix *ktvâ* (the actual affix being *tvâ*, the *k* being merely *it* or indicatory letter) is on the face of it a *kit* affix. This sûtra however limits its kitness to cases where it is not *séṭ*. If it is *séṭ*, *i.e.* has before it the intermediate इ it will not be treated like a *kit* affix. Thus in कृत्वा, हुत्वा, the affix त्वा is added directly to the root कृ 'to do' and हु 'to sacrifice,' without an intermediate इ and therefore the root has not been gunated, the affix here being *kit*. But in

स्वेदित्वा, देवित्वा. वर्त्तित्वा, from स्विद्, दिव् and वृत् 'to sweat,' 'to shine,' 'to be,' the affix is not *kit*, because there is an intermediate इ before त्वा and the root has been consequently gunated.

Of course this sûtra relates to क्त्वा *ktvâ* only. Other affixes though having an intermediate इ will be treated as *kit*, if they have an indicatory क्. Thus the affix क्तिन् (III. 3. 94) by which feminine nouns are formed from roots is a कित् affix. This affix when सेट्, will remain कित्, as नि+ग्रह्+इट्+क्तिन्=नि+गृह्+इ+ ति (VI. 1. 16)=निगृहीतिः (VII 2. 37). Here there is samprasâraṇa by treating *ktin* as *kit*. So also in उपस्निहितिः and निकुचितिः there is no guṇa. After ग्रह् &c., the affix क्तिन् takes the augment इट् by a Vârtika under sûtra VII. 2, 9 which see.

निष्ठा शीङ्स्विदिमिदिक्ष्विदिधृषः ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, शीङ्-स्विदि-मिदि-क्ष्विदि-धृषः (न, सेट्, कित्)

वृत्तिः ॥ शीङ् स्विदि मिदि क्ष्विदि धृष् इत्येतेभ्यः परो निष्ठा प्रत्ययः सेण् न किद्भवति ॥

19. The sét Nishthâ affixes are not *kit* after the verbs *s'î* 'to lie down,' *svid* 'to sweat,' *mid* 'to melt,' *ksbvid* 'to be unctuous,' and *dhṛish* 'to offend.'

The Nishṭhâs are *kta* and *ktavatu* (see sûtra 26, Chapter I). They are obviously *kit* affixes. But in the case of the above five roots they are not *kit*, and the vọwels take guṇa. Thus शयितः slept, शयितवान्, प्रस्वेदितः, प्रमेदितः, प्रक्ष्वेदितः ; प्रस्वेदितवान्, प्रमेदितवान्, प्रक्ष्वेदितवान्, प्रधर्षितः, प्रधर्षितवान् &c. In all the above roots the *Nishṭha* affixes are also *séṭ*.

The roots स्विद् (ञिष्विदा), मिद् (ञिमिदा), क्ष्विद् (ञिक्ष्विदा) and धृष् (ञिधृषा) have all long आ as indicatory, as well as the syllable ञि. These roots therefore by Rule VII. 2. 16 are generally *aniṭ*, and consequently beyond the scope of the *operation* of the present sûtra. As स्विन्नः, स्विन्नवान्. But when the Nishṭhâ affixes denote 'a state or condition, bhâva,' or 'beginning of action,' then the above four roots optionally become *seṭ*. (VII. 2. 17). It is in that case that the present sûtra is applicable to them.

मृषस्तितिक्षायाम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ मृषः, तितिक्षायाम् (निष्ठा सेट् न कित्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ मृषेर्धातोः तितिक्षायामर्थे निष्ठासेण् न किद्भवति ॥

20. The séṭ Nishṭhâ is not *kit* after the verb mṛish when meaning 'to forbear.'

Thus मर्षितः 'forborne', मर्षितवान् 'forbore.'

Why do we say 'when meaning to forbear?' When it has not this sense, the séṭ nishṭhâ will be कित्. As अपमृषितं वाक्यमाह 'he spoke unintelligible language.'

उदुपधाद्भावादिकर्मणोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्-उपधात्, भाव-आदि-कर्मणोः, अन्यतरस्याम् (निष्ठा सेट् न कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदुपधाद्धातोः परो भावे आदिकर्मणि च वर्तमानो निष्ठाप्रत्ययः सेडन्यतरस्यां न किद्भवति ॥

21. The sét Nishthâ is optionally not *kit*, after the verbs with a penultimate उ if used impersonally or denoting the beginning of action.

According to some the *seṭ Nishṭhâ* suffixes are not *kit* after the verbs having a penultimate उ if those verbs are used impersonally (bhâva) or denote the beginning of action (âdi-karman). Thus द्युत 'to shine', द्युतितमनेन or द्योतितमनेन 'it has been lighted.' Similarly प्रद्योतितः or प्रद्युतितः 'he first illumined.' The word penultimate or *upadhâ* has been defined in sûtra 65 ante.

If the vorb has any other vowel than उ as penultimate, then the rule does not apply. As लिखितमनेन 'written by him.' Here इ is penultimate; and therefore no option is allowed.

This rule has no application where the Nishṭhâ does not express either भाव 'condition' or 'Impersonal action'; or आदिकर्म 'beginning of action', but is used as a verbal adjective. As रुचितं कार्षापणं ददाति 'he gives a shining coin (called kârshâpaṇa).' Here the word रुचित 'shining' is used as adjective.

The rule applies to the Nishṭhâ which takes the intermediate इ and not to others as प्रभुक्त ओदनः 'the rice that has been eaten.' Here no option is allowed.

This optional form of past participle is restricted in its scope. Those verbs which take the vikaraṇa शप् *i.e.*, the verbs of the *Bhu* class &c., admit of this option. Thus गुध् 'to wrap up' belongs to Divâdi class, and therefore, its participle has one form only as गुधितं.

पूङः क्त्वा च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूङः, क्त्वा, च (सेट्, कित्, न निष्ठा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूङः परो निष्ठा प्रत्ययः क्त्वा च सेण्न किद्भवति ॥

22. The sét Nishthâ and the sét *ktvâ* are not *kit* after the verb pûṅ 'to purify.'

The word 'optionally' of the previous sûtra 21 does not govern this sûtra, because the word 'optionally' has been again used in the next sûtra 23; of which there would have been no necessity had the word 'optionally' governing force in this sûtra, for then this would have also governed the next sûtra. The *anuvṛiti* of न सेट् however is to be read in this sûtra.

By rule VII. 2. 51, after the verb पू the affixes Nishṭhâ and क्त्वा *ktvâ* take the intermediate इ. So that क्त्वा *ktvâ* being *séṭ* (by virtue of Rule VII. 2. 51) would have been non-kit by Rule 18; and it might be asked what is the necessity of repeating it in this sûtra, when sûtra 18 comprised the case. The reason of this repetition is that by mentioning क्त्वा *ktvâ* in this sûtra, it has governing force over the succeeding sûtras. As पवितः, पवितवान्

नोपधात् थफान्ताद्वा ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-उपधात्-थ-फ-अन्तात्-वा (क्त्वा सेट् न कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारोपधाद्धातोस्थकारान्तात्फकारान्ताच्च परः क्त्वा प्रत्ययः सेड्वा न किद्भवति ॥

23. The séṭ *ktvâ* is optionally *kit*, after the verbs having a penultimate न् and ending in थ् and फ्.

The *séṭ ktvâ* may or may not be *kit* after the verbs ending in थ् or फ् preceded by a nasal. The result of being *kit* will be that nasal will be dropped. In other words the dropping of the nasal is optional in such verbs. Thus from ग्रंथ् we have ग्रथित्वा or ग्रन्थित्वा 'having twisted,' गुफित्वा or गुंफित्वा 'having tied round', श्रथित्वा or श्रन्थित्वा.

The word "Nishṭhâ" does not govern this sûtra, and comes to an end with the last sûtra.

This rule does not apply to verbs that have not a penultimate न् though they may end in थ् or फ्. As रेफित्वा 'having reviled', गोफित्वा 'having tied.' Here by rule 18, the त्वा *tvâ* being non-kit, the vowels of the root रिफ् and गुफ् have been guṇated.

A verb may have a penultimate न्, but if it has not final थ or फ, the rule does not apply. As स्रंस् + इत्वा = स्रंसित्वा 'having dropped', ध्वंसित्वा 'having killed." Had it been *kit*, the nasal would have been dropped.

वञ्चिलुञ्च्यृतश्च ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वञ्चि-लुञ्चि-ऋतः, च, (क्त्वा सेट् न कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वञ्चि लुञ्चि ऋत् इत्येतेभ्यः परः क्त्वा प्रत्ययः सेड्वा न किद्भवति ॥

24. The séṭ *ktvâ* is optionally *kit*, after the verbs *vañch* 'to cheat' *luñch* 'to pluck' and ṛit 'to dare or abhor.'

After the above three verbs, the *ktvâ* affix being *séṭ*, may or may not be *kit*. As वचित्वा or वंचित्वा 'having cheated.' So also लुचित्वा or लुंचित्वा 'having plucked', ऋतित्वा or अर्तित्वा 'having dared.'

When the verb ऋत् *ṛit* takes the affix ईयङ् it is not governed by this sûtra. See sûtra III. 1. 29.

When the *ktvâ* is not *seṭ*, but *aniṭ*, then there is no option allowed. As वच् + क्त्वा = वक्त्वा.

तृषिमृषिकृशेः काश्यपस्य ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृषि-मृषि-कृशेः, काश्यपस्य, (क्त्वा सेट् न कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृषि मृषि कृषि इत्येतेभ्यः परः क्त्वा प्रत्ययः सेट् काश्यपस्याचार्यस्य मते वा न कित्स्यात् ॥

25. The sét *ktvâ* is optionally *kit*, according to the opinion of Rishi Kâs'yapa, after the verbs tṛish 'to be thirsty,' mṛish 'to sprinkle,' and kṛis' 'to become lean.'

As तृषित्वा or तर्षित्वा 'having thirsted,' मृषित्वा or मर्षित्वा 'having sprinkled,' कृशित्वा or कर्शित्वा 'having become lean.' By sûtra 18, the *seṭ ktvâ* is never *kit*. This sûtra adds another exception to that general rule.

The special mention of Kâsyapa is for the sake of showing respect. The वा is already understood in this sûtra by Anuvṛitti from sûtra 23.

रलो व्युपधाद्धलादेः संश्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रलः, उ-इ-उपधात्, हल्-आदेः, सन्, च (वा सेट् कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारोपधादिकारोपधाच्च धातोः रलन्ताद्धलादेः परः संश्च क्त्वाच सेटौ वा कितौ भवतः ॥

26. After a verb which begins with a consonant, and ends in a letter of *Ral pratyâhâra*, and has as its penultimate इ or ई, उ or ऊ, the *ktvâ* and *san* affixes are optionally *kit*.

The wording of this sûtra requires a little explanation. It consists of the following words :—

1. रलः ralaḥ, ablative of रल् (after the consonants included in the *Pratâyâhara ral* i.e., all the consonants except य् *y* and व् *v*) :—Verbs having their final letter any single consonant except य् *y* and व् *v*.

2. व्युपधात् means "after penultimate वी." It is a compound of वी + उपधा. The वी itself is a compound of उ + इ = वि, in the dual वी. Therefore the phrase means "after (verbs) having for their penultimate either इ *i* or उ *u* long or short."

3. हलादेः means "beginning with a consonant."

All these three words qualify the word "verb" understood.

4. संश्च means "and san."

The sûtra means, those verbs which have a रल letter in the end, a हल् in the beginning, and an इ, ई or उ, ऊ in their penultimate, may optionally treat the affixes *ktvâ* and *san* as कित्.

Thus द्युत् 'to shine,' makes द्युतित्वा or द्योतित्वा 'having shone,' लिख् 'to write' makes लिखित्वा or लेखित्वा.

Similarly in *san* affix we have लिलिखिषति or लिलेखिषति 'he wishes to write', दिद्युतिषते or दिद्योतिषते 'he wishes to shine.'

The rule does not apply if the verb ends in a letter other than हल्. As दिव् + क्त्वा = देवित्वा; its desiderative will be दिदेविषति. No option is allowed here.

Similarly there is no option when the penultimate vowel is not इ or उ. As वृत् + क्त्वा = वर्तित्वा. Des. विवर्तिषते.

The rule also does not apply if the verb does not begin with a consonant. As एषित्वा and एषिषिषति. There is no option allowed here.

The rule does not apply if the क्त्वा and सन् are *aniṭ*. As भुक्त्वा, बुभुक्षते.

In these 26 sûtras the description of affixes which are treated like ङित् and कित् is comprised.

ऊकालोऽज्झ्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊ-कालः अच्, ह्रस्व-दीर्घ-प्लुतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उ ऊ ऊ३ इत्येवं कालोऽज् यथाक्रमं ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुत इत्येवं संज्ञो भवति ॥

27. A vowel whose time is that of short *u*, long *û* and the prolated *u*, is called respectively *hrasva* short, *dîrgha* long, and *pluta* prolated.

The उ *u* having one mâtrâ or measure is short, having two measures is long, having three measures is pluta. This sûtra defines the three kinds of vowels according to their *mâtrâ*. The letter ऊ *û* has been taken to illustrate the rule. The phrase ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः is a Dvandva compound, in the Singular, and is exhibited in the masculine gender, contrary to the gener al rule II. 4. 17.

The word *kâla* means measure of time required for pronouncing a vowel.

As दधि 'curd', मधु 'honey'. Here इ and उ are short. कुमारी, गौरी, here ई is long. देवदत्ता३ अत्रासि Devadatta! Here आ *a* is pluta or prolated.

These words are used in the following sûtras: I, 2. 47; VII. 4. 25; VIII. 2. 82.

अचश्च ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः च, (ह्रस्व दीर्घ प्लुतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्व दीर्घ प्लुताः स्वसंज्ञयाविधीयमाना अच्एवस्थाने वेदितव्याः ॥

28. The short, long, and prolated, when enunciated as such, by using these terms, are to be understood to come in the place of vowels only.

This is a paribhasha sûtra, and declares the object to which the terms 'short,' 'long' and 'prolated' are to be applied. When in this book 'short'

'long' or 'prolated' are taught by using the words *hrasva, dirgha* or *pluta*, they must be understood to apply to vowels. As will be found in the sûtra I. 2. 47.[1] "there is the substitution of *hrasva* or short in the neuter gender of the crude-form." The word 'vowel' must be inserted in this sûtra to complete the sense. That is:—the hrasva is substituted for the final *vowel* of the crude-form. As रै अतिरि, नौ अतिनु, गा उपगु.

The substitution must take the place of vowel and not consonant. As सुवाग् ब्राह्मणकुलम्.

Similarly sûtra VII. 4. 25[2] teaches "There is the substitution of *dirgha* or 'long vowel' before all affixes beginning with the letter य्, except *krit* and Sârvadhâtuka affixes." Here also the word 'vowel' must be read into the sûtra which will then be "*of an inflective base ending in a vowel*, the long vowel shall be the substitute &c." As चि+यङ्+त=चीयते 'it is collected'; श्रु+य+त=श्रूयते 'it is heard.' Why do we say "in the place of vowels only"? The substitution must take place in the room of a vowel and not of a consonant. As भिद् + य + ते = भिद्यते 'it is divided,' छिद्यते it is pierced.'

So also in the case of *pluta* substitution. Thus rules VIII. 2. 82 and 84,[3] declare that in calling from a distance, *pluta* is substituted for the टि portion of the word in the vocative. (The word टि is defined in I. 1. 64). Here also the phrase 'of the vowel' must be read into the sûtra to complete the sense. The sûtra will then read:—"*Pluta* is substituted in the place of the vowel of the टि &c." Thus देवदत्त३, O Devadatta! यज्ञदत्त३ O Yajñadatta!

Wy do we say "in the place of *vowels* only"? The substitution must be in the place of the vowel of the टि and not of the consonant. As अग्निचि३त्, सोमसु३त्. Here the syllables इत् and उत् are टि, and the vowels इ and उ have been prolated and not the consonant त्.

The substitution must be enunciated as such by using the terms, hrasva, dîrgha, and pluta. Therefore it is not so here; द्यौः, पन्थाः, सः, द्युभ्याम्, द्युभिः See I. 1. 4,

उच्चैरुदात्तः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उच्चैः, उदात्तः, (अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उच्चैरुपलभ्यमानो योऽच् स उदात्तसंज्ञो भवति ॥

29. The vowel that is perceived as having a high tone is called *Udâtta* or acutely accented.

With this sûtra begins the description of the three sorts of vowel accents. The accent placed on a vowel by raising the voice is called udâtta or *acute* accent. As अग्निः agniḥ, here *i* has the acute accent. The udâtta is not marked

(1) ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य ॥ (2) अकृत्सार्वधातुकयोर्दीर्घः ॥ (3) वाक्यस्यटेः प्लुत उदात्तः ॥ दूराद्धूतेच ॥

in writing. The word 'vowel' of the previous sûtra is understood in this also. These accents are the qualities of letters, and are well known in the sacred and secular literature. The vowel which is perceived as having a high tone is called udâtta. This tone depends upon the organ from which the vowel is pronounced. In the various organs, such as the throat, palate, &c., if a vowel is pronounced from a higher part of that organ, it is called udâtta. The vowel in the pronouncing of which there is the restraining and checking of the bodily parts, and in which there is dryness and roughness of tone as well as a contraction of the larynx, is said to have the acute accent. The word is used in sûtra III. 1. 3.[1] "The first vowel of an affix has the udâtta accent." As कृ + तव्यम् = कर्तव्यम् kartâvyam.

नीचैरनुदात्तः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नीचैः, अनुदात्तः, (अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नीचैरुपलभ्यमानो योऽच् सोऽनुदात्तसंज्ञो भवति ॥

30. The vowel that is perceived as having a low tone is called *Anudâtta* or gravely accented.

The word "vowel" of s. 28 is understood in this sûtra. As अग्निः agniḥ, here अ has the grave accent. The vowel accent known as grave or anudâtta is pronounced by lowering the voice. In writing, the anudâtta is marked by a line underneath the vowel. The vowel which is uttered from the lower portions of its special place of pronunciation gets the grave accent.

This word is used in sûtra III. 1. 4.[2] "the case terminations called सुप् and those affixes that have an indicatory प् are anudâtta" &c. As त्रयः, बोधामि.

In pronouncing an anudâtta vowel, there is slackening of the organs, and mildness, as well as softness and sweetness of tone: while there is expansion and widening of the larynx.

समाहारः स्वरितः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ समाहारः, स्वरितः (अचः, उदात्तः, अनुदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरसमाहारो योऽच् स स्वरितसंज्ञो भवति ॥

31. The vowel that has the combination of *Udâtta* and *Anudâtta* tones is said to be *svarita* or circumflexly accented.

The word "vowel" of s. 28 is understood here also. The svarita or circumflexed accent is pronounced by the combined raising and falling of the voice. It is marked by a perpendicular line on the top of the letter.

The word is used in sûtra VI. 1. 185.[3] "The affixes having an indicatory त् *t* have svarita accent." As कन्या kanyâ, शिक्यम् s'ikyàm, क्व *kvà*.

(1) आद्युदात्तश्च ॥ (2) अनुदात्तौ सुप्पितौ ॥ (3) तित्स्वरितम् ॥

This sûtra is not to be understood to mean that a *svarita* is the resultant of the combination of two vowels, an udâtta vowel with an anudâtta vowel It means the accent midway between the two well-known qualities of letters known as *acute* and *grave* accents.

तस्यादित उदात्तमर्द्धह्रस्वम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, आदितः, उदात्तम्, अर्द्ध-ह्रस्वम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्य स्वरितस्य आदावर्द्धह्रस्वमुदात्तम् भवति ॥

32. Of it (svarita) the first portion is *udâtta*, to the extent of a half measure, of prosodial length.

It has been defined that svarita accent is a combination of udâtta and anudâtta. It remained doubtful what portion was acute and what grave. The present sûtra clears up the difficulty, by declaring that in svarita, the first half is accute and the other grave.

The phrase *ardhahrasva* is used to indicate half the measure of a short vowel. Thus if a short vowel is *svarita*, its mâtrâ being one, half will be *udâtta* and the other half *anudâtta*. If a long vowel, whose mâtrâs are two, be *svarita* then ½ will be *udâlta*, 1½ will be *anudâtta*. If a *pluta* (protracted) vowel be *svarita*, then first half measure will be *udâtta*, and the remaining 2½ measures will be *anudâtta*. In short, the udâtta portion of a *svarita* must not occupy more time than is taken in pronouncing a half short vowel. Thus in शिक्यम् s'ikyam, the *a* is *svarita*, half being acute, the other half grave or monotony; in कन्या *kanyâ*, the long *â* is *svarita*, its first half measure is acute, the remaining 1½ is grave; in माणवका३ mânavakâ, here *a* prolated is svarita, its first ½ is acute, the balance 2½ measure is grave.

एकश्रुतिदूरात्सम्बुद्धौ ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकश्रुति, दूरात्, सम्बुद्धौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकश्रुति वाक्यं भवति दूरात्सम्बुद्धौ सति ॥

33. In addressing a person from a distance, the tone is called Ekas'ruti or monotony.

Monotony or Ekas'ruti is that tone which is perceived when a person is addressed; in it there is an absence of all the three tones mentioned above; and there is no definite pitch in it. It is, therefore, the ordinary recitative tone.

The word 'Sambuddhi' means here addressing a person from a distance; and has not its technical meaning of the singular number of the vocative case. As आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्ता३ 'O boy Devadatta! come.' There is vanishing of all the accents in the above case; and the final short vowel of Devadatta is changed into *pluta* by the rule already referred to in s. 28 ante VIII. 2. 84 दूराद्धूतेच) ॥

If the person is not addressed from a distance, then the word will get its proper accent. As आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्त 'come, O boy Devadatta.'

यज्ञकर्मण्यजपन्यूङ्खसामसु ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्ञ-कर्मणि, अज-प-न्यूङ्ख-सामसु, (एकश्रुतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जपन्यूङ्खसामानि वर्जयित्वा यज्ञकर्मणि मन्त्राणामैकश्रुत्यं भवति ॥

34. In sacrificial works, there is Monotony, except in *japa* (silent repetition of a formula), Nyûṅkha vowels (sixteen sorts of om) and the *Sâma* vedas.

In "sacrificial works" or on occasions of sacrifice, the mantras of the Veda are recited in Ekas'ruti or monotony. But on occasions of ordinary reading, the mantras are to be recited with their proper three-fold accents.

"Japa" is the repetition of mantras, and their recitation in a low voice or whisper. Nyûṅkha is the name of certain hymns of the veda, and the names of 16 sorts of "Om." Some of these are pronounced with udâtta and others with anudâtta accent. Sâmas are songs, or the musical cadence in which some vedic hymns are to be uttered. As:— अग्निर्मूर्द्धा दिवः ककुत्पतिः पृथिव्या अयम्। अपाम् रेतांसि जिन्वतो३ म् (Rig Veda VIII. 14. 16).

When a mantra is recited as a *japa*, then it must be pronounced with accents :—As ममाग्ने वर्चो विहवेष्वस्तु (Rig Veda X. 128. 1).

When not employed on occasions of sacrifice, but are ordinarily read, the mantras must have their proper accent, and there will be no Ekas'ruti.

In the sâma chanting, the mantras should have their accent, there can be no Ekas'ruti there. As ए३विश्वं समत्रिणं दहा३. Here there is no Ekas'ruti.

उच्चैस्तरां वा वषट्कारः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उच्चैस्तराम्, वा, वषट्कारः, (यज्ञकर्मणि, एकश्रुतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञकर्मणि वषट्कारः उच्चैस्तरां वा भवति एक श्रुतिर्वा ॥

35. The pronunciation of the word vashat may optionally be by raising the voice (acutely accented), or it may be pronounced with monotony.

The phrase "yajña-karma" is understood here. Even in yajña-karmas or sacrifices the word वौषट् may optionally be pronounced in a raised tone. The word वषट् in the sûtra signifies वौषट्. But why was not the word वौषट् used in the text? It could have been used with as much ease as वषट्. To this natural query, the only answer is, विचित्रा: हि सूत्रस्य कृतिः पाणिनेः strange and wonderful is the structure of Panini's aphorisms, Thus सोमस्याग्ने वीही३ वौ३ षट् or सोमस्याग्ने वीही३ वौ३ षट्.

विभाषा छन्दसि ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, छन्दसि, (एकश्रुतिः)

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये विभाषा एक श्रुतिर्भवति पक्षान्तरे त्रैस्वर्यमेव भवति ॥

36. The Monotony is optional in the recitation of the Vedas, or they may be recited with accents.

In the Chhandas or the Vedas there is option either to use the Ekas'ruti tone or the three tones. Even on the occasion of ordinary reading, the Chhandas might be uttered either with the three accents or monotonously. Some say this is a limited option (vyavasthita-vibhâshâ).

The option allowed by this sûtra is to be adjusted in this way. In reading the Mantra portion of the Veda, every word must be pronounced with its proper accent: but in the Brâhmaṇa portion of the Veda there might be Ekas'ruti; while some say there must be Ekas'ruti necessarily and not optionally in the recitation of the Brahmaṇas.

Thus :—अग्निमीळे पुरोहितं or simply अग्निमीळे पुरोहितं. "I praise Agni the purohita."

The word वा "optionally" of the last sûtra could easily have been read into this sûtra by the rule of *anuvṛitti*; why then use the word विभाषा "optional" again? To this we reply, this apparently redundant repetition is for the sake of indicating that the *anuvṛitti* of the word यज्ञकर्मणि, which was understood in the last sûtra, does not extend to this. Had we taken the anuvṛitti of वा, the other word also would have been attracted; hence the separate use of the word विभाषा.

न सुब्रह्मण्यायां स्वरितस्य तूदात्तः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, सुब्रह्मण्यायाम् स्वरितस्य , तु , उदात्तः , (एकश्रुतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुब्रह्मण्यायामेकश्रुतिर्नभवति । यस्तु लक्षणप्राप्तः स्वरितस्तस्योदात्त आदेशो भवति ॥

37. There should be no Monotony in the recitation of the Subrahmaṇya hymns and in those hymns, the vowels, that would otherwise have taken the svarita accent, take the *udâtta* accent instead.

The subrahmaṇya hymns are portions of the Rig Veda mentioned in the s'atapatha Brâhmaṇa.

This sûtra prohibits Ekas'ruti in the case of certain prayers called s'ubrahmaṇya. By rule 34 read with 36 *ante*, prayers might be *optionally* uttered with Ekas'ruti accent. This ordains an exception to that rule In subrahmaṇya prayers there is no ekas'ruti; and in these hymns, a vowel which otherwise by any rule of grammar would have taken a svarita accent, takes an udâtta accent instead.

As सुब्रह्मण्योऽ३ मिन्द्रागच्छ हरिव आगच्छ. Here the word सुब्रह्मण्य is formed by the addition of the affix यत् to the word सुब्रह्मण् , and this य will get *svarita*

accent by VI. 1. 185, (तित्स्वरितम्) as it has an indicatory त्; by the present sûtra, this nascent *svarita* is changed into udâtta. In the phrase इन्द्र आगच्छ, the word Indra being in the vocative case, इ is udâtta, the अ of *Indra* is anudâtta VI. 1. 198[1]. The *anudâtta* preceded by an udâtta is changed into *svarita* (VIII. 4. 66)[2].

Thus the अ of इन्द्र must become svarita, but by the present sûtra this nascent *svarita* is changed into an uddâtta. Thus in इन्द्र, both vowels become udâtta. In the word आगच्छ, the आ is *udâtta*; the next letter which was anudâtta becomes *svaritta*, and from *svarita* it is changed to *udâtta* by the present rule. Thus in the sentence इन्द्र आगच्छ the first four syllables are all acutely accented, the fifth syllable is only *anudâtta*. So also in हरिव आगच्छ, for the reasons given above, the letters व and च्छ are anudátta, the rest are all acutely accented.

देवब्रह्मणोरनुदात्तः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ देव-ब्रह्मणोः, अनुदात्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवब्रह्मणोः स्वरितस्यानु दात्त आदेशो भवति ॥

38. The word *deva* and Brahmâṇa in those hymns have *anudâtta* accent.

By sûtra 37, it was declared, that in subrahmaṇya hymns, *svarita* accent is replaced by *udâtta* accent. This sûtra makes an exception in favour of the words देवा and ब्राह्मण occurring in those hymns. These words have *anudâtta* accent. As देवा ब्रह्माण आगच्छत 'come ye Devâs and Brahmâṇas.' Here the word देवा gets udâtta accent on the first syllable by rule VI. 1. 198[1]. (in the vocative the accent is on the beginning): वा *vâ* has originally an anudâtta accent which by rule VIII. 4. 66 [2] (an *anudâtta* following an *udâtta* is changed into *svarita*) would have been changed into *svarita*. This *svarita*, by the previous sûtra required to be changed into *udâtta*; but by this rule, it is replaced by *anudâtta*. In other words, the original *anudâtta* remains unchanged.

स्वरितात्संहितायामनुदात्तानाम् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितात्, संहितायाम्, अनुदात्तानाम्, (एकश्रुतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संहितायाम् विषये स्वरितात्परेषामनुदात्तानामेकश्रुतिर्भवति ॥

39. The Monotony takes the place of the *anudâtta* vowels which follow the *svarita* vowels. in close proximity (*sanhitâ*).

Sanhitâ is the joining of two or more words in a sentence, for the purposes of reading or reciting. When words are thus glued together, then

(1) आमन्त्रितस्य च ॥ (2) उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः ॥

the *anudâtta* accents become Ekas'ruti if they are preceded by *svarita* vowels; and are pronounced monotonously. As इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वती (Rig Veda X. 75. 5) O Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvsti! this mine.

Here the word इमं has udâtta on the last syallable: the word मे is originally *anudâtta*, but by rule VIII. 4. 66 [1] following an *udâtta*, it is changed into *svarita*; after this *svatrita* all *anudâtta* like गङ्गे, &c., are replaced by ekas'ruti. All the vowels of the words गङ्गे, यमुने &c., had anudátta accent by rule VIII. 1. 19 [2] (all vocatives get anudâtta if standing in the middle of a sentence and not beginning a stanza.)

The word "sanhita" has been used in the sûtra to show that when there is a hiatus between the words then there is no change of anudâtta into ekas'ruti. The word sanhitâ will be defined in sûtra I. 4. 109 [3].

उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य सन्नतरः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उदात्त-स्वरितपरस्य, सन्नतरः, (अनुदात्तानाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तपरस्य स्वरितपरस्य चानुदात्तस्य सन्नतरआदेशो भवति ॥

40. The accent called *Sannatara* is substituted in the room of an *anudâtta* vowel, which has an *udâtta* or *svarita* vowel following it.

In the previous sûtra it was said that an *anudâtta* preceded by a *svarita* becomes Ekas'ruti. If, however, such an *anudâtta* is followed by an udâtta or a *svarita*, it does not become Ekas'ruti but becomes *sannatara*, *i.e.* lower than *anudâtta*.

The *sannatara* is therefore that accent which was originally *anudâtta*, and which is preceded by a *svarita* and is followed by an udâtta or a *svarita*.

This is one explanation of the sûtra. There is another explanation which does not take the anuvritti of Ekas'ruti in this sûtra. The anudâtta is replaced by *sannatara* when such anudâtta immediately precedes an udâtta or a *svarita*. The *sannatara* is also called anudâtta. As देवा मरुतः पृश्निमातरोपः ॥

Here the word मातरः is anudâtta. The word अपः has udâtta on the last syllable by VI. 1. 171.[4] In the phrase मातरोपः (मातरः + अपः) the syllable रो is anudâtta, because anudâtta + anudâtta = anudâtta. This *anudâtta* ओ, preceding the *udâtta* पः, is changed into *sannatara*.

अपृक्त एकाल्प्रत्ययः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपृक्तः, एक-अल्, प्रत्ययः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपृक्त इतीयं संज्ञा भवति एकाल् यः प्रत्ययस्तस्य ॥

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(1) उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः (2) आमन्त्रितस्य च ॥ (3) परः संनिकर्षः संहिता ॥ (4) उडिदम्पदाद्यप्पुम्रैद्युभ्यः ॥

41. An affix consisting of a single letter is called an *Aprikta*.

This defines *Aprikta* affixes. They are those affixes which consist of only one letter of the alphabet. Thus the affix त् *t* in असेधीत् is a one lettered suffix and is an *Aprikta*. Similarly the âffix क्विन् *kvin* is an *Aprikta*, because the letters क्, इ, and न् are merely indicatory, the real affix is व् *v*. This व् *v* being a single letter, and therefore an *Aprikta*, when added to a base, is elided by rule VI. 1. 67 [1] (the *Aprikta* व् *v* is elided). Thus घृतस्पृश्+क्विन्=घृतस्पृक्+व् = (III. 2. 58)[2] = घृतस्पृक् ॥ अंशभज् + ण्वि = अंशभाक् 'co-sharer.' (III. 2. 62).[3] An affix which consists of more than one letter is not an *Aprikta*. As दर्विः 'a ladle' formed by the Uṇâdi affix विन् (वृदृभ्यां विन्).

तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषः, समानाधिकरणः, कर्मधारयः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणपदः कर्मधारयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

42. A Tat-purusha compound, the case of each member of which is the same, is called *karmadhâraya* or Appositional Determinative compound.

"Karmadhâraya or Appositional Determinative compounds form a sub-division of the determinative compounds (Tat-purusha). In them the first portion stands as the predicate of the second portion, such as in black-beetle, sky-blue." (Max Muller).

The compounds like नीलोत्पलं 'the blue lotus', परमात्मा 'the supreme spirit' &c., are examples of karmadhâraya compounds. "The component words, if dissolved, would stand in the same case, (samânâdhikaraṇa), whereas in other Tat-purushas, the preceding word is governed by the last."

As, परमराज्यम्, is a karmadhâraya compound meaning "the best Government." Had it not been a karmadhâraya compound, the *udâtta* accent would have fallen on the syllable रा by rule VI. 2. 130,[4] (the word राज्यम् has udâtta on the first syllable in Tat-purusha compounds, except in karmadhâraya).

Similarly पाचिका + वृन्दारिका = पाचकवृन्दारिका (VI. 3. 42.[5] the feminine adjective is changed into masculine in the karmadhâraya).

Each member of a compound may have the same case, but if it is not a Tat-purusha compound, it won't be karmadhâraya. As पाचिका+भार्या = पाचिकाभार्यः. 'He who has a wife for a cook.' This is an example of a Bahuvrîhi compound, and therefore the word पाचिका retains its gender sign.

(1) वेरपृक्तस्य ॥ (2) स्पृशोऽनुदके क्विन् ॥ (3) भजो ण्विः ॥ (4) अकर्मधारये राज्यम् ॥ (5) पुंवत्कर्मधारयजातीयदेशीयेषु ॥

A compound may be a Tat-purusha, but if its component parts do not refer to the same thing and are not in the same case, it won't be karmadhâraya:—ब्राह्मण राज्यम् Brâhmaṇa râjyam, 'a Brahmana kingdom.' Here राज्यम् gets udâtta on the first syllable by the rule already mentioned (VI. 2. 130).

प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं समासउपसर्जनम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमा-निर्दिष्टम्, समासे, उपसर्जनम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमया विभक्तया यन्निर्दिश्यते समासशास्त्रे तदुपसर्जनसंज्ञं भवति ॥

43. In (this book, in the sûtras relating to) compound, the word that is exhibited in the first (Nominative) case, is called *upasarjana* or the secondary word.

This defines or rather describes the Upasarjana. In the sûtras referring to compounds, the words that have the case termination of the nominative, are called Upasarjanam.

Thus sûtra II. 1. 24 (द्वितीया श्रितातीत पतितगतात्यस्तप्राप्तापन्नैः) is a samasa sûtra enjoining composition. In this sûtra the word द्वितीया is exhibited in the nominative case, and the remaining words are in the Instrumental case. The sûtra means: "An accusative (द्वितीया) is compounded with the words श्रित, अतीत, पतित, गत, अत्यस्त, प्राप्त, and आपन्न and forms Tat-purusha". Therefore, in forming accusative compounds, the word having the accusative case will be called Upasarjana. Thus कष्ट + श्रितः = कष्टश्रितः. Here the word कष्ट being Upasarjana, stands first in the compound, by Rule II. 2. 30. उपसर्जनं पूर्वम्, (in a compound the Upasarjana should be placed first). Similarly in rules relating to the formation of instrumental, dative, ablative, [genitive and locative Tat-purusha, the words standing in those cases will be Upasarjana. Thus शंकुलाखण्डः, यूपदारु, वृकभयम्, राजपुरुषः, अक्षशौण्डः.

Upasarjana is, therefore, that word which either by composition or derivation loses its original independent character, while it also determines the sense of another word called प्रधान or principal.

एकविभक्ति चापूर्वनिपाते ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक-विभक्ति, च, अपूर्व-निपाते, (उपसर्जनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एका विभक्तिर्यस्य तदिदमेक विभक्ति, समासे विधीयमाने यन्नियतविभक्तिकं द्वितीये सम्बन्धिनि बहुभिर्विभक्तिभिर्युज्यमानेप्येकयैवविभक्त्या युज्यते तदुपसर्जनसंज्ञं भवति, अपूर्वनिपाते, पूर्वनिपातं पूर्वनिपाताख्यमुपसर्जनकार्यं वर्जयित्वा ॥

44. A word which has one fixed case, (while the word compounded with it may vary its case) is also *upasarjana*, except for the purposes of the rule which requires the *upasarjana* to stand first in a compound.

A word which in the analytical statement of the sense of a compound has one fixed case, whilst the word with which it is compounded may vary its case, is also called upasarjana, but does not necessarily stand first.

That which has one fixed case-termination is called *eka-vibhakti*, i.e., a word whose case termination has been determined by a rule of samâsa i.e., while the second word in composition with it may take many case-affixes, it takes only one case affix; apûrva-nipâte, such a word will be an upasarajana for all purposes, except for the purpose of the rule (II. 2. 30)[1] which requires an upasarjana to stand first in a compound.

Thus the prepositions निः &c, when meaning across &c., are compounded with another word in the ablative case. Though the first word may have any one of the several case terminations, the second member must always be in the fifth (ablative) case, when analytically stated. Ex: निष्क्रान्तः + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिः, निष्क्रान्तं + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिम्, निष्क्रान्तेन + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिना, निष्क्रान्ताय + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बये, निष्क्रान्ते + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बौ.

Similarly the word निर्वाराणसिः ॥

If the word, when analytically stated, does not retain the one and the same case, it will not be called upasarjana, as the word कुमारी in the compound राजकुमारी, 'the king's daughter,' because राज्ञः + कुमारी = राजकुमारी; राज्ञः + कुमारीम् = राजकुमारीं; राज्ञः + कुमार्या = राजकुमार्या, राज्ञः + कुमार्यै = राजकुमार्यै.

Had it been an upasarjana, the long ई of री would have been shortened into इ as in the previous example.

This upasarjana, however, contrary to the general rule (II. 2. 30)[1] cannot stand first in the compound, because there is no such form as कौशाम्बीनिः

अर्थवदधातुरप्रत्ययः प्रातिपदिकम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्थवत्, अधातुः, अप्रत्ययः, प्रातिपदिकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्थवच्छब्दरूपं प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञं भवति धातुप्रत्ययौ वर्जयित्वा ॥

45. A significant form of a word, not being a verbal root (*dhâtu*), or an affix (*pratyaya*) is called a *prâtipadika* or crude-form.

This defines the word "prâtipadika" or crude-form. The prâtipadika is the intermediate stage in the development of a full word (pada), from the undifferentiated ore called the dhâtu or root. It is that part of a word which is capable of receiving the case-terminations.

The word अर्थ means having signification. With the exception of verbal roots and affixes, a word-form having a significance or meaning is called

(1) उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् ॥

a prâtipadika, as डित्थः 'a wooden elephant,' कपित्थ 'the wood-apple tree,' कुण्डम् 'a bowl,' पीठम् 'a seat.:

Why do we say "significant"? Of course it must have some meaning. Thus of the word वन, we cannot say that the portion वन् is prâtipadika; as it has no meaning, and had it been a prâtipadika, the final न् would have been dropped by Rule VIII. 2. 7 [1] (the final न् of a prâtipadika is dropped.

The word must not be a verb, as the word अहन् (the third person sing. number, imperfect tense of हन्) he killed. Had it been a prâtipadika, the न् would have been dropped.

The word must not be an affix or ending in an affix:—as कुण्डे 'in the bowl.' Here the word ends in the affix इ of the locative case, and is consequently not a 'prâtipadika' or crude form, but a complete word. Had it been a prâtipadika, the ए would have been shortened into इ by rule 47 succeeding.

A nipâta or particle though not a significant form of a word, yet gets the designation of prâtipadika in the opinion of the author of the Mahâbhâshya. As अध्यागच्छति, प्रलम्बते.

कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्-तद्धित-समासाः , च , (प्रातिपदिकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतस्तद्धिताः समासाश्च प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

46. The forms ending in Kṛit affixes, or *Taddhita* affixes, or compound are also called *Prâtipadika.*

This further explains the use of the word prâtipadika. "Suffixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds. Those by which nouns are derived direct from roots, primary suffixes. Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns, secondary suffixes. The former are called Kṛit, (III. 1. 93) [2], the latter *Taddhita* (IV. 1. 76).[3] Thus जन *jana*, man, is derived from the root जन् *jan* by the kṛit suffix अ; but जनीन *janîna*, appropriate for man, is derived from जन *jana* by the Taddhita affix ईन *îna*. The name prâtipadika would apply both to जन *jana* and जनीन *janîna*, as nominal bases ready to receive the terminations of declension" (Max Müller).

Of the compounds, of which there are six varieties, we had occasion to refer to five already, *viz.* Tat-purusha, Karmadhâraya, Dvandva, Bahuvrîhi and Avyayîbhâva. They will be fully dealt with in their proper places.

In the last sûtra, the words "not ending in an affix" were too extensive; this sûtra makes an important provision in favour of words ending in Kṛit or *Taddhita* affixes. So also compounds are also called prâtipadika. Being restricted to compounds only, it, of course, does not apply to sentences.

(1) नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य ॥ (2) कृदतिङ् ॥ (3) तद्धिताः ॥

The words formed by kṛit affixes are prâtipadika, as कृ (to do)+ण्वुल्= कृ + वु = कार् + अक = कारक. The affix ण्वुल् is a kṛit affix, and it is added to the root to form agent by Rule III. i. 133.[1] The letters ण् and ल् are indicatory, the force of ण् being to cause the vṛidhi of the vowel of the root. The real affix वु is changed into अक by VII. i. 1[2]. the affixes यु and वु are replaced by अन and अक respectively. Thus the form कारक is a prâtipadika, and is capable of declension by receiving case terminations, as कारकः ॥ Similarly कृ+तृच (III. i. 133)[1] =कर्तृ ; nom. case कर्ता.

The word formed by Taddhita affixes are also prâtipadika ; उपगु+ अण् = औपगो + अ = औपगव 'the son of the Rishi Upagu': nom. case औपगवः. Similarly कापटवः.

In fact in the chapters treating of these affixes, the derivative substantives formed by them are always shown by the Indian Grammarians in the nominative case singular number. The examples of nouns given in this book will be always declined nouns and not prâtipadikas, except in peculiar cases. So also in the chapter of samâsa or compounds.

The words ending in compound are prâtipadika : as राज्ञः+पुरुषः=राजपुरुष, nom. case राजपुरुषः.

ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वः, नपुंसके, प्रातिपदिकस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकलिङ्गेऽर्थे यत्प्रातिपदिकं वर्त्तते तस्य ह्रस्वो भवति आदेशोऽलोन्त्यस्याच: ॥

47. The short vowel is substituted in the neuter, for the final vowel, of a prâtipadika.

In the neuter gender, the prâtipadika that would have ended in a long vowel, changes it into short. Thus अति+रै=अतिरि 'extravagant', as अतिरि= कुलम् 'an extravagant family' ; अति लो=अतिलु 'very hairy', अतिलु कुलं 'a very hairy family.'

There is no substitution of short vowel, if the noun is not in the neuter gender, as ग्राम + नी = ग्रामणी, nom. case ग्रामणीः 'the leader of a village or head-borough.' Similarly सेनानीः 'the leader of an army.'

A word may be in the neuter gender, but if it is not a prâtipadika, the vowel is not shortened. As काण्डे तिष्ठतः 'two cantos remain.' Here the ए of काण्डे is formed by the coalescence of अ (of the prâtipadika काण्ड) and ई (the dual case termination) ; thus काण्ड+ई=काण्डे. Now it might be urged that here one letter ए replaces two letters अ and ई. Therefore this substitute is equivalent to each of those letters separately, and consequently ए is the vowel of the prâtipadika and ought to be shortened. But this is not

(1) ण्वुल् तृचौ ॥ (2) युवोरनाकौ ॥

to be so, because the word prâtipadika has been especially mentioned in the text, and therefore this ekâdés'a is not treated as the final of the form which precedes it.

गोस्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्य ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो-स्त्रियोः, उपसर्जनस्य, (प्रातिपदिकस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्जनगोशब्दान्तस्य उपसर्जनस्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तस्य च प्रातिपदिकस्य ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ईयसोबहुव्रीहेः प्रतिषेधावक्तव्यः ॥

48. A short vowel is the substitute of prâtipadika which ends with the word गो 'a cow,' and of that which ends with what has as its termination a feminine affix; when regarded as upasarjana.

The word upasarjana has been defined in sûtra 43. In compounds the word गो becomes shortened when it stands last and is an upasarjana.

Thus चित्र+गो=चित्रगुः 'possessed of a brindled cow.' This is an example of a Bahuvrîhi or possessive compound. So also शबलगु 'a spotted cow.' Similarly in those prâtipadika upasarjanas which end in feminine suffixes having a final long vowel, there is a shortening. Thus निः+कौशाम्बी =निष्कौशाम्बिः. Here the final long ई is shortened. So also निर्वाराणसिः.

The word prâtipadika of the previous sûtra is understood in this. The word गो in the sûtra means the form गो and not other words synonym with it. The word स्त्री means "a word ending in a feminine affix," because it has the *svarita* accent. The word upasarjana qualifies both these words, *i. e.* when गो is an upasarjana and when a word having a feminine termination is an upasarjana.

Other examples are :—अति+खट्वा=अतिखट्वः 'without a bed-stead' अतिमालः 'surpassing a necklace in beauty.'

If such a word is not an upasarjana, there is no shortening, as, राजकुमारी 'the king's daughter.' Here the word राजन् is upasarjana, and not the word कुमारी which latter is therefore not shortened. The word must be a derivative word *formed by the addition of an affix*, which makes it feminine. Thus the words लक्ष्मी, श्री &c. are feminine originally, and are not derived from the masculine nouns, by the addition of any feminine affix. Therefore we have अतिलक्ष्मीः 'surpassing Lakshmi in beauty', अतिश्रीः ॥

Vart:—In Bahuvrîhi compounds, exception must be made of feminine nouns ending in the affix ईयसी, as बहुश्रेयसी, विद्यमानश्रेयसी ।

लुक्तद्धितलुकि ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुक्, तद्धित-लुकि, (स्त्री, उपसर्जनस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितलुकि सति स्त्रीप्रत्ययस्य उपसर्जनस्य लुग्भवति ॥

49. When a Taddhita affix is elided by the word luk, there takes place the elision by luk of the feminine affix of the upasarjana.

The word लुक् defined in sûtra 61, Chapter I, is twice used in this sûtra. Where a Taddhita affix is elided by the word लुक्, there the feminine suffix of the prâtipadika is also dropped, or becomes *luk*. Thus there are certain Taddhita suffixes by which patronymics are formed (one of them being अण्) from other nouns. Before this अण् the initial vowel of the word is vriddhied and the final is gunated. Thus सिन्धु 'ocean', forms सिन्धु + अण् = सैन्धो + अ = सैन्धव "born in ocean or oceanic.' But there are certain words, e. g. श्रविष्ठा, फल्गुणी &c., which are all feminine gender (see sûtra IV. 3. 34)[1] after which the patronymic suffix is totally elided, without leaving any trace of its action, by using the word luk. Thus श्रविष्ठा + (अण्लुक्) = श्राविष्ठः ॥ Here then the present sûtra finds its scope. The Taddhita suffix being *luked*; the original feminine termination आ also becomes *luk*. Therefore the patronymic derivative of श्रविष्ठा (is not a longer word, as might have been expected) but actually a shorter word, namely श्रविष्ठः; similarly from फल्गुनी we have फल्गुनः &c.

Thus there is a feminine suffix called ङीष् (actually ई) and certain words like इन्द्र &c., (IV. 1. 49)[2] take an additional suffix called आनुक् (actually आन्. Thus the feminine of इन्द्र will be इन्द्र + आनुक् + ङीष् = इन्द्र + आन् + ई = इन्द्राणी. Now in forming Dvigu compound (Numeral Determinative compound), the Taddhita suffixes are dropped. Thus पंचकपालः an offering (purodash) made in a dish with five compartments.' In this compound the Taddhita suffix अण् is dropped. Otherwise the form would have been कापालः ॥ Similarly when the word इन्द्राणी forms a Dvigu compound, the Taddhita suffixes are dropped. But not only that, even the original radical affixes are also dropped by force of the present sûtra. Thus पंचेंद्रः which means the cake sacred to the five goddesses इन्द्राणी. Here the full form was पंच + इन्द्राणी + अण्. (The suffix अण् has the force of "sacred to God." Thus इन्द्र + अण् = ऐन्द्र sacred to God Indra). In the above expression, first the Taddhita suffix अण् is *luked* by rule contained in sûtra IV. 1. 88[3] relating to Dvigu compounds: we have then remaining पंच + इन्द्राणी. In this stage, the present sûtra comes into force and declares that where a Taddhita suffix has been *luked*, the final feminine suffixes of the upasarjana prâtipadika are also *luked*. Therefore, the feminine suffixes आनुक् and ङीष् are also dropped, and we have पंचेन्द्रः which means "cake sacred to the five Indrâṇis (goddesses),"

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(1) श्रविष्ठाफल्गुन्यनुराधास्वातितिष्य पुनर्वसुहस्तविशाखाषाढाबहुलाल्लुक् ॥ (2) इन्द्रवरुण-भवशर्वरुद्रमृडहिमारण्ययवयवनमातुलाचार्याणामानुक् ॥ (3) द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये ॥

The word स्त्री and upasarjana of the last sûtra are understood in this. By the last sûtra, a word ending in a feminine affix was told to be shortened when it was an upasarjana; this sûtra teaches the total suppression of such an affix in special cases. To take another example: Thus Rule IV. 3. 163 declares फलेलुक् "luk takes the place of an affix signifying modification or product when fruit is meant." Thus यत् is an affix which means modification. Thus गो + यत् = गव्यम् 'cow's milk or the product of cow.' This affix is suppressed when applied to a tree, in the sense of the fruit of the tree. Thu the fruit of the tree आमलकी will be called आमलकं, *i.e.* first the Taddhita affix is *luked*, and then the feminine affix is also dropped. Similarly fruits of वदरी or बकुली trees are बदरं or बकुलं.

This rule only applies when a Taddhita affix is elided; and not so when any other affix is *luked*. Thus गार्ग्याः + कुलं = गार्गीकुलम् 'the family of Gârgî.' Here in forming the samâsa, the case affix of the word gârgî is *luked* by II. 4. 71 [1]. But this suppression of the genitive termination does not necessitate the elision of the feminine affix ई of gârgî.

This rule would not also apply if there is no elision by *luk* of a Taddhita affix, as in गार्गीत्वम्.

Nor will the rule apply when the word is not an upasarjana. As अवन्ती, कुन्ती, कुरूः.

इद् गोण्याः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, गोण्याः, (तद्धितलुकि) ॥

वृत्ति ॥ गोण्यास्तद्धितलुकि सति इकारादेशो भवति ॥

50. The short is substituted in the place of goṇî, when Taddhita affix is elided by luk.

By the former sûtra when a Taddhita is elided, the long ई of the feminine also required elision. But this rule makes an exception in favor of the word गोणीइ in which, under similar circumstances the short इ replaces the long ई, as in the compound पंचगोणिः 'purchased for five goṇis.' Here the Taddhita suffix which conveys the meaning of "purchased for," has been rejected after गोणी by V. 1 28.[2] Therefore by previous sûtra, the feminine suffix ई also required rejection. But this sûtra intervenes and changes the long ई into short इ.

This sûtra is divided into two separate rules by the process called yoga-vibhâga. Thus इत् is made one sûtra by itself, and then it means, when there is a suppression of Taddhita affix by लुक्, then the long ई is replaced by short इ. Thus purchased with five needles पंचभिः सूचीभिः क्रीतः=पंचसूचिः, दशसूचिः. This is restricted to such examples of purchase only.

(1) सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोः ॥ (2) अध्यर्द्धपूर्वद्विगोर्लुगसंज्ञायाम् ॥

लुपि युक्तवद्व्यक्तिवचने ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुपि, युक्तवत्, व्यक्ति-वचने ॥

वृत्तिः॥ लुपीति लुप्संज्ञया लुप्तस्य प्रत्ययस्यार्थ उच्यते ; तत्र लुपि युक्तवद्व्यक्ति वचने भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हरीतक्यादिषु व्यक्तिः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ खलतिकादिषु वचनम् ॥

51. When a Taddhita affix is elided by using the word लुप्, then the gender and number (of the derivative word) agree with those of the original word.

This sûtra consists of four words: 1. लुपि, 'where there is a rejection by using लुप्'; 2. युक्तवत् 'appropriate to the same;' 3. व्यक्ति 'gender;' 4. वचनं 'number.' The form vyakti vachane is dual.

When a Taddhita affix is luped, then the derivative word *retains* the gender and number of the primitive word. Note the difference between the rejection of a Taddhita by saying 'let there be a लुक्' and 'let there be a लुप्' ॥ The direct action of both words is the rejection of the suffix; but a derivative formed by luk rejection may not retain the number and gender of the original word; while a derivative formed by *lup* rejection does retain the number and gender of the original word.

Thus in the secondary derivative word शिरीषाः, meaning 'a village not far away from शिरीष trees', the masculine gender and plural number of the original word has been retained, though made applicable to a village, which is in the singular number and neuter gender; similarly the word पंचालाः is masculine plural in form though applicable to a single province.

This sûtra is not an approved rule; as will be mentioned by Pâṇini in sûtra 53 following and is consequently of little practical importance.

Thus पंचालाः are a class of Kshatriyas. As such it is masculine gender and plural number. The country in which Pañchâlâs live is also called Pañchâlâs; similarly कुरवः, मागधाः &c. There is a rule जनपदेलुप् (IV. 2, 81, the *lup* takes the place of an affix when signifying the proper name of a country or kingdom). Thus पंचालाः + अण् (this is one of the affixes forming country) = पंचालाः.

This rule does not apply when the affix is suppressed by the word लुक् &c. and not लुप्. Thus लवणः सूपः 'salted soup', लवणायवागु: 'salted gruel,' लवणं शाकं 'salted vegetable.' Here the affix ठक् has been elided by the word *luk*, by IV. 4 24, लवणाल्लुक् (after the word lavana the affix is *luked*).

These derivatives retain only the gender and number of the original, but no other quality. Thus as we have already seen that शिरीषाः, s'irîshâḥ, is the name of a village and is formed by the *lup* of the affix. Now compounding it with वन we have शिरीषवनम्, 'the forest of the village Sirîshâ.' Here

the word शिरीषा: means village, and not trees. Had it meant trees called s'irîsha, then the न of वन would have become ण optionally by Rule VIII. 4. 6. (विभाषौषधि वनस्पतिभ्यः ॥ The न of the word वन is optionally changed into ण. when preceded by words signifying annual herbs and trees).

Vart:—In the case of the words *Haritaki* &c., the gender only is retained and not the number. As हरीतक्य फलानि 'the fruits of Haritaki.' Here फलं is neuter in form, while हरीतकी is feminine.

Vart:—The words खलतिक &c. retain their number only but not gender, as खलतिकंवनानि 'mountain forests, i.e. forests in the vicinity of mountains.' Here खलतिकं is singular and वनानि plural, but the gender of both is the same *viz.* neuter.

विशेषणानां चाजातेः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशेषणानाम्, च, अजातेः, (लुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुबर्थस्ययानि विशेषणानि तेषामपि व्यक्तिवचने भवतो जातिं वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ मनुष्यलुपि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

52. And of adjectives, (the gender and number are the same as of the word formed by *lup* elision of the Taddhita and which they qualify) so far as the *jâti* (or kind or species) is concerned; (or when not expressing *jâti*.)

When a Taddhita is *luped*, the adjectives which qualify such secondary derivatives agree with them in number and gender. This is a rule of syntax. Thus पंचालाः रमणीयाः बह्वन्नाः, बहुक्षीरघृताः बहुमाल्यफलाः 'the pleasant Pañchâlâs having plenty of food, plenty of milk and butter.' Here the adjective रमणीयाः, pleasant &c., agrees in number and gender with the Pañchâlâḥ; being also in masculine plural. But when such a derivative is used as a jâti word then the adjective does not agree in number and gender, as पंचालाः जनपदः, गोदौ ग्रामः. Here जनपद though qualifying Pañchâlâ does not agree with it in number and gender, as it is a noun of class. All attributes of such words formed by the *lup* of Taddhita agree with their substantives in number and gender: provided that such an attribute is not a common noun used as an adjective. Similarly adjectives which do not directly qualify such Taddhita-formed nouns, but do so through the medium of a noun of class, do not agree in gender and number with the Taddhita-word. Thus पंचालाः जनपदो रमणीयो बह्वन्नः, 'the country of Pañchâlâs is pleasant and fertile.' Here the words रमणीयः and बह्वन्नः qualify directly the word 'जनपदः' and indirectly the word Pañchâlâs, and therefore do not agree with the latter.

The explanation of this sûtra as given by Patanjali in the Mahâbhâshya is somewhat different from that of the Kâs'ikâ. The phrase चाजातेः is analysed by him as च and आजातेः, the sense being "and as far as the jâti goes." The word jâti is thus explained :—

A word expressing whatever is distinguishable by its form or figure, or which begins the name of an individual is easily found applicable to others without any further teaching, (a common name) provided it is not a word used in all genders, (common noun मुख्यजाति genus); and (only for the purpose of grammar as coming under the rules relating to the abovementioned words), a word expressing descendants by their parentage as well as a word expressing a person by the branch of the Vedas (शाखा) which the family to which the person belongs is competent to read शाखाध्येतृ (s'âkhâdhyetṛi) (गौणजाति) = जातिवाचकाः (jâtivâchakâḥ) आकृति गृहणजातिर्लिंगानां च नसर्वभाक्। सकृदाख्यात निग्राह्य गोत्रं च चरणैः सह ॥

The following examples will illustrate the meaning of the above definition :—(1) तट is a jâti word because it denotes what is distinguishable by its form, i. e. by its being contiguous to a place covered with water, (2) शूद्र is such a word, because when given as the name of an individual, is applicable to other s'ûdras (common name), (3) औपगव is such a word, and (4) कठ a person belonging to the family competent to read the branch of the Vedas called kaṭha is also such a word. But देवदत्त is not such a word, because it is a proper name applicable to only one individual and शुक्र is likewise not such a word, because it, though a common name, is used in all genders.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of nouns formed by the लुप् elision of an affix relating to man. Thus the Taddhita affix कन् (क) is employed in denoting representation by imitation. Thus अश्वकः means a figure like a horse (in wood or clay or paper). But when the imitation is that of a man, this affix is elided. Thus चंचा means a "doll of straw." But when we want to say a doll in the figure of a man, we will have चंचा + कन्लुप् (लुम्मनुष्ये V. 3. 98) = चञ्चा. Here this word is formed by the elision of an affix relating to man. Adjectives qualifying this word will not agree in gender and number. Thus चंचा अभिरूपः 'the delightful straw figure of man.' वध्रिकाः दर्शनीयः 'a beautiful representation of an eunuch.'

तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अशिष्यम्, संज्ञा प्रमाणत्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदशिष्यं न वक्तव्यं कस्मात्संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् ॥

53. This (concord of gender and number, of primitive and derivative nouns, and of attributes and substantives) need not be taught (or approved), because it has the authority of samjñâ (or conventional term or idiom).

The agreement between the number and gender of the nouns and attributes; of primary and secondary words formed by suffix rejection, is not an approved syntax. The gender and number of particular derivatives or adjectives are not blindly to be fixed by the primary words or the governed substantives; but it is a matter more or less of usage or idiom: and no hard and fast rule can be laid down for it. Thus the word दाराः 'wife' has the form of masculine plural, but is always applied to females, similarly आपः 'water' is always feminine plural in form, so also गृहाः वर्षाः सिकताः. This sûtra, therefore, modifies the former sûtras and leaves the whole question of syntactic agreement to be decided by usage and idiom.

The words like Pañchâlâs, Kaurava, &c, should not be considered as derivative words formed by the lup elision of Taddhita; but they must be taken as proper nouns and appellatives of certain countries; consequently the gender and number of such words are fixed by the nature of such words and not by any rule of grammar.

लुब् योगाप्रख्यानात् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुप, योग- अप्रख्यानात्, (अशिष्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ योऽयं जनपदे लुप् वरणादिभ्यश्चेति लुबुच्यते अयं न वक्तव्यः, किं कारणं योगाप्रख्यानात् नहि पञ्चाला वरणा इति योगः सम्बन्धः प्रख्यायते नैतदुपलभामहे वृक्षयोगान्नगरे वरणा इति ॥

54. The sûtras declaring lup elision need not also be taught, because of the non-currency of the etymological meaning of the words supposed to be formed by lup elision.

In explaining certain words, it is a round-about way of going to work to say that there was a suffix after them, which has been rejected, without producing any effect. It is easier to say that the form is what we find it to be, and that its peculiar meaning depends upon usage. Moreover, in many cases, the would-be etymological meaning is not in fact that the current meaning which the word has in ordinary language. It is therefore a useless circumlocution to presuppose the existence of a suffix, to add it to a word, and, then after all to make it vanish.

Thus वरणा: Varaṇâh is the name of a city. To say that it is derived from वरणा: a kind of tree, because the city is situated near such trees, and the trees gave the name to the city, is a cumbersome process. Because there might be no trees वरणा at all near the town Varaṇâ. Let us therefore call words like वरणा, पञ्चाला, &c., as simply proper nouns. Therefore there is no occasion for the application of the Taddhita affixes given in IV. 2. 69 and 70 (तस्य निवासः, अदूरभवश्च) relating to residence and vicinity; much less of rules relating to 'lup' elision contained in IV. 2, 81 and 82 (जनपदे लुप्, वरणादिभ्यश्च).

योगप्रमाणे च तदभावेऽदर्शनं स्यात् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ योग-प्रमाणे, च, तद्-अभावे, अदर्शनम्, स्यात्,

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चालादयः संज्ञा शब्दा न योगनिमित्ता इत्युक्तं. तच्चावश्यमेवाभ्युपगन्तव्यं योग-प्रमाणे हि तदभावेऽदर्शनं स्यात्, यदि पञ्चालादि शब्दो योगस्य प्रमाणं योगस्य वाचकः स्यात् ततस्तद-भावेऽदर्शनमप्रयोगः स्यात् ॥

55. And if the etymological meaning be held authoritative, then when such meaning is absent, the word also should vanish.

This sûtra strengthens the former sûtra. If it be said that a word always retains its etymological meaning in current language; then when there is an absence of such etymological meaning, then the word itself ought to vanish. But we know, as a matter of fact, that, there are words which have altogether lost their etymological sense, and connote a thing different from their radical meaning. Therefore to explain such words by *lup* elision of affixes is improper, because they do not retain the meaning of their primitive words.

It has already been said that words like पंचाला: &c. are not derivative words, &c. but are appellatives. If these words be taken as proving their etymological meaning, that is, as expressing or dependent upon, the sense of the original word, then when there is a loss of the original word signification, the secondary word must also cease to be employed. Thus if Panchâlâs be the name of the country in which the Kshatryas called Pañchâlâs live, then when they cease to live in this country, it should cease to be called Pañchâlâs. But we know, as a matter of fact, these words are now used without any reference to the people who once inhabited the countries. These words are consequently not derivative, but their sense is determined by usage. They are what may be called रूढि words.

प्रधानप्रत्ययार्थवचनमर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रधान-प्रत्यय, अर्थ-वचनम् अर्थस्य, अन्यप्रमाणत्वात् (अशिष्यं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रधानं समासे किंचित्पदं प्रत्ययस्तव्यदादिः ताभ्यामर्थवचनमर्थाभिधानमनेन प्रका-रेण भवतीति पूर्वाचार्यैः परिभाषितम् प्रधानोपसर्जने प्रधानार्थं सह ब्रूतः प्रकृति प्रत्ययौ सहार्थं ब्रूत इति। तत् पाणिनिराचार्यः प्रत्याचष्टे अशिष्यमेतत् अर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वादिति। अन्य इति शास्त्रापेक्षया लोको व्यपदिश्यते, शब्दैरर्थाभिधानं स्वाभाविकं न पारिभाषिकमशक्यत्वात्। लोकत एवार्थावगतेः ॥

56. (Nor need be taught) the rule relating to the dependence of the meaning of a word on the principal (pardhâna, in a compound) or on the affix (pratyaya), because the authority of the meaning (of a word, compound or drivative) consists in something else.

This sûtra may be divided into two parts. The first part stating the proposition and ending with the word vachanam. The second part giving the reason. The first part consists of four words; Pradhâna: 'Principal in a compound.' As in the compound राजपुरुष: 'king's man,' the word râja is Upasarjana; and पुरुष: is pradhâna. 2. Pratyaya: 'affix.' 3. अर्थ 'meaning.' 4. वचनम् 'word or sentence.'

In the time of Pâṇini, there were some grammarians who held the opinion, that the meaning of a word is determined, if a compound word, then by its principal word; and if a derivative word, then by the suffix. Pâṇini controverts this opinion by declaring that inasmuch as the meaning of a word is fixed by usage and idiom, therefore the proofs for the meaning of a word are not to be searched either in the affixes which go to form it; or by its principal word, if it is a compound. Because, says Pâṇini, the proof of the meaning of a word is in something else, that is to say in the usage of a people and not in the suffixes, &c. A person who has never heard the name of grammar, understands full well when told to bring a Raja-purusha. He brings an official and not a king, nor even any person in general. Similarly when told to bring an औपगव he brings a cowherd's child, not a cowherd, nor a child in general, nor both. When, therefore, the sense of a word is determined by usage, there is no use to strive to find out the sense by grammatical rules.

कालोपसर्ज्जने च तुल्यम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-उपसर्ज्जने, च, तुल्यम्, (अशिष्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालोपसर्ज्जने चाशिष्ये कस्मादर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात् ॥

57. And a rule fixing the meaning of Tense (kâla) and Upasarjana (sequence) is equally (unnecessary, and need not be taught).

Here Pâṇini controverts the opinion of those grammarians who would even define time and sequence. Thus there were authors who defined pluperfect as a tense relating to time hundred years past, others said a thousand years past, &c. Pâṇini declares that these are redundant definitions and reprehensible, for the same reason as given in the previous sûtra.

To give another example. Thus अद्यतनः कालः or the period of the current day, has been thus defined by some Acharyas :—"The period of time beginning from the point when one rises (or ought to rise) from his bed, according to the law, and ending with the point when one goes to bed, according to rule, is called adyatana." Others say "from midnight to midnight is the period of the current day." Similarly others have explained the 'upasarjana' to mean "that which is not the principal word in a compound is called upasarjana." The sage Pâṇini has not thought it worth his while to define such word as upasarjana, inasmuch as their sense is well understood by all as a matter of usage. Thus common people who have never heard of grammar, also know the correct use of tenses; they say: "This is to be done by me to-day, this will be done by us to-morrow, this was done by us yesterday."

Similarly common people also know the use of the word upasarjana, for they say:—"वयमत्र गृहे ग्रामे वा उपसर्जनम् 'we are secondary or unimportant persons in this house or village,' meaning that they are not the principal persons. Therefore that which is valid according to the usage of the people is needless to be taught.

Why was not this sûtra included in the last? What is the necessity of making a separate rule of this? The answer is that it is an illustrative sûtra, and does not exhaust the subject. There are other rules made by former sages which are also not taught by Pâṇini. Thus the following rules of old Rishis are not taught herein, they being supposed to be well-known. "A Bahuvrîhi compound connotes ownership." "In Dvanda compounds the sense of both the members of a compound are principal" "In Avyayîbhâva compounds the sense of the prior word is the principal" &c.

जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन्बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ जाति-आख्याम्, एकस्मिन्, बहुवचनम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन्नर्थे बहुवचनमन्यतरस्यां भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संख्याप्रयोगे प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

58. In (a common) name (expressive of) class, in denoting the singular, the plural is optionally employed.

The words of this sûtra require some detailed explanation. The name of a jâti or species, always denotes one, since it is a collective noun, and will naturally take the singular number; by the present sûtra such words may take the plural number also. In such nouns of class, the plural number has also the force of the singular. The anuvṛitti of as'ishyam does not go further.

It follows from this that adjectives which are not themselves common noun, such as संपन्नः &c., agree with the noun and will also get the plural number. Thus संपन्नो यवः or संपन्ना यवाः; "Full grown barley" पूर्ववया ब्राह्मणः प्रत्युत्थेयः or पूर्ववयसो ब्राह्मणाः प्रत्युत्थेयाः ॥

Why have we used the word jâti in this sûtra? For this aphorism does not apply to Proper Nouns. Thus देवदत्तः Devadatta, यज्ञदत्तः Yajñadatta. Why have we used the word आख्यायाम्? A word may be a class noun or jâti, but it may not be the appellation of a class. Thus the statue of Kâsyapa may also be called kâs'yapa; this is a class noun; but as it is not the appellation आख्या or name of a class, such words cannot take the plural form and still denote a singular sense.

Why do we say 'ekasmin'? When two or more class names are compounded as व्रीहियवौ 'the rice and barley': the rule does not apply.

Vart:—An exception must be made when a class noun is qualified by a numeral adjective. As एको व्रीहिः संपन्नः सुभिक्षं करोति.

अस्मदो द्वयोश्च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्मदः, द्वयोः, च, (एकस्मिन्, बहुवचनं अन्यतरस्याम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मदो योऽर्थस्तस्यैकत्वे द्वित्वे च बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सविशेषणस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ युष्मदि गुरावेकेषाम् ॥

59. The plural of the pronoun asmad, 'I,' is used optionally, though the sense requires a singular or dual number.

Thus "I speak" or "we speak" (अहं ब्रवीमि or वयं ब्रूमः), may be spoken by one person; similarly two persons may either use the dual case or the plural case; thus आवां ब्रूवः 'we two speak' or वयं ब्रूमः 'we speak.'

Vart:—There is prohibition when the pronoun of the 1st person is qualified by an attribute:—as अहं देवदत्तो ब्रवीमि, 'I Devadatta am speaking.' अहं गार्ग्यो ब्रवीमि, 'I Gârgya am saying.' Here we cannot use the plural.

Vart:—The word गुरु 'master' may have plural form though referring to one person, when following the word युष्मद; as त्वं मे गुरुः or यूयं मे गुरवः. 'Thou art my master,' or 'you are my master.'

फल्गुनीप्रोष्ठपदानां च नक्षत्रे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ फल्गुनी-प्रोष्ठ-पदानां च नक्षत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फल्गुन्योर्द्वयोः प्रोष्ठपदयोश्च द्वयोर्नक्षत्रयोर्बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् भवति ॥

60. And the dual of Phâlgunî and Proshthapadâ, when signifying asterisms, (also connotes optionally plural).

The word च in this aphorism draws in the anuvritti of the word द्वय: from the last. Of the stars phalgunî and proshṭhapadâ, the forms may be either dual or plural. As उदिते पूर्वे फल्गुन्यौ (dual); or उदिता: पूर्वाः फल्गुन्य: (plural.) So also पूर्वे प्रोष्ठपदे or पूर्वाः प्रोष्ठपदाः॥ There are two pairs of stars of the name of phalgunî and proshṭhapadâ, both being of feminine gender, and their logical number being 'dual.' The present sûtra ordains plural optionally. If phalgunî and proshthapada are not names of asterisms, they must have their proper number: as फल्गुन्यौ माणविके ॥

छन्दसि पुनर्वस्वोरेकवचनम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, पुनर्वस्वोः, एक-वचनम्, (अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वयोर्द्विवचने प्राप्ते पुनर्वस्वोश्छन्दसि विषये एकवचनमन्यतरस्यां भवति ॥

61. In the Vedas, the two stars, Punarvasû, may optionally be singular (and connote a dual).

In the Vedas, the star *punarvasû* which is always *dual* in form, may be in the singular form and connote a dual meaning. As पुनर्वसुर्नक्षत्रं or पुनर्वसू नक्षत्रमदितिर्देवता ॥ The option is only allowed in the Vedas and not in secular literature. In the latter it must be in the dual, that is, पुनर्वसू ॥ Similarly when it is not the appellation of an asterism but of a man, there is no option. As पुनर्वसू माणवकौ.

विशाखयोश्च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशाखयोः, च (छन्दसि, अन्य-तरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विवचने प्राप्ते छन्दसि विषये विशाखयोरेकवचनमन्यतरस्यां भवति ॥

62. In the Vedas, the two stars Vis'âkhâ may optionally be in the singular number.

The word विशाखा is in the dual number as a rule. In the Vedas, it is found sometime to have the singular form, denoting duality. Thus विशाखा नक्षत्रम् or विशाखे नक्षत्रमिन्द्राग्नी देवता ॥

तिष्यपुनर्वस्वोर्नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वे बहुवचनस्य द्विवचनं नित्यम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिष्य-पुनर्वस्वोः, नक्षत्र-द्वन्द्वे, बहुवचनस्य, द्वि-वचनम्, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिष्यपुनर्वस्वोर्नक्षत्रविषये द्वन्द्वे बहुवचनप्रसङ्गे नित्यं द्विवचनं भवति ॥

63. In the Dvandva compounds of the stars Tishya and Punarvasû, the dual constantly comes in the place of the plural.

When there is a collective compounding of the words Tishya and Punarvasû (meaning two groups of stars), the final compound is always in the dual. Thus उदितौ तिष्यपुनर्वसू दृश्येते 'the Tishya and Punarvasû having risen are seen (dual).'

There is one star called Tishya; and there are two stars called Punarvasû. As the Dvandva compound of these stars refers to more than two stars, it ought to have been in the plural number. This rule teaches that there should be a dual number, where otherwise there would have been a plural number. Why do we say 'Tishya' and 'Punarvasû'? Observe विशाखानुराधाः 'the stars Visâkhâ and Anurâdhâ.' The compound is in plural number.

This rule would not apply if these words do not connote stars but are used in any other sense. As तिष्यपुनर्वसवो माणवकाः, 'Boys called Tishya and Punarvasûs.'

Why is the word 'star' repeated in the sûtra, when the previous sûtras and the context show that stars were being treated of. The repetition is for the sake of including the synonyms of Tishya and Punarvasû. As तिष्यपुनर्वसू; पुष्यपुनर्वसू, सिद्धपुनर्वसू ॥

The rule only applies when these words form a Dvandva compound, and not when they are compounded in any other way. Thus तिष्यपुनर्वसवः is an example of Bahuvrîhi compound meaning "persons who confound the Tishya with the Punarvasû."

The rule only applies to the *plural* Dvandva. If the Dvandva takes the singular termination, this rule has no application. As तिष्यपुनर्वसू इदमिति.

This sûtra indicates by implication (jñapaka) that "every Dvandva compound may optionally take the terminations of the singular" for otherwise the employment of the term बहुवचनस्य in the sûtra would be superfluous.

The word 'always' has been used in the text to show that the governing power of "option" stops here with this sûtra and does not extend to it or any further.

सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सरूपाणाम्, एक-शेष, एक-विभक्तौ,

वृत्ति ॥ सरूपाणां शब्दानां एकविभक्तौ परत एकशेषो भवति ॥

64. Of the words having the same form, and all in the same one case-termination, the last one is only retained.

This is a very important sûtra, and deals with what is technically called Ékas'esha (or retention of one). When there are two or more words of the same form, and the same case termination, standing together, one is retained and the rest are dropped. Thus वृत्तः + वृत्तः = वृत्तौ (trees, in dual) वृत्तः+वृत्तः+वृत्तः=वृत्ताः.

Every individual thing requires an individual word to express it; one word therefore could not express many things; to prevent the repetition of

the same word to express many objects of similar form, is the purpose of this sûtra, by which one word is only retained.

This applies only to words having the same form and not if they have different forms; as प्लक्ष न्यग्रोधाः the plaksha and nyagrodha trees.

The word "form" is used in the text to show that even if two words have different meanings, but the same form, the rule of Ekas'esha will apply, as अक्षः (die) + अक्ष (eye) + अक्ष (axle) = अक्षाः. Similarly पादाः and माषाः.

The present rule only applies to the retention of *one*, and prevents the retention of two or more.

The word शेष (retention) is used to show that there is not a *substitution* (âdes'a) of one for many, but the *retention* of one out of many.

The rule will not apply if the two words are in different case-terminations, though they may have the same form. As पयः (1. s.) पयो (2. s.) जरयति ब्राह्मणाभ्यां (3 d.) च कृतं ब्राह्मणाभ्यां (4. d.) च देहि.

वृद्धो यूना तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धः, यूना, तत्-लक्षणः, चेद् एव, विशेषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धोयूनासहवचनेशिष्यते युवानिवर्त्तते तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः ॥

65. The vriddha (or patronymic Gotra word becomes ekas'esha, and is retained, when compounded) with a patronymic word called yuvan, provided that the specific difference in form between them be in their signs (affix) only.

The word s'esha of the previous sûtra is understood here. The word "yûnâ" in the text is in the instrumental case. The yuvan word is dropped when read along with a Vriddha word. The word Vriddha means gotra: the old âcharyas (grammarians) used the word Vriddha for gotra. The vriddha (or in other words, the gotra) word designates a person between whom and original head of the family a son (or a word formed by an apatya affix) intervenes. In using together two words, one formed by a gotra affix and the other by a yuvan affix, the Vriddha is retained, where the difference between those words is in their affixes only. These two words, gotra and yuvan, are defined in sûtras IV. 1. 162 and 163. (अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम् ॥ जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा)॥ Roughly speaking a gotra word is formed from the original noun which is the name of the head of the family when a son of such person is living; and a vriddha word represents thus a grandson, or lower than that, but not a son; while a yuvan word is derived from such last mentioned gotra word by another affix and thus represents persons lower than grandsons.

The word 'tad' in the sûtra refers to the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word lakshaṇa 'sign' in the sûtra is synonymous with 'cause' or 'occasion'; meaning the specific difference is caused or occasioned by the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word चेत् in the sûtra means 'if.' The word एव 'only' is used to exclude others. The word विशेषः in the sûtra means the 'dissimilarity of form.'

Thus गार्ग्यः + गार्ग्यायणः = गार्ग्यौ. Here the first word denotes a clan called Gârgya (the offspring or grandsons of Garga formed by the affix यञ् (IV. I. 105) [1] the second word denotes a younger branch of the same, and is formed by the Taddhita affix फक् denoting a secondary derivative.[2] In this then, the first or "Vṛiddha" remains; the second or the yuvan is dropped; and the form "Gârgyau" means both the old and the new clan. Similarly वात्स्यः + वात्स्यायनः वात्स्यौ ॥

This Ekas'esha is to be done only in those cases, where the two words have the same *radical* form, the only difference between them being in their derivative formation.

The words must differ only by their affixes, but their radical element must be the same. The rule therefore does not apply to :—गार्ग्यः (a Vṛiddha word + वात्स्यायनः (a yuvan word)=गार्ग्यवात्स्यायनौ ॥

This rule of ekas'esha does not apply if one of the words be not a Vṛiddha word. Thus गर्गः+गार्ग्यायणः = गर्गगार्ग्यायणौ ॥

Similarly *vice versa* गार्ग्यः + गर्गः = गार्ग्यगर्गौ । Here the one word is Vṛiddha, but the other is not yuvan.

The word "only" is used in the sûtra in an exclusive sense, the force being, that two words may stand in the relation of Vṛiddha and yuvan, their radical element, *i e.* form may be the same; but if the secondary word has another sense over and above the sense of a yuvan affix, this rule is not applicable. Thus rule IV. 1. 148[3] says a "Vṛiddha word may optionally take the affix ठक् to form a yuvan word and *to indicate contempt and born in the country of Sauvira.*" Thus भागवित्तिः + भागवित्तिकः = भागवित्तिभागवित्तिकौ. Here the second word, though a yuvan word, connotes the additional sense of contempt and degradation. The affix ठक् is not merely a yuvan affix but conveys the other sense also, the pure yuvan word being भागवित्तायनः.

N. B.—The system of domestic economy among the ancient Aryas was considerably different from the prevalent one. The surnames or the gotras represented the patriarchal system. Three forms of surnames are constantly met with in ancient literature. The first was most important: it was the patronymic by which the lord of the united family, the patriarch, was known. For example, Garga or Gargâchârya was the recognised head of all the Gargas who may be a hundred. His eldest son and heir was called Gârgi. This is the first form of the patronymic (apatya). The grandsons or sons of Gârgi were named Gârgyas (Vṛiddham or Gotra). On the decease of the old patriarch, Gârgi began to be called Garga; and the eldest of the grandsons was called Gârgi; and those great grandsons who belonged to the family, and were designated Gârgâyanas (yuvan) were now called Gârgyas."

(1) गर्गादिभ्यो यञ् ॥ (2) यञिञोश्च ॥ (3) वृद्धाट्ठक्सौवीरेषु बहुलम् ॥

स्त्री पुंवच्च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्री, पुंवत्, च (शेषवृद्धयूना तल्ल० वि०)

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्री वृद्धा यूना सहवचने शिष्यते तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषो भवति ॥

66. And so also a feminine word, ending with a vṛiddha affix, when similarly spoken along with the same word but which ends with a yuvan affix, is only retained: and it is treated like a masculine.

When a word denoting gotra and in the feminine gender is compounded with another word denoting a yuvan, the first is retained and the last is dropped; and the feminine noun so remaining is then treated like the masculine. This aphorism makes an addition to the previous sûtra and is governed by all the conditions mentioned in that sûtra. Thus गार्गी + गार्ग्यायण =गार्ग्यौ. Here note that the resultant form is the same as in the former sûtra, namely the masculine.

Similarly दाक्षी + दाक्षायणः = दाक्षी (masculine dual of दाक्षि).

Vart.—The word *stri* in the sûtra means Vṛiddhâ strî, that is the eldest daughter of a grandson, or a further descendant considered as the female head of the family. The words 'tal lakshanas' chedeva vis'eshaḥ' of the previous sûtra govern this sûtra also, *i. e.* the distinction between the two words must be in their formative element and not in any thing else.

पुमान् स्त्रिया ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुमान्, स्त्रिया (शेषः, तल्लक्षणश्चेदेवविशेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रियासहवचने पुमान् शिष्यते स्त्रीनिवर्त्तते स्त्रीपुंसलक्षणश्चेदेवविशेषो भवति ॥

67. A word in the masculine gender, similarly spoken along with the same word, but ending with the feminine affix, becomes ekas'esha, and the latter is dropped

When two words of different genders differ only in their derivative elements but not in their radical elements, that is to say, one is masculine and the other feminine because of certain affixes, the masculine only is retained and the feminine is dropped.

The governing force of the words 'vṛiddha' and 'yuvan,' of sûtra 65, does not extend to this sûtra, but the remaining portion of sûtra 65 is to be read into this sûtra. When a masculine word is read along with a feminine word, the feminine word is dropped and the masculine is retained, when the difference between the two words is caused only by the feminine and masculine affixes: as ब्राह्मणः + ब्राह्मणी = ब्राह्मणौ 'the Brâhmaṇa and the Brâhmaṇi'; कुक्कुटः + कुक्कुटी = कुक्कुटौ. 'the cock and hen.'

But not so in the following :— कुक्कुटः + मयूरी = कुक्कुटमयूर्यौ 'the cock and the peahen.' Similarly गणकः + गणकी = गणकगणक्यौ. Here the feminine affix ङीष्, by which the word gaṇakî is formed from gaṇaka, in addition to its feminine signification, has the further signification given to it by Rule IV. 1. 48, पुंयोगादाख्यायाम्, meaning the "wife of" a gaṇaka and not a feminine gaṇaka; so also इन्द्रश्च इन्द्राणी चेन्द्रेन्द्राण्यौ ॥ Similarly आर्यः + आर्या = आर्यौ but आर्यः + आर्याणी = आर्यार्याण्यौ. Because the feminine affix in *aryani* conveys more than its feminine signification. See Rule IV. 1. 49.

This rule does not, of course, apply when it is not a masculine noun which is compounded, but it is a noun without any gender or neuter noun which is compounded with a feminine noun. Therefore प्राक् + प्राची = प्राक्प्राच्यौ. The word प्राक् is an indeclinable and is without any gender.

भ्रातृपुत्रौ स्वसृदुहितृभ्याम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रातृ-पुत्रौ, स्वसृ-दुहितृभ्याम्, (शेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथासंख्यं भ्रातृपुत्रशब्दौ शिष्येते सहवचने स्वसृदुहितृभ्याम् ॥

68. The words bhrâtṛi, 'brother,' and putra, 'son,' when spoken of along with svasṛi, 'sister' and duhitṛi 'daughter' respectively are only retained, and the latter are dropped.

With this sûtra ceases the governing force of the remaining conditions contained in sûtra 65. Even where the radical elements of two words are different there may be an ekas'esha under special circumstances. Thus भ्रातृ + स्वसृ = भ्रातरौ (brother and sister or brothers). Similarly पुत्र + दुहितृ = पुत्रौ, (son and daughter or sons).

N. B.—The practical application of this sûtra is very neatly illustrated by the following example. There is a verse in Yâjyañvalkya smriti पत्नी दुहितरश्चैव पितरौ भ्रातरस्तथा which declares that on the death of a sonless person his property passes to his wife, daughters, parents and bhrâtaraḥ.

Here the word bhrâtaraḥ, if it be taken as simply the plural of bhrâtṛi, it means "brothers" and excludes sisters. But if it be interpreted according to this sûtra, it means "brothers and sisters"; and thus gives sisters a right to inherit property of their brothers.

नपुंसकमनपुंसकेनैकवच्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपुंसकम्, अनपुंसकेन, एकवत्, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, (शेष, तल्लक्षणश्चेदेवविशेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकानपुंसकमात्रकृते विशेषेऽनपुंसकेन सहवचने नपुंसकं शिष्यते; एकवच्चास्य कार्यं भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

69. A neuter noun, which has the same form, only differing in affix, is optionally retained, and the other is dropped, and it is like a singular number

A neuter prevails over a masculine or feminine noun when spoken of along with them, provided that the words differ in gender signs only; but radically they be the same. Thus आलस्यो मैथुनं निद्रा सेव्यमानं विवर्द्धते 'Idleness, lust, and sleep, indulged in, increase.' Here the adjective 'sevyyamânam' is in the neuter gender, though it qualifies the words 'âlasyâ' which is in the masculine, 'maithunam' which is in the neuter, and 'nidrâ' which is in the feminine gender. The rule, therefore, may be stated in these words, that where one adjective qualifies several nouns, in different genders, but one of which must be neuter, the adjective agrees with the neuter.

The above illustration also shows that the neuter ekas'esna may be in the singular number.

If the neuter is compounded with another neuter, this rule does not apply. Thus शुक्लं + शुक्लं + शुक्लं = शुक्लानि ; the word is in the plural ; there is no ekavadbhava

The words तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः of sûtra 65 governs this sûtra also: thus शुक्लश्च कम्बलः, शुक्ला च बृहतिका, शुक्लं च वस्त्रं. "The white (masc.) blanket, the white (*fem*) wrapper, and the white (*neut.*) garment," may all be spoken of collectively as शुक्लं (*neut.*).

पिता मात्रा ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ पिता, मात्रा (शेष, अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मात्रासह वचने पितृशब्दः शिष्यते अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

70. The word pitṛi, 'father', is optionally only retained when spoken of along with mâtri, 'mother.'

Thus पिता + माता = पितरौ 'father and mother, or parents' or मातापितरौ. The verse quoted under sûtra 68 illustrates this sûtra also. There the word 'pitarau' has been explained by all commentators as "father and mother." The word "ekavad" of the last sûtra does not govern this sûtra; though the anuvṛitti of 'optionally' is to be read into this.

श्वशुरः श्वश्र्वा ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वशुरः, श्वश्र्वा , (शेष, अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वश्र्वासह वचने श्वशुरशब्दः शिष्यते अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

71. The word s'vas'ura 'father-in-law,' is optionally only retained, when spoken of along with s'vas'rû, 'mother-in-law.'

Thus श्वशुरः + श्वश्रू may be either श्वशुरौ 'father-in-law and mother-in-law,' or श्वश्रूश्वशुरौ ॥

त्यदादीनि सर्वैर्नित्यम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यद्-आदीनि, सर्वैः, नित्यम् (शेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदादीनि शब्दरूपाणि सर्वैः सहवचने नित्यं शिष्यन्ते त्यदादिभिरन्यैश्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ त्यदादीनां मिथोयद्यत्परंतच्छिष्यते ॥

72. The pronouns 'tyad &c.' when spoken of along with any other noun, (pronoun other than 'tyad &c.') are always retained as ekas'esha, (to the exclusion of others).

The list of 'tyadâdi' pronouns has been given under sûtra I. 1. 27. They are 12 words beginning with 'tyad' and ending with 'kim;' when these tyadâdi pronouns are compounded with any other noun, (or a pronoun, which does not belong to their class), they prevail, the rest are dropped. The word 'sarva' is used in the aphorism to indicate 'universality'; *i. e. what ever* may be the word in composition with them, the 'tyad &c.' are retained to the exclusion of others. The word 'nitya' is used to indicate that this is an obligatory rule, and not optional, as were the last rules.

Thus सः (he) + देवदत्तः (Devadatta) = तौ (they two).

Vart.—When त्यदादि words are compounded among themselves, the word which is read last in the order given in the Gaṇapâṭha remains, the rest are dropped. Thus यः + सः = यौ ; यः + कः = कौ ॥ Thus यद् is read after तद् (see I. 1, 27). So यद् will be retained and not तद्. Similarly किम् is read after यद्, and therefore किम् is retained to the exclusion of यद्.

ग्राम्यपशुसंघेष्वतरुणेषु स्त्री ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्राम्य-पशु-संघेषु, अतरुणेषु, स्त्री, (शेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्राम्याणां पशूनां संघाः ग्राम्यपशुसंघाः ; एतेषु सह विवक्षायां स्त्री शिष्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनेकशफेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

73. The feminine noun is only retained, when denoting a collection of domestic animals, not being young.

As a general rule, when there is a compounding of masculine and feminine nouns, the masculine noun is retained (see 67). The present sûtra is an exception to that rule. It ordains that when there is a compounding of words denoting group of domestic animals, of different genders,

the feminine noun is preferred; provided that the words should not relate to the young of such animals. The word 'ataruṇa' in the aphorism qualifies the word 'pas'u' with which it is in construction, and not the word 'sangha.' As गाव इमाः 'these cows (and bulls);' अजा इमाः 'these goats' (both males and females).

The rule only applies to *domestic* (grâmya) animals and not to *wild* animals; and only to *beasts* (pas'u) and not men. As रुरव इमे, 'these wild deers' (male and female); पृषता इमे, 'these antelopes' (male and female); ब्राह्मणाः, 'the Brâhmaṇas (male and female); क्षत्रियाः, 'the Kshatriyas.' In all these the masculine noun is retained by Rule 67.

Vart.—This rule must be confined to domestic animals having divided hoof. Therefore अश्वा इमे, 'these horses' (male and female). Here the masculine noun is retained, because horse has no divided hoof.

Why have we used the word (sangha) "collection"? Observe एतौ गावौ चरतः, 'these two cows are grazing.' Here the word 'gâvau' does not connote 'bull' also

Why do we say "not being young"? वत्सा इमे 'these calves'; बर्करा इमे 'these kids.' Here the masculine noun is retained by the application of Rule 67.

ओ३म्

॥ अथ प्रथमाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER III.

भूवादयो धातवः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूव-आदयः, धातवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भू इत्येवमादयः शब्दा क्रियावचना धातु संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

1. The words beginning with bhû 'to become,' and denoting action, are called dhâtu or verbal roots.

This defines the word dhâtu or root. The list of Sanskrit verbs begins with the root bhû 'to be.' Sanskrit grammarians have divided all verbs into ten classes, according to certain modifications which their roots undergo before certain terminations. The ten classes are as follows :—

1. Bhû class. 2. Ad. 3. Hu. 4. Div. 5. Su. 6. Tud. 7. Rudh. 8. Tan. 9. Krî. 10. Chur.

There are about two thousand verbs, and they are conjugated in two forms, some taking the Parasmaipada terminations only, the others the Atmanepada terminations and some both. The present chapter deals mostly with rules determining the nature of the verbal root, whether it is Parasmaipadi or Atmanepadi or both. A verb expresses action. The word dhâtu is a word coined by older grammarians than Pâṇini and they employed the term in denoting a word expressing action. Here also, therefore, the word dhâtu means a word which expresses action.

The वा in the sûtra is for the sake of auspiciousness; for the regular sandhi of भू + आदि is भ्वादि and not भूवादि; while Dr. Ballantyne considers that वा is a separate root: he translates the sûtra thus :—"Let the verbal roots bhû 'be,' vâ 'blow' and the like be called dhâtu."

उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपदेशे, अच्, अनुनासिकः, इत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपदिश्यतेऽनेनेति उपदेशः, शास्त्रवाक्यानि सूत्रपाठः खिलपाठश्च तत्र योऽजनुनासिकः स इत्संज्ञो भवति ॥

2. The nasalized vowels are इत् in Upades'a, or original enunciation.

Anunâsika or nasalized vowels are इत् that is indicatory, when occurring in technical words. Thus in ञिइन्, विद्, विच्, the anunâsikâ इ is इत्. The original sûtra contains the word 'upades'a' which we have translated as technical term. 'Upades'a' literally means 'instruction' or the first mentioning of a thing either in a sûtrapâṭha. or gaṇapâṭha, or dhatu paṭha, &c.

From this sûtra up to sûtra 9, there is a description of servile or indicatory letters called इत्. "In Pâṇini's Grammar there is no visible sign of the nasality of a vowel—hence we can know a vowel to be nasalized only from Pâṇini's explicitly asserting that it is so, or from our finding that he treats it in such a way that we must conclude he regarded it as nasal." An upades'a is defined as signifying an original enunciation, that is to say, an affix (pratyaya), or an augment (âgama), or a verbal root (dhâtu), or in short, any form of expression which occurs only in technical treatises of grammar, and which is not a word ready for use, but one of the supposed original elements of a word. Thus in the root एध 'to increase,' the final अ is indicatory, the real root is एध्. So also the final अ of स्पर्द्ध is इत् ॥

If the word is not an upades'a, then the nasal vowel is not इत् ॥ As अभ्र आँ अपः ॥ A word may be an upades'a, and nasal, but if it is not a vowel, it need not be इत् as the affix मनिन् in sûtra III. 2. 74. (आतो मनिन् क्वनिब् वनिपश्च) It is only the nasal vowel of an upades'a that becomes इत् and not all the vowels. The word इत् occurs in sûtras V. 2. 16. (आरितश्च &c.).

हलन्त्यम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल्-अन्त्यम्, (उपदेशे इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वादेः समुदायस्य यदन्त्यं हल् तदित्संज्ञं भवति ॥

3. In upades'a, the final consona nt of roots, &c. is इत्.

All the final consonants of roots, affixes. &c., are indicatory. As in the pratyâhâra sûtras अ इ उ ण्; here ण् is इत् ॥ ऋ ऌ क्; here क् is इत् ॥ ए ओङ्; here ङ् is इत् ॥ ऐ औच्; here च् is इत् ॥ It is only in upades'a, that a final consonant is इत्. Not therefore, in अग्निचित् or सोमसुत्, which are complete words.

न विभक्तौ तुस्माः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न विभक्तौ, तु-स्-माः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेण प्राप्तायामित्संज्ञायां विभक्तौ वर्त्तमा नानां तवर्ग सकार मकाराणां प्रतिषेध उच्यते ॥

4. The final dental consonants, and the final स् and म् are not इत् in affixes called vibhakti or inflective affixes.

This is an exception to the previous sûtra which declared all final consonants to be इत्. In case terminations, the final त्, थ्, द्, ध्, न्, स्, and म्, are not इत्. Thus the case termination of nominative plural is जस्. Here the final स्, though a consonant is not an इत्; and is not rejected, as in ब्राह्मणाः ॥ The word तु in the sûtra means the letters of the class त by virtue of sûtra 69 Chapter I. (see ante). The word vibhakli will be defined later on in sûtra I. 4. 104. These are terminations applied to nouns in declining them through various cases; and to verbs in conjugating them. Thus in sûtra VII. 1. 12, (टाङसिङसामिनात्स्याः) the vibhaktis इन्, आत् and स्य replace टा, ङसि and ङस्. Here the final त् of the affix आत् is not indicatory and hence not rejected, as वृक्षात्. Similarly verbal terminations तस् and थस् as पचतः, पचथः ॥ So also the final म् as ताम् and तम् in अपचताम् and अपचतम् ॥.

This exception applies only to vibhaktis and not to affixes in general. Thus the finals of यत् (III. 1. 97 अचोयत्;) युस् (V. 2. 123, ऊर्णाया युस्) and श्यम् (III. 1. 78 रुधादिभ्य श्नम् ।) are इत् and are rejected. This exception, however, does not apply to the vibhakti अत् (in V. 3. 12 किमोऽत् or III. 4. 106, इटोऽत्). In those two sûtras the final त् of the vibhakti is इत्. The reason of this is, that the present sûtra is an anitya sûtra, *i. e.* a rule not of general application. In sûtra V. 3. 24, (इदमस्थमुः) we find, 'the word इदम् takes the vibhakti थमु in the sense of mode or manner.' As इद्+थमु=इत्थम्, 'in this manner.' Now थमु is a vibhakti by V. 3. 1. (प्राग्दिशो विभक्तिः), the उ is इत्, the real vibhakti is थम्. Now had the present sûtra been of universal application, then there would have been no necessity of adding this उ as indicatory letter, which has been evidently added to save the म् of थम from becoming an इत. This sûtra is consequently an antiya sûtra.

आदिर्ञिटुडवः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, ञि-टु-डवः, (इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ञि टु डु इत्ये तेषां समुदायानामादितो वर्त्तमानानामित्संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

5. The initial ñi, ṭu, and ḍu are इत् ॥

The syllables ञि, टु and डु, standing at the beginning of a root are indicatory; as ञिमिदा 'to have affectionate pleasure.' The real root is मिद्, the ञि is servile. So टुनदि 'to rejoice; be glad' the real root being नद्. So डुदाञ् 'to give' the real root being दा.

The ञि shows that the past participle क्त has the power of the present III. 2. 187 (ञीतः क्तः). As ञिफला—फुल्लः 'blown'; ञिमिदा—मिन्नः 'fat'; ञिधृषा—धृष्टः 'bold,' ञिक्ष्विदा—क्ष्विन्नः 'soft,' ञिइन्धी-इद्धः 'kindled.'

The टु subjoined to a root serves to show that it admits the affix अथु to form a noun indicative of the act (III. 3. 89 ट्वितोऽथुच्); as टुवेपृः—वेपथुः 'shaking'; टु ओश्वि—श्वयथुः 'swelling.'

The डु indicates that the root to which it is subjoined admits of the affix क्त्रि (III. 3. 88, ड्वितः क्त्रिः) to form a noun or adjective attributive of the act

by which the substantive thing has been produced, as डुकृञ्—कृत्रिमम् 'artificial' डुपचष्—पक्त्रिमम् 'ripe'; डुवप्—उप्त्रिमम् 'sown.'

If these three syllables do not stand in the beginning of a verb, they are not indicatory; as पट्टूयति, कण्डूयति, &c.

षः प्रत्ययस्य, ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ षः, प्रत्ययस्य (आदि इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारः प्रत्ययस्यादिरित्संज्ञो भवति ॥

6. The initial ष् of an affix is indicatory.

The initial ष् of an affix gets the name of इत् and is rejected. Thus by Rule III. 1. 145 (शिल्पिनि ष्वुन्) the affix ष्वुन् is added to a verb to indicate proficient in the art expressed by the verb. The ष् and न् are इत् and अक् takes the place of वु (VII. 1. 1, युवोरनाकौ). Thus नृत्+ष्वुन्=नर्त्+अक्=नर्तकः 'a dancer' (by profession); fem. नर्तकी (IV. 1. 41, षिद्गौरादिभ्यश्च 'words formed by affixes having an indicatory ष् take the affix ङीष् in the feminine'): so also रजकः, fem. रजकी.

The initial ष् of an affix only is इत् and not every initial ष्. Thus not in षोडः 'six,' or षडिकः॥ The ष् must be initial, therefore it is not इत् in the affix टिषच् in अविमह्योष्टिषच्. (Uṇ I. 45) as अविषः 'an ocean', महिषः 'a buffalo.'

चुटू ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चु-टू (प्रत्ययस्य आदिः, इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चवर्ग टवर्गौ प्रत्ययस्यादी इत्संज्ञौ भवतः ॥

7. The initial palatals and linguals of an affix are indicatory.

The consonants च्, छ्, ज्, झ्, ञ्, ट्, ठ्, ड्, ढ्, and ण्, are always इत् and are rejected when initial in affixes. The word 'affix' of the previous sûtra governs this also.

As the affix च्फञ् chapañ in sûtra (IV. 1. 98 गोत्रे कुञ्जादिभ्यश्च्फञ्). Here च् is indicatory, as, कौञ्जायन्यः॥ The initlal छ् chh of an affix is always replaced by ईय (VII. 1. 2 आयनेयीनीयियः फढखछघां प्रत्ययादीनाम्). The initial ज् of an affix is इत्. As, जस् (Nom. Pl. term) ब्राह्मणाः॥ The initial झ् of an affix is always replaced by अन्त, as भू+शप्+झि=भवन्ति॥ (VII. 1. 3 झोऽन्तः). The initial ञ् of an affix is इत् as in ञ्य which comes after the words शण्डिक &c. As शाण्डिक्यः (IV. 3. 92 शण्डिकादिभ्योञ्यः). The indicatory ञ् causes vṛiddhi by rules VII. 2. 115, 116 and 117: (अचोञ्णिति, अतउपधायाः, तद्धितेष्वचामादेः).

The initial ट् ṭ of an affix is इत् as in III. 2. 16 (चरेष्टः the root चर् takes the affix ट when compounded with a noun in the locative). As कुरुचरः 'who goes among the Kurus.' The feminines of words formed by this affix take ङीप् (IV. 1. 15 टिड्ढाणञ्द्वयसज् &c.) As कुरुचरी, मद्रचरी. The initial ठ् of an affix is always replaced by इक (VII. 3. 50 ठस्येकः). The initial ड् of an office is *it*, as in III. 2. 97 (सप्तम्यां जनेर्डः the root जन् takes the affix ड when in composition

with a word in the locative, as उपसरजः, मन्दुरजः. The ड् indicates that the final of the word called टि should be elided when an affix having indicatory ḍ is added. The initial ढ् of an affix is replaced by एय (VII. 1. 2.)

The letter ण् is always an इत् when initial. As in the aphorism IV. 4 85 (अन्नाण्ण:) the affix ण comes after the word अन्न 'food.' As अन्न + ण = आन्नः. The ṇ causes Vṛiddhi.

This sûtra could very well have been included in the last aphorism. Why has it then been made a separate aphorism? The reply is that the present sûtra declares an anitya rule—that is to say, a rule which is not universally true. The initial palatal or lingual of every affix is not indicatory. Thus in the affixes चुञ्चुप् and चणप् the initial च् is not indicatory but forms part of the real affix. As विद्याचुंचुः विद्याचणः 'famous for one's learning.' See S. V. 2. 26. तेन वित्तश्चुञ्चुप् चणपौ. Similarly the initial ट of the affix टीटच् (V. 2. 31 अवात्कुटारच्च, नते नासिकायाः संज्ञायां टीटञ् नाटज्भ्रटचः), is not *it*. As अवटीटम् 'flat nosed.'

Of course it is the initial palatal and lingual which are servile; if these letters occur in the middle of an affix, they will not be indicatory. As ठ of the affix अठच् is not indicatory in sûtra V. 2. 35 (कर्म्मणि घटोऽठच्) कर्मठः 'dexterous.'

लशक्वतद्धिते ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल-श-कु, अतद्धिते, (प्रत्ययस्य, आदिः इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितवर्ज्जितस्य प्रत्ययस्यादितो वर्त्तमाना लकार शकार कवर्गा इत्संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

8. The initial l and s′, and the gutturals of all affixes, except taddhita, are indicatory.

The initial ल्, श्, क्, ख्, ग्, घ्, ङ्, of affixes are indicatory, except in Taddhita affixes. Thus the initial ल् in ल्युट् is इत् (III. 3 115 ल्युट् च)। चि+ल्युट्= चयनम् (VII. 1. 1) 'collecting.' The initial श् in शप् is इत् (III. 1. 68. कर्तरि शप्) भू + शप् + तिप् = भो+अ+ति=भवति 'he is.' The initial क् is इत् as in क्त and क्तवतु (I. 1. 26), as भुक्तः 'eating' भुक्तवान्. The initial ख् is इत् as in खच् (III. 2. 38 प्रियवशे वदः खच् the word वद takes the affix *khach* when compounded with प्रिय and वश्) प्रियंवदः 'speaking kindly', वशंवदः 'submissive.' The initial ग् is इत् as in the affix ग्स्नु (III 2. 139 ग्लाजिस्थश्च ग्स्नु), ग्लास्नुः 'languid', जिष्णुः 'victorious,' स्थास्नुः 'unmoveable.' The inital घ् is इत् as in घुरच् (III. 2. 161 भञ्जभासमिदो घुरच्) भञ्ज + घुरच् = भङ्गुरम् 'brittle.' The initial ङ् is इत्, as in ङसि (termination of the ablative sing.) ङस् ditto of genitive sing. (IV. 1. 2), as सुमनस् + ङस् = सुमनस् + अस् = सुमनसः 'of a well minded.' In Taddhitta affixes however, these initials ल्, श् and gutturals are not इत्; and are therefore not elided. Thus चूडा + लच् = चूडालः (V. 2. 96. प्राणिस्थादातो लजन्यतरस्याम्) 'crested'; लोम+श

=लोमशः (V. 2. 100 लोमादिपामादिपिच्छादिभ्यः शनेलचः) 'hairy;' वृक्ष + कन् = वृक्षकः V. 3 81-86 जातिनाम्नः कन्) 'a small tree.'

तस्य लोपः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, लोपः, (इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येत्संज्ञकस्य लोपो भवति ॥

9. Of this, (namely of that which has been called इत्), there is elision.

This sûtra declares the function of इत्; namely it is a mere indicatory letter, and must be rejected. It is useful only as a mnemonic and is not a part of the term.

The word tasya in the sûtra indicates that the substitution of lopa must be in the place of the *whole* term called इत्, and not only in the place of the final letter, which last is the general rule (see. I. 1. 52). Therefore, the whole of ञि, टु and डु is rejected and not only their finals.

यथा सङ्ख्यमनुदेशः समानाम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा—सङ्ख्यम्, अनुदेशः, समानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानां समसंख्यानां समपरिपठितानामुद्देशिनामनुदेशिनां च यथा क्रममुद्देशिभिरनुदेशिनः सम्बन्ध्यन्ते ॥

10. When a rule involves the case of equal numbers of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted, their mutual correspondence or assignment of each to each, is according to the order of enumeration.

Thus sûtra III. 1 134 (नन्दिग्रहिपचादिभ्यो ल्युणिन्यचः) declares—'the affixes ल्यु, णिनि and अच् are applied to नन्दि, ग्रहि and पच् class of words.' It means the affix ल्यु is applied to the words of नन्दि class, the affix णिनि to words of ग्रहि class, and अच् to words of पच् class. The application must be respectively according to order, and not hap-hazard. Similarly in VI. 1 77 इको यणचि (if a vowel follows) in the place of इ, उ, ऋ, लृ there is यण् *i. e.*, य्, र्, ल्, व् ॥ So also see S. IV. 3. 94 (तूदीशलातुरवर्मतीकूचवाराड् ढक् छण् ढञ् यकः) where the four affixes ḍhak, chhaṇ ḍhañ, and yak are applied respectively to the words tûdî, s'alâtura, varmati and kûchavâra; *i. e.*, the first affix in the order of enumeration to the first word, the second affix to the second word, &c. As तौदेयः, शालातुरीयः, वार्मतेयः and कौचवार्य्यः ॥

Why do we say 'of equal members'? This rule will not apply if the number of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted are unequal. As in sûtra I. 4. 90, लक्षणेत्थम्भूताख्यानभागवीप्सासु प्रति पर्यनवः for here the words lakshaṇa, &c., in the first part of

the sûtra are four in number, while the words prati &c. are only three. That sûtra therefore must be read as thus. "The words प्रति, परि and अनु are karma pravachanîya, whenever they indicate either lakshaṇa (a mark), itthambhutâ khyâna (a statement of mere circumstance); bhâga (division); or vipsâ (desire)."

स्वरितेनाधिकारः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितेन, अधिकारः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरितो नाम स्वरविशेषो वर्णधर्म्मः तेन चिह्नेनाधिकारो वेदितव्यः ॥

11. In these aphorisms, when a word is marked with a svarita accent, by that an adhikâra or a governing rule is to be understood.

When in this collection of grammatical sutras, there is any sûtra that has a circumflex accent, it denotes that it is either the beginning of a subject and the subsequent sûtras are governed by it, or that it ends a subject and separates the previous sûtras from the following.

As a rule, the sûtras are not marked with accents; it is therefore from commentaries that one has to learn whether a sûtra has a svarita or not. Thus the following sûtras must evidently have svarita as they are governing sûtras; प्रत्ययः (III. 1. 1.) धातोः (III. 1. 91), अङ्गस्य (VI. 4. 1), भस्य (VI. 4 129).

अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात-ङ्-इतः आत्मनेपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तेतो ये धातवो ङितश्च तेभ्य एव आत्मने पदं भवति नान्येभ्यः ॥

12. After a root which has an indicatory anudâtta vowel (anudâttet) or an indicatory ṅ (ṅit), the affixes are those of the Atmanepada.

The word 'atmanepada' here governs all the subsequent sûtras up to sû. 77 inclusive, and is understood in them all; and will not therefore be repeated. Thus of the verb आस the final अ is anudâtta and is इत्. It is therefore an âtmanepadi verb. As आस्ते. So षूङ्—सूते, शीङ् शेते.

भावकर्मणोः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भाव-कर्मणोः, (आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे कर्म्मणि चात्मनेपदम् भवति ॥

13. An atmanepada affix is the substitute of the affix ल (III. 4. 69) when it denotes the action of the verb or the object of the verb.

Sûtra III. 4. 69 declares the "letter ल (लट्, लिट् &c.,) is placed after transitive verbs in denoting the object also as well as the agent; and after intransitives in marking the condition (*i.e.*, the action itself which the verb imports) also as well as the agent." The Paras. and Atman. affixes would

have come, therefore, generally after all these verbs. The present sûtra restricts Atman. affixes to bhâva and karma verbs.

This is clear. Impersonal verbs and passive verbs as a rule are conjugated in the âtmanepada and take the terminations of that pada. These originally were verbs expressive of states rather than of actions. As of भाव we have ग्लायते भवता 'you dislike' (lit. 'it is disliked by you'), सुप्यते भवता 'you sleep.' Similarly passive verbs as क्रियते कटः 'the mat is made'; ह्रियते भारः 'the load is carried.'

All verbs in Sanskrit may have three voices, *viz*, active, passive, and middle or impersonal; active voice is generally parasmaipada. The reflexive verbs known as कर्मकर्तरि are also âtmanepadi. Thus लूयते केदारः स्वयमेव 'the wood cuts of itself.' See sûtra 78.

कर्त्तरि कर्म व्यतिहारे ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, कर्म-व्यतिहारे ॥ (आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्म व्यतिहारे तद्विशिष्ट क्रिया वचनाद्धातोरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

14. In denoting the agent, when reciprocity of action is to be expressed, the affixes of the Atmanepada are employed.

The active or कर्तृवाच्य verbs when denoting reciprocal action are âtmanepadi. As, व्यतिपचन्ते, 'they cook for each other,' व्यतिलुनते 'he performs cutting of wood which was the appropriate office of another.'

The words "reciprocity or interchange of action" of this sûtra govern and are understood in the two following sûtras also.

The word karma in the sûtra means action and not the technical 'karma' meaning 'object' and the word vyatihâra means reciprocity or interchange. When an action which was appropriate to one person is performed by another, whose duty it was not, that is called 'interchange of action.' When such interchange is not meant Paras. is used. As लुनन्ति 'they cut.' The word kartari here is used for the sake of the subsequent aphorism 78, which see.

न गति हिंसार्थेभ्यः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गति-हिंसा-अर्थेभ्यः ॥ (आत्मनेपदम् कर्मव्यतिहारे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थेभ्यो हिंसार्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यः कर्म व्यतिहारे आत्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रतिषेधो हसादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हरतेरप्रतिषेधः ॥

15. After verbs having the sense of 'motion,' or 'injury,' when expressing interchange of action, the Atmanepada affixes are not used.

This aphorism prohibits Atmanepada affixes in certain cases where by force of the last sûtra Atmanepada affixes would have been obtained. As व्यतिगच्छन्ति 'they go against each other,' व्यतिहिंसन्ति 'they injure each other.' व्यतिघ्नन्ति 'they fight together.'

The word 'not' of this sûtra is understood in the subsequent sûtra.

Vart.—This prohibition extends to the verbs हस् 'to laugh,' and the rest. As व्यतिहसन्ति, व्यतिजल्पन्ति, व्यतिपठन्ति ॥

Vart.—Prohibition must be made of the verbs हरति 'to injure,' as संप्रहरन्ते राजानः ॥

इतरेतरान्योन्योपपदाच्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतर-इतर, अन्यः-अन्यः, उपपदात्, च, (कर्मव्य॰ आत्मने॰ न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इतरेतरोऽन्योन्य इत्येवमुपपदाद्धातोः कर्मव्यतिहारे आत्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ परस्परोपपदाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

16. And after the verbs which take the words itaretara 'each other,' and anyonya 'one another,' as upapada (or dependant qualifying words), the affixes of Atmanepada are not used, though reciprocity of action be denoted.

Thus इतरेतरस्य व्यति लुनन्ति 'they cut each other' अन्योन्यस्य व्यतिलुनन्ति 'they cut one another.'

Vart.—This rule must also be applied when the word परस्पर is in composition with the verb, as an upapada. As परस्परस्य व्यतिलुनन्ति.

नेर्विशः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नेः, विशः, (आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नेः परस्माद् विश आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

17. After the verb vis' 'to enter,' when preceded by the preposition ni, the Atmanepada affixes are employed.

As विशति 'he enters,' but निविशते 'he enters in.'

Even when the augment अट् of the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional tenses intervenes between the root and the preposition, terminations are of the âtmanepada. As न्यविशत 'he entered in.'

The नि of the sûtra must be an upasarga, because that has a sense, and not any नि. On this there is this paribhâshâ :—अर्थवद्ग्रहणेनानर्थकस्य "a combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote the same combination of letters void of a meaning." Thus in मधुनि विशन्ति भ्रमराः 'the beetles enter the honey flowers.'

Here the नि is a part of the word मधुनि and has no sense by itself, and therefore the verb is in the Parasmaipada and not in the Atmanepada.

परिव्यवेभ्यः क्रियः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परि-वि-अवेभ्यः, क्रियः, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिव्यवेभ्य उत्तरात् क्रीणातेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

18. After the verb krî 'to purchase,' when preceded by pari, vi or ava, the Atmanepada affix is employed, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb डुक्रीञ् 'to buy or barter,' has an indicatory ञ् and therefore, by sûtra 72 it will be Atmanepadi when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sûtra, therefore, refers to cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The root क्री 'to buy' as a general rule takes the terminations of both padas, but when it is preceded by pari, vi, or ava, it is restricted to Atmanepada terminations. As परीक्रीणीते 'he buys'; विक्रीणीते 'he sells'; अवक्रीणीते 'he buys.'

The word pari, vi, and ava must be upasargas, therefore, in the following example, there is no Atmanepada termination, because the vi there is not a preposition but a noun, as, बहुविक्रीणाति वनम्.

विपराभ्यां जेः ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विपराभ्याम्, जेः (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि परा पूर्वाज्जयतेर्धातोरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

19. After the verb ji 'to conquer,' preceded by vi or parâ, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

This sûtra debars S. 78 by which the root जि is generally Parasmaipadi.

As विजयते 'he conquers', पराजयते 'he conquers.' The words vi and parâ must be upasargas (prepositions), for the application of this rule. In the following examples, they are used as substaintives बहुविजयति वनम्, पराजयति सेना ॥

आङो दोऽनास्य विहरणे ॥ २० ॥ पदानिः ॥ आङः, दः, अनास्य-विहरणे, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वाद्ददातेरनास्यविहरणे वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आस्यविहरणसमानक्रितादपि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वाङ्ग कर्मकाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

20. After the verb dâ 'to give,' preceded by âṅ, and when not meaning 'to open the mouth,' the Atmanepada affix is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The root दा is generally both Parasmaipadi and Atmanepadi (see S. 72). But when preceded by the preposition आ, it is restriced to the âtamanepada. As विद्यामादत्ते 'he acquires knowledge.' But when it means "to widen the mouth" whether actually or metaphorically, it is parasmaipadi. As आस्यं व्याददाति. 'He expands his own mouth.'

Vart:—The prohibition also applies when the action is similar to the act of opening the mouth. As विपादिकां व्याददाति 'he opens the tumour.' कूलं व्याददाति नदी 'the river breaks the bank.'

Vart:—When the action does not affect the agents' own body the verb is âtmanepadi, as व्याददतेपिपीलिकाः पतंगस्य मुखम्, 'the ants open the mouth of a locust.'

क्रीडोऽनुसंपरिभ्यश्च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रीडः, अनु-सम्-परिभ्यः, च, (आङः, आत्मने प०)

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीड़ विहारे एतस्मात् अनुसम्परि इत्येवं पूर्वात् आङ् पूर्वाच्चात्मनेपदं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ समोऽकूजने इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ आगमेः क्षमायामात्मने पदं वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ शिक्षेर्जिज्ञासायाम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ आशिषिनाथः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ हरतेर्गतताच्छील्ये ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ किरतेर्हर्षजीविका कुलायकरणेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ आङिनुप्रच्छ्योरुपसंख्यानम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ शप उपालम्भन इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

21. After the verb krîḍ 'to play' preceded by anu, sam or pari, as well as âṅ, the Atmanepada affix is used.

The word "आङ्" is to be read into the sûtra by virtue of the conjunction च in the text. As आक्रीडते संक्रीडते अनुक्रीडते, or परिक्रीडते 'he plays.'

Vart.—When the verb क्रीड़् compounded with सम् means to make a rattling or creaking noise,' it does not take âtmanepada terminations. As संक्रीडन्ति शकटानि 'the carts rattle or creak.' The word anu, pari &c., being taught along with sam, indicates that the upasargas anu, pari, &c., are to be taken and not the karmapravachanîya anu pari, &c. Therefore, when these prefixes are used as karmapravachanîya, they do not cause the verb क्रीड़् to

take the âtmanepada terminations as माणवकमनुक्रीडति 'he plays in imitation of the boy.' For the definition and action of karmapravachanîya, see. I. 4. 83 and II. 3. 8.

Vart.—The verb आगम् takes the âtmanepada terminations when meaning 'to wait for', 'to overlook', 'to have patience', as, आगमयस्व तावन् माणवकम्। 'Have patience with the boy.'

Vart. The verb शिक्ष takes âtmanepada terminations, when meaning 'to enquire':—as, विद्यासु शिक्षते 'he investigates sciences.

Vart.—The verb नाथ् when meaning 'to bless,' takes âtmanepada terminations, as, सर्पिषो नाथते 'he blesses with clarified butter.' मधुनो नाथते। Why do we say 'when meaning to bless'? Observe, माणवकमनुनाथति, 'he begs of Manavakâ.'

Vart.—The verb हरति takes âtmanepada terminations when meaning 'to take after the nature of the parents.' As पैतृकमश्वा अनुहरते 'the horses resemble their father.' मातृकं गावोऽनुहरन्ते 'the cows always imitate their mother.' But when not having this meaning, we have मातुरनुहरति 'he resembles his mother.'

Vart.--The verb किरति takes âtmanepada terminations when meaning 'to scratch out or scatter with joy, for abode or food.' As अपस्किरते वृषभो हृष्टः 'the happy bull scratches with joy.' अपस्किरते कुक्कुटो भक्षार्थी 'the cock scratches in search of food,' अपस्किरते श्वाऽऽश्रयार्थी 'the dog scratches to make his abode.' When not having these senses we have अपकिरति कुसुमम् 'he scatters about the flowers.' The dental स in apaskirate is added by sûtra VI. 1. 142. अपाच्चतुष्पाच्छकुनिष्वालेखने॥

Vart.—The verbs नु 'to cry' and प्रच्छ 'to ask' take the âtmanepada terminations when preceded by the preposition आङ्, as आनुते शृगालः 'the jackal howls,' आपृच्छते गुरूम् 'he questions the Guru.'

Vart.—The verb शप् when meaning 'to touch the body by the word' takes âtmanepada affixes. As देवदत्ताय शपते 'he promises by oath to Devadatta.' Otherwise we have शपति 'he curses.'

समवप्रविभ्य स्थः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-अव-प्र-विभ्यः, स्थः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम् अव प्र वि इत्येवं पूर्वात् तिष्ठते रात्मनेपदं भवति।

वार्तिकम् ॥ आङः स्थः प्रतिज्ञान इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

22. After the verb sthâ 'to stand,' preceded by sam, ava, pra, vi, the Atmanepada affix is used.

As संतिष्ठते 'he stays with,' अवतिष्ठते 'he waits patiently,' प्रतिष्ठते 'he sets forth,' वितिष्ठते 'he stands apart.'

Vart.—The verb स्था when preceded by आङ् and meaning 'solemn declaration' takes âtmanepada terminations; as अस्ति संस्कारमात्रमातिष्ठते ॥ Or to take another example, अलं विशं वा तव कारणादास्थास्ये 'for thee I shall surely have recourse to water or poison.'

प्रकाशनस्थेयाख्ययोश्च ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकाशन-स्थेय-आख्ययोः, च, (स्था, आत्मने॰) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकाशने स्थेयाख्यायां च तिष्ठतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

23. After the verb sthâ when meaning 'to indicate one's intentions to another,' or 'to make an award as an arbitrator,' the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The word prakâs'ana means disclosing one's intentions. The word stheyâkhya is a compound of stheya 'arbitrator; and âkhya 'name.'

As तिष्ठते जायापत्ये 'the wife expresses her wish to the husband;' त्वयि-तिष्ठते 'he refers to thee for settlement;' संशय्य कर्णादिषु तिष्ठते यः, 'who, when he is in doubt, has recourse to Karṇa as his judge or umpire.'

उदोऽनूर्ध्वकर्म्मणि ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदः, अनूर्ध्व-कर्मणि, (स्था, आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत् पूर्वात् तिष्ठते रनूर्ध्वकर्म्मणि वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ उद ईहायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

24. After the verb sthâ, preceded by ut, when not meaning 'to get up or rise,' as from a seat, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The word 'karma' in this aphorism means 'action,' and does not mean the grammatical karma or 'object.'

As गेहे उत्तिष्ठते 'he strives for the house' so also कुटुम्बे उत्तिष्ठते ॥ But आसनादुत्तिष्ठति 'he rises up from the seat.'

Vart.—The force of the preposition ut must be to express ईहा, 'effort, exertion, wish or desire, to surprise or excell.' If this be not the force of ut, the terminations are those of the Parasmaipada. As अस्माद् ग्रामात् शतमुत्तिष्ठति 'a hundred is yielded by this village.' The word ईहा qualifies the word 'anûrdhakarmaṇi,' and does not debar the latter.

उपान्मन्त्रकरणे ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात्, मन्त्र-करणे, (स्था, आ॰ प॰) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वात्तिष्ठतेर्मन्त्रकरणेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ उपाद्देवपूजासंगति करणमित्री करणपथिष्विति वाच्यम्
वार्तिकम् ॥ वा लिप्सायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

25. After the verb sthâ, preceded by upa, when meaning 'to adore,' the Atmanepada affix is used.

As ऐन्द्र्यागार्हपत्यमुपतिष्ठते 'he approaches with prayers or worships the Gârhapatya fire with aindra hymns.'

If it does not mean 'praising with hymns' the terminations which the verb takes, are those of the Parasmaipada, as भर्तारमुपतिष्ठति यौवनेन 'she approaches the husband through youth.'

Vart.—The verb स्था after the preposition उप takes the terminations of the âtmanepada when meaning 'worshipping a deity,' 'to approach for intercourse or uniting or joining,' 'to form friendship with,' and 'to lead to as a way.' Thus:—1st Deva pujâ आदित्यमुपतिष्ठते 'he worships the Aditya.' 2. Sangati karaṇa पतिमुपतिष्ठते नारी 'the wife approaches the husband,' रथिकानुपतिष्ठते 'forms union with charioteers.' 3. Mitrî karaṇa सन्तमुपतिष्ठते साधुः 'the good man approaches the saints to make friends with.' What is the difference between Sangati-karaṇa and Mitri-karana? Sangati-karana means drawing near and approaching together in space, as गंगायमुनामुपतिष्ठते 'the Ganges joins the Jumna.' While the friendly relations may be established without coming in physical contact. 4. Patha:—अयं पन्थाः स्रुघ्नमुपतिष्ठते 'this road leads to Srughna.'

Vart.—It must be stated that the Atmanepada is optional when the sense is 'desire of getting.' As भिक्षुको ब्राह्मणकुलमुपतिष्ठते or उपतिष्ठति 'a beggar waits at the place of a Brahmaṇa with the desire of getting something.'

अकर्मकाच्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्मकात्, च, (उपस्था आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वात् तिष्ठतेरकर्मकादकर्मकक्रियावचनादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

26. After the verb sthâ, preceded by upa, when used intransitively, the Atmanepada affix is used.

As भोजनकाले उपतिष्ठते 'he stands ready at the time of dinner,' यावद्भुक्तमुपतिष्ठते 'he is present whenever it is dinner time,' यावदोदनमुपतिष्ठते 'he is present whenever there is food, that is he comes at the time of dinner.' The word bhukta is formed by adding the affix kta to the root, and has the force of condition' here.

The phrase 'when used in the Intransitive' governs the three succeeding sûtras also.

If it is transitive; the verb upasthâ takes the parasmaipada terminations. As राजानमुपतिष्ठते 'he approaches the king.'

उद्विभ्यां तपः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्-विभ्याम्, तपः, (अकर्मकात् आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद् विइत्येवं पूर्वात् तपतेरकर्मकात्क्रियावचनादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वाङ्ग कर्म्मकाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

27. After the verb tapa 'to shine,' when used intransitively, and preceded by ut or vi, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

As उत्तपते or वितपते विद्यया विद्यार्थी 'The scholar shines with knowledge.' But in transitive verbs, it is Parasmaipadi. As उत्तपति सुवर्णं सुवर्णकारः 'the goldsmith heats the gold,' वितपति पृष्ठं सविता 'the sun heats the back.'

Vart.—It must be stated that the terminations are of the âtmanepada, though the verb ut-tapa or vi-tapa be transitive, when the object is some limb of one's own body. As उत्तपते पाणिम् or वितपते पाणिम् or पृष्ठं 'he heats his own hand or back.' The word स्वाङ्ग means one's own body and not the pâribhâshika or the technical स्वाङ्ग meaning "a thing which not being liquid or gaseous and being capable of being perceived by the senses, and not being one produced by a change from the natural state, exists in a living being and though found elsewhere actually or at any particular time, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually (not figuratively) the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being." (See IV. 1. 54. स्वाङ्गाच्चोपसर्जनादसंयोगोपधात्). Therefore not so in the following देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तस्य पृष्ठमुत्तपति 'Devadatta heats the back of Yajñadatta.' When the preposition is other than ut or vi, parasmaipada affix is employed; as, निष्टपति.

आङो यमहनः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङः, यम-हनः, (अकर्मकात् आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यम उपरमे, हन हिंसागत्योः । ताभ्यामकर्मकक्रिया वचनाभ्यामाङ् पूर्वाभ्यामात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

28. After the verb yam 'to stop,' and han 'to injure' when used intransitively and preceded by âṅ, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The word intransitive of s. 26 is understood here also. Both these verbs are generally parasmaipadi. When they take the affix आ they become âtmanepadi. Yam belongs to Bhvâdi class; and han to Adâdi class. Thus आ+यम्+शप्+ते=आ+यच्छ+अते (VII. 3. 77 इषुगमियमां छः 'chh is the substitute of the finals of ish, gam and yam, when an affix having an indicatory श् follows) =आयच्छते 'it spreads.' आयच्छेते and आयच्छन्ते; so also आ+हन्+ते=आ+ह+ते (I. 2. 4 and VI. 4. 37) अनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपो झलि क्ङिति = आहते, 'he strikes.' आ=हन्+आते=आ+हन्+आते (I. 2. 4 and VI. 4. 98 सार्वधातुकमपित् गमहनजनखनघसां लोपः क्ङित्यनङि) = आघ्नाते (VII. 3. 54), (हो हन्तेर्ञ्णिन्नेषु) Pl. आघ्नते.

Not so when these verbs are used in the transitive, as आयच्छति कूपाद्रज्जुम् 'he draws up the rope from the well,' आहन्ति वृषलं पादेन 'they kill the sinner with the foot.'

Vart.—When the object is some member of the agent's own body these verbs take the Atmanepada terminations though transitive. As आयच्छते पाणिम् 'he puts forth his own hand.' आहते शिरः 'he hurts his own head.' When the object is some limb of another's body, the terminations are of the Parasmaipada, as आघ्नन्ति शिरः परकीयं 'they hurt others' head.'

समोगमृच्छिप्रच्छिस्वरत्यर्तिश्रुविदिभ्यः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः, गमि-ऋच्छि-प्रच्छि-स्वरति-अर्त्ति-श्रु-विदिभ्यः (अकर्म० आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वेभ्यो गमि ऋच्छि प्रच्छि स्वरति अर्तिश्रुविदिइत्येतेभ्योऽकर्मकेभ्यो धातुभ्यः आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दृशेश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

29. After the verbs gam 'to go,' ṛichchh 'to become hard,' prachchh 'to ask,' svar 'to find fault,' ṛi 'to go,' s'rû 'to hear,' and vid 'to know,' when used intransitively and preceded by sam, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The above seven verbs when preceded by the preposition सम् and used in the intransitive, take the terminations of the Atmanepada. As संगच्छते (VII. 3. 77) 'he joins,' समृच्छते 'he becomes hard or goes.' संपृच्छते 'he asks,' संस्वरते 'he blames,' समरन्त 'they are attained.' In the case of this last verb which belongs both to Bhvâdi and Juhutyâdi classes it is Atmanepadi only in the Aorist. As सम्+ऋ+अङ्+त (III. 1. 56 सर्तिशास्त्यर्तिभ्यश्च) = समृत, as मा समृत (VI. 4. 75 बहुलंछन्दस्यमाङ्योगेऽपि) सम् + ऋ + अङ् + अन्त = समरन्त (VII. 4. 16 ऋदृशोऽङिगुणः). This occurs generally in the Vedas. The verb विद् must have the meaning of 'to know,' and not that of 'to acquire.' संशृणुते 'he hears,' संवित्ते 'he knows.'

Vart.—The root दृश् (to see) after the preposition सम् when used intransitively takes the terminations of the Atmanepada as संपश्यते 'he sees.' But when transitive, it takes Parasmaipada terminations as ग्रामम् संपश्यति 'he sees the town.'

निसमुपविभ्यो ह्वः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नि-सम्-उप-विभ्यः, ह्वः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि सम उप वि इत्येवं पूर्वाद् ह्वयतेर्धातोरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥उपसर्गादस्यत्यूह्योर्वा वचनम् ॥

30. After the verbs hve 'to call,' preceded by ni, sam, upa, and vi, the Atmanepada is used, even, when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb ह्वे: 'to call' whether transitive or intransitive is Atmanepadî after the above prepositions. The condition of being Intransitive does not apply to this sûtra, and from this sûtra forward general rules of Atmanepada are treated of. As निह्वयते, संह्वयते, उपह्वयते ॥

The verb ह्वे is marked in the Dhâtupâṭha with a ञ् and therefore by sûtra 72 of this Chapter, it will take the terminations of the Atmanepada when the direct fruit of the action accrues to the agent. But even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the verb hve takes the terminations of the Atmanepada when preceded by the above prefixes.

Vart.—The verbs अस् 'to throw' and ऊह् 'to note' take optionally Atmanepada affixes when compounded with upasargas. As निरस्यति—॰ते 'he casts out,' समूहति—॰ते 'he collects.'

स्पर्द्धायामाङः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्पर्द्धायाम्, आङः, (ह्वः आ॰ प॰) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पर्द्धायां विषये आङ् पूर्वाद् ह्वयतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

31. After the verb hve, when meaning 'to challenge' and preceded by âṅ, the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

As मल्लो मल्लमाह्वयते 'an athlete challenges another athlete (in order to conquer him)'; छात्रश्छात्रमाह्वयते 'one student emulates with another student.'

This sûtra is also for the purpose of showing that the root hve takes the Atmanepada termintaions even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The word spardhâ means to emulate, to vie, to desire, to conquer another. When the verb hve has not the above signification, it takes the terminations of the parasmaipada. As गामाह्वयति गोपालः 'the cowherd calls the cows.'

गन्धनावक्षेपणसेवनसाहसिक्यप्रतियत्नप्रकथनोपयोगेषु कृञः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गन्धन-अवक्षेपण-सेवन-साहसिक्य-प्रतियत्न-प्रकथन-उपयोगेषु, कृञः, (आ॰ प॰) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गन्धनादिष्वर्थेषु वर्त्तमानात् करोतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

32. After the verb kṛi when meaning 'to divulge,' 'to revile,' 'to serve,' 'to use violence,' 'to cause change,' 'to recite,' and 'to do an act tending to effect a desired purpose,' the Atmanepada is used even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb कृञ् by sûtra 72 would take the affixes of the Atmanepada when the direct fruit of the action accrues to the agent. This sûtra has been begun to show that this verb takes the Atmanepada terminations under certain circumstances even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The word gandhana comes from the root gandh 'to injure,' of churâdi class and means to inform against another maliciously with the object of injuring such person. Avakshepana means 'to revile', 'to over-come,' sevana means 'to obey and serve,' sâhasikya means 'an act of violence,' pratiyatna means, 'imparting a new quality or virtue,' prakathana means 'to narrate fully,' upayoga means 'the disposal of a thing for the object of attaining merit &c.'

Thus उत्कुरुते. उदाकुरुते means he informs against; (2) श्येनो वर्तिकामुदाकुरुते 'the hawk overcomes or reviles a snail,' (3) गणिकानुपकुरुते 'he serves the prostitutes,' महामात्राननुकुरुते 'he serves the mahamatra,' (4) परदारान् प्रकुरुते 'he outrages another's wife,' (5) एधोदकस्योपस्कुरुते 'the fuel gives a new quality (boils) to the water (or he prepares the wood and water for a sacrifice).' The object of the verb kṛi takes the affix of the sixth case *i. e.* genitive, only when the verb means pratiyatna, see S. II. 3. 53 (कृञः प्रतियत्ने) । Therefore udakasya, though an object, has genitive form. The verb takes the augment सुट् only when it is preceded by upa and signifies pratiyatna, see VI. 1. 139. (उपात् प्रतियत्न वैकृत वाक्याध्याहारेषु) ॥ Therefore, there is the insertion of sibilant in upaskurute. (5) गाथाः प्रकुरुते 'he recites stories,' जनापवादान् प्रकुरुते 'he recites slander,' (6) शतं प्रकुरुते 'he devotes a hundred' pieces of money, for the sake of merit. सहस्रं प्रकुरुते 'he devotes a thousand.'

Why, do we say in these senses? Witness कटं करोति 'he makes a mat. In this case the âtmanepada affix is not employed.

The verb kṛi is understood in the three succeeding sûtras.

अधेः प्रसहने ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधेः, प्रसहने, (कृञः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधि पूर्वात् करोतेः प्रसहने वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

33. After the verb kṛi preceded by adhi, when the sense is that of 'overcoming or defeat,' the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

This sûtra is commenced to show that kṛi may take the âtmanepada affix even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word prasahana means 'to overcome, to be not defeated.' As तमधिचक्रे 'he overcame him or he was not defeated by him.'

Why do we say, 'in the sense of to overcome?' Witness अर्थमधिकरोति 'he learns the meaning' in which example the âtmanepada affix is not employed.

The necessity of making a separate sûtra of this rule, instead of including it in the last aphorism, arose with the object of giving a distinctive meaning to the prefix adhi.

वेः शब्दकर्म्मणः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, शब्द कर्म्मणः, (कृञः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि पूर्वात् करोतेरकर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले शब्दकर्म्मण आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

34. After the verb kṛi preceded by vi, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, and when ǝsuǝs ǝɥʇ is that of 'making sound,' (literally, having 'sound' for its object) the Atmanepada is employed.

The word karma in the sûtra indicates objective case or kâraka; and does not express 'action,' as in some previous sûtras such as 24 ante.

As क्रोष्टा विकुरुते स्वरान् 'the birds are making noise,' ध्वांक्षो विकुरुते स्वरान् ॥

The word वि governs the succeeding sûtra.

Why do we say "when governing a word expressive of sound in the objective case"? Witness चित्तं विकरोति कामः 'love affects the mind.'

अकर्म्मकाच्च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्म्मकात्, च, (कृञः आ० प० वेः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि पूर्वात् करोतेरकर्मकादकर्म्मकक्रियावचनादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

35. After the verb kṛi preceded by vi, when used intransitively, the Atmanepada is used.

As विकुर्वन्ते सैन्धवाः 'the horses move gracefully,' ओदनस्य पूर्णाश्छात्रा विकुर्वते the students being full of food are acting as they will or are aimlessly wandering about.'.

संमाननोत्सञ्जनाचार्यकरणज्ञानभृतिविगणनव्ययेषु नियः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संमानन-उत्सञ्जन-आचार्यकरण-ज्ञान-भृति-विगणन-व्ययेषु, नियः, (आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णीञ् प्रापणे इत्येतस्माद्धातोकर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आत्मनेपदं भवति, सम्माननादिषु विशेषणेषु सत्सु ॥

36. After the verb nî 'to lead,' when used in the sense of 'to guide so as to render the person guided worthy,' 'to lift up,' 'to make one a spiritual guide,' 'to determine the true sense,' 'to employ on wages,'

'to pay as debt,' and 'to give as in charity,' even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the Atmanepada is used.

This sûtra is begun in order to show that the verb नी may take the terminations of the Atmanepada, even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, in the following cases, *viz*, when it means to 'respect' &c.

Sammânana means to respect; as नयते चार्वी लोकायते 'the Chârvi gives instruction in the Lokâyata s'astra.' The word chârvi primarily means intelligence, and by secondry use it has been extended to the preceptor also; such a preceptor gives instruttion, in Lokâyata Sastra, that is to say, having established the truth of the doctrines of that philosophy by argumentation, imparts them to the pupils. Those, doctrines being thus established by reason, become respected (Sanmânitâ) and honored.

Utsañjana, 'to throw up, or lift up,' as माणवकमुदानयते 'he lifts up Manavaka.'

Achârya-karaṇa 'acting as a teacher,' that is to say, to bring a boy near oneself in such a way, that being so brought near (upa-neta), he may himself become an âchârya. As माणवकमुपनयते 'he initiates Manavaka (*i. e.*, making himself the preceptor he brings the boy near himself.')

Jñâna means 'knowledge, a demonstrated verity.' As नयते चार्वी लोकायते 'the Chârvî investigates the truth of the Lokâyata doctrine.'

Bhṛiti means 'wages.' As कर्मकरानुपनयते 'he employs the servants on hire or wages.'

Vigaṇana means the paying off as a tribute, debts &c. As मद्रा करं विनयन्ते, 'the Madras pay the tax due to the king, that is, they discharge the debt.'

Vyaya means 'allotment of money on works of merit &c.' As शतं विनयते 'he expends a hundred pieces on religious acts.' सहस्रं विनयते 'he devotes a thousand.

Why do we say, in these senses? Witness अजां नयति ग्रामम् 'he carries the goat to the village.' Here there is no Atmnepada affix, as the verb has not any one of the above significations.

कर्तृस्थे चाशरीरे कर्म्मणि ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृस्थे, च, अशरीरे, कर्म्मणि, (नियः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नयतेः कर्त्तृस्थेऽशरीरे कर्म्मणि सति नयतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

37. After the verb nî, when it governs an incorporeal object existing in the agent, as its object the Atmanepada is used.

The verb नी is Atmanepadi when governing an object which has no material body, but is an abstract noun, that is an object which has abstract but no concrete existence; and when such an object has its seat in a portion of the agent of the verb. As क्रोधं विनयते 'he subdues his own anger,' मन्युं विनयते 'he suppresses anger.'

The word s'arîra means the body of living beings, any portion of such body is also called s'arîra.

The object must reside in the agent, (kartṛistha), otherwise the verb will be parasmaipadi. As देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तस्य क्रोधं विनयति 'Devadatta removes Yajnadatta's anger.'

The object moreover must be immaterial, otherwise the affix will be of parasmaipada. As गडुं विनयति 'he removes his own wort.' घाटां विनयति 'he bows his neck.'

Why do we say 'in the case of an object?' Witness बुद्ध्या विनयति 'he is submissive through knowledge,' प्रज्ञया विनयति. Here the verb विनयति has not taken an accusative case, but is in construction with an instrumental case, and therefore the present rule does not apply.

वृत्तिसर्गतायनेषु क्रमः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृत्ति-सर्ग-तायनेषु, क्रमः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृत्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु क्रमेर्धातोरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

38. After the verb kram 'to move' when used, in the senses of 'continuity,' 'energy' and 'development,' the Atmanepada is employed.

The word 'kram' governs the succeeding sûtras up to 43 and is understood in them all.

The verb kram by sûtra I. 3. 78 (after the rest, let the parasmaipada affixes be employed in marking the agent), would have taken the affixes of the parasmaipada; the present aphorism enjoins Atmanepada affixes in certain cases when the verb means to have a taste for &c.

Vṛitti 'continuity' means unobstructed, or want of interruption (*i. e.*, a taste for, or facility in, anything), sarga 'energy' means application, resolution and determination. Tâyana 'development' means increase and growth.

As (1) ऋक्ष्वस्य क्रमते बुद्धिः—'his reason proceeds unobstructed through the Rig. scriptures *i. e.*, he can easily comprehend the Rig.' (2). व्याकरणाध्ययनाय क्रमते 'the pupil shows energy or exerts to study the grammar.' (3). अस्मिन् शास्त्राणि क्रमन्ते 'the shastras are developed in him.'

Why in these senses only? Witness अपक्रामति 'he runs away.'

उपपराभ्याम् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप-पराभ्याम्, (वृत्तिसर्गतायनेषु क्रमः आः प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपरापूर्वात् क्रमतेर्वृत्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु वर्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

39. After the verb kram, preceded by upa and para, when used in the senses of continuity, energy and development, the Atmanepada is employed.

The words vṛitti &c., of the last sûtra are understood here also. Why has this been made a separate sûtra and not included in the last? The reason is to make a restrictive rule in the cases of upasargas; that is to say, only in the cases of the upasargas upa and parâ, there is âtmanepada affix; but not so when any other upasarga precedes the verb kram, though the sense may be of continuity &c. Thus उपक्रमते 'he commences to advance,' पराक्रमते 'he marches to attack.'

Why do we say after the upasargas 'upa and parâ'? Because, after any other preposition the affix will be of the parsmaipada; as संक्रामति 'he makes progress.' If the sense is not that of "continuity" &c., parasmaipada will be employed, as उपक्रामति, पराक्रामति.

आङ्उद्गमने ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ आङः, उद्गमन (क्रमः, आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वात् क्रमते रुद्गमने वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ज्योतिरुद्गमने इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

40. After the verb kram, preceded by áṅ, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of the rising of a luminary.

As आक्रमते सूर्यः 'the sun rises.' आक्रमते चन्द्रमाः 'the moon rises,' आक्रमन्त ज्योतींषि 'the stars rise.'

Vart.—This ascending must refer to heavenly bodies. Therefore in आक्रामति धूमोहर्म्यतलात्, 'the smoke rises from the surface of the terrace,' the verb क्रम is parasmaipadi. Why do we say in the sense of "to ascend"? Witness आक्रमति माणवकः कुतपम् 'the boy assails the ox.'

वेः पादविहरणे ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, पाद-विहरणे, (क्रमः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विपूर्वात् क्रमतेः पादविहरणेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

41. After the verb kram, preceded by vi, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of 'placing of foot-steps.'

As वाजी विक्रमते 'the horse is pacing.' The term vikramaṇa is applied to the special movements of horse &c.

Though in the Dhâtupâṭha (catalogue of verbal roots), the verb क्रमि and क्रमु have the meanings of pâda-viharaṇa and pâda-vikshepa, that is "throwing or placing of foot," and so it might be objected that the present sûtra is a useless repetition, yet as verbs have various other meanings than what is assigned to them in the dhâtupaṭha, the present sûtra is not unnecessary.

Why do we say "in the sense of throwing of foot"? In any other sense, the terminations will be those of the parasmaipada. As विक्रामति अजिनसन्धिः 'the fold of the antilope skin is ruptured.'

प्रोपाभ्यां समर्थाभ्याम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र-उपाभ्याम्, समर्थाभ्याम्, (क्रमः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र उप इत्येताभ्यां परस्मात् क्रमतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

42. After the verb kram, the Atmanepada is employed when it is preceded by pra and upa, both conveying the same sense; viz. that of "beginning an action."

As प्रक्रमते भोक्तुम्, उपक्रमते भोक्तुम् 'he commences to eat' &c.

The prefixes pra and upa are synonyms, when they denote the commencement of an action

Why do we say," when they are synonyms" Witness the following पूर्वेद्युः प्रक्रामति अपरेद्युरुपक्रामति 'he goes during the first part of the day and he comes back during the latter part of the day.' Here in one case the sense is "to go," in another it means "to return."

Why in the latter case of 'aparedyur upakrâmati' there is not Atmanepada by virtue of sûtra 39 ante, as there is the upasarga upa here? The answer is that Rule 39 is not applicable, as that rule is limited by the condition of the sense of 'continuity' &c. while in the present sûtra, that limitation is not applicable.

अनुपसर्गाद्वा ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्-उपसर्गात्, वा (क्रमः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्ग वियुक्तात् क्रमतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

43. After the verb kram, the Atmanepada is optionally employed, when it is not preceded by any preposition.

The root 'kraṁ' may always be conjugated as Atmanepadi when not having any upasarga. The upasarga will be defined in I. 4. 59. The option allowed by this sûtra is an example of what is technically known as aprâpta vibhâsâ *viz.*, an option which is not an alternative limitation to a general rule already found or known.

Examples : क्रमते or क्रामति 'he goes over.' Why do we say 'when it is without any preposition?' For no option is allowed when it takes preposition. As संक्रामति.

अपह्नवे ज्ञः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि अपह्नवे:, ज्ञः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानातेरपह्नवे वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

44. After the verb jña, when used in the sense of 'denying,' the Atmanepada is employed.

The root jña which ordinarily means 'to know' and is parasmaipadi by rule 78, becomes Atmanepadi when through the virtue of any prefix it means 'to deceive:' as अपजानीते 'he deceives,' शतमपजानीते 'he denies the debt of a hundred rupees,' सहस्रमपजानीते 'denies a thousand.'

Why do we say when meaning "to deny?" Observe:— न त्वं किंचिदपि जानासि 'thou knowest not anything.'

अकर्मकाच्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्मकात्, च (ज्ञः, आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानातेरकर्मकादकर्मकक्रियावचनादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

45. And when used intransitively, after the verb jña, the Atmanepada is employed, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

As सर्पिषो जानीते मधुनो जानीते 'he engages in sacrifice by means of clarified butter or honey.' (See II. 3. 51).

This Atmanepadi form of jña is employed when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. From sûtra 76 it will be seen that when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the verb is Atmanepadi

How in the above example the verb jña is intransitive? Because the word sarpiḥ is not the object of knowledge, but it is an instrument of sacrifice, into which one engages from complete knowledge (jñâna); and it (ṣarpishaḥ) is in the genitive case by virtue of II. 3. 51 (ज्ञोऽविदर्थस्य करणे) by which the instrumental kâraka of the jña is put in the genitive case.

Why do we say of "Intransitive"? Because in the transitive it is parasmaipadi, as स्वरेण पुत्रं जानाति 'he knows (recognizes) the son by his voice.'

संप्रतिभ्यामनाध्याने ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-प्रतिभ्याम् अन्-आध्याने, (ज्ञः आ० प०)

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रतिइत्येवं पूर्वाज्जानातेरनाध्याने वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

46. After the verb jña, preceded by sam, and prati, the Atmanepada is employed, when not used in the sense of "remembering with regret."

The word jña is understood in this sûtra: and the aphorism applies to that jña which is used in the transitive. As शतं संजानीते 'he looks for a hundred,' So सहस्रं प्रतिजानीते 'he promises a thousand.'

Why do we say when 'not meaning remembering with regret?' Because it is not Atmanepadi, when it conveys that meaning. Thus मातुः संजानाति 'he remembers with regret his mother,' पितुः संजानाति ॥

भासनोपसंभाषाज्ञानयत्नविमत्युपमन्त्रणेषु वदः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भासन-उपसंभाषा-ज्ञान-यत्न-विमति-उपमन्त्रणेषु, वदः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भासनादिषु विशेषणेषु सत्सु वदतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

47. After the verb vad, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the senses of "showing brilliance, or proficiency in," "pacifying," "knowledge," "effort," "difference of opinion," and "flattering."

By sûtra 78, vad generally takes the terminations of the Parasmaipada. By the present sûtra, it takes also the affixes of the Atmanepada when having certain meanings.

Bhâsana, (shining) means to illumine as वदते चार्वी लोकायते. The chârvi illumines the Lokayat shastras, by his discourses and clear exposition.

Upasambhâshâ.(persuasions) means to appease, to conciliate, as कर्मकरानुपवदते 'he conciliates or cajoles the servants.'

Jñâna (knowledge) means to know completely, as वदते चार्वी लोकायते 'the chârvi knows completely to discourse upon Lokayat shastra.'

Yatna (endeavour) means energy, as क्षेत्रे वदते 'He toils in the field,' गेहे वदते 'he toils in the house.'

Vimati (disagreement) means dissension, want of unanimus opinion As क्षेत्रे विवदन्ते, 'they disagree over the field,' *i. e.*, holding different opinions they talk diversely.

Upamantrana (enticing) means to coax in secret, as, कुलभार्यामुपवदते 'he entices the wife of a respectable family (*i. e.*, seduces her in secret),' परदारानुपवदते 'he flatters another's wife.'

Why in the above senses only? See यत् किंचिद्वदति 'he says something'.

व्यक्तवाचां समुच्चारणे ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यक्तवाचाम्, सम्-उच्चारणे, (वदः, आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यक्तवाचां समुच्चारणं सहोच्चारणं तत्र वर्तमानाद्वदतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

48. After the verb vad, the Atmanepada is employed when used in the sense of "speaking articulately in a similar manner."

As संप्रवदन्ते ब्राह्मणाः 'the Brâhmaṇas are speaking.' But in संप्रवदन्ति कुक्कुटाः 'the cocks are crowing' it is properly Parasmaipadi

The sense of the sûtra is that when men, who are only capable of articulate speech, speak all in one and the same time, then the verb vad takes the affix of the Atmanepada. When lower animals make a chorus of noise, the verb does not take the Atmanepada.

There must be samuchchâraṇa for the application of this rule; when there is no samuchchâraṇa or speaking in a chorus, this rule does not apply, as ब्राह्मणो वदति 'the Brâhmaṇa speaks.'

अनोरकर्मकात् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनोः, अकर्मकात्, (वदः, आ० प०) व्यक्तवाचां ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वाद्वदतेरकर्म्मकाद्व्यक्तवाग्विषयादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

49. After the verb vad, preceded by anu when it is intransitively used, the Atmanepada is employed, when the sense is that of "speaking articulately in a similar manner."

As अनुवदते कठः कलापस्य kaṭha is echoing or imitates kalâpa. He reutters exactly what the kalâpa-reader or the teacher says. The word anu here means similarly.

Why do we say 'in the Intransitive'? Because when it is used in the transitive it takes the affixes of the Parasmaipada. As पूर्वमेव यजुरुदितमनुवदति, 'he repeats the yajurveda which he had learned before.'

The words 'uttering of articulate speech' are understood here also. Otherwise अनुवदति वीणा 'the lute resounds,' here it is Parasmaipada.

विभाषा विप्रलापे ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, विप्रलापे, (वदः आ० प० व्यक्तवाचां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विप्रलापात्मके व्यक्तवाचां समुच्चारणे वर्त्तमानाद्वदतेरात्मनेपदं भवति विभाषा ॥

50. After the verb vad, the Atmanepada is employed optionally, when the sense is that of "contradicting each other."

As विप्रवदन्ते or न्ति वैद्याः (the doctors are at variance). The words vyaktavâchâm (articulate utterance) and samuchchâraṇa (speaking together) are understood in this sûtra also.

No option is allowed when the sense is not that of contradiction or wrangling as, संप्रवदन्ते ब्राह्मणाः, 'the Brâhmanas are speaking together.'

The phrase 'articulate utterance' is necessary in this also. Because as विप्रवदन्ति शकुनयः 'the kites are quarrelling,' the verb is in the Parasmaipada.

The wrangling must be by talking at one and the same time, otherwise this rule will not apply. As क्रमेण वैद्या वैद्येन सह विप्रवदन्ति, 'the doctors contradict by turn another doctor.'

अवाद्ग्रः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवाद्, ग्रः, (आ० प०)

वृत्तिः ॥ अवपूर्वाद् गिरतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

51. After the verb gṛî 'to swallow,' when preceded by ava, the Atmanepada is used.

As अवगिरति (he swallows). The root gṛî to swallow preceded by the preposition ava is Atmanepadi. The verb gṛî taken in this sûtra means to swallow and belongs to the Tudâdi class. It is not the gṛî 'to make sound' which belongs to the kryâdi class, because there is no word formed with the latter verb by affixing the preposition ava to it. By sûtra 78 this verb gṛî 'to swallow' would have been Parasmaipadi; the present sûtra debars that.

When it is not preceded by ava, it is Parasmaipadi, as गिरति 'he swallows.'

समः प्रतिज्ञाने ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः, प्रतिज्ञाने, (ग्रः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्पूर्वाद् गिरतेः प्रतिज्ञाने वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

52. After the verb gṛî preceded by sam, the Atmanepada is used, when employed in the sense of 'promising.'

As शतं संगिरते, 'he promises to pay a hundred rupees.' If it does not mean to promise or acknowledge, it takes parasmaipada terminations. As संगिरति ग्रासम्, 'he swallows the mouthful.'

उदश्चरः सकर्मकात् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदः, चरः, सकर्मकात् ॥ (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्पूर्वात्चरतेः सकर्मकक्रियावचनादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

53. After the verb char 'to walk' preceded by ut, when used transitively, the Atmanepada is employed.

As गेहमुच्चरते 'he strays away from home;' गुरुवचनमुच्चरते 'he transgresses the commands of his preceptor.'

Why do we say "when used in the transitive"? Observe वाष्पमुच्चरति 'the vapour is rising.' Here it is parasmaipadi.

समस्तृतीयायुक्तात् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः, तृतीया- युक्तात्, (चरः आ प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वाच्चरतेस्तृतीयायुक्तादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

54. After the verb char, preceded by sam, and connected with a noun in the Instrumental case, the Atmanepada is employed.

As अश्वेन संचरते 'he rides on the horse-back.'

The rule does not apply when it is not in composition with a word in the instrumental case. As उभौ लोकौ संचरसि इमं चामुं च देवल ! 'O Devala! thou wanderest through both regions, this and that.' Here though the sense of the Instrumental case is implied, yet as it is not expressly stated, we use the parasmaipada terminations.

दाणश्च सा चेच्चतुर्थ्यर्थे ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाणः, च, सा, चेत्, चतुर्थी-अर्थे, (समस्तृ० यु० चरः आ० प०)

वृत्तिः ॥ दाणदाने परस्मैपदी ततः संपूर्वाद् तृतीयायुक्तादात्मनेपदं भवति साचेत् तृतीया चतुर्थ्यर्थे भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ अशिष्टव्यवहारे तृतीया चतुर्थ्यर्थे भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

55. And after the verb dâ to give, preceded by sam, and connected with a noun in the Instrumental case, the Atmanepada is employed, provided this Instrumental case have the sense of the Dative case.

When is the 3rd case used with the force of the 4th case? That is answered by the following.

Vart:—The Instrumental has the force of the Dative when immoral conduct is implied. As दास्या or वृषल्या संप्रयच्छते 'he gives with the object of enticing to the female slave or prostitute.'

The verb dâ to give is generally parasmaipadi, it becomes âtmanepadi under the above conditions.

Why do we say "when it has the force of the dative case"? Because when it has not the sense of the dative, parasmaipada terminations will be used, as पाणिना संप्रयच्छति, 'he gives with his hand.'

It might be asked how the âtmanepada terminations are employed when the preposition sam is not directly applied to the verb, but another preposition pra, intervenes between sam and the verb. The reply is that the word samah in sûtra 54 is not in the ablative case (which would have required its being placed immediately before the verb), but it is in the genitive case, and is used as an attribute.

उपाद्यमः स्वकरणे ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात्, यमः, स्वकरणे, (आ० प०)

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वाद्यमः स्वकरणे वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

56. After the verb yam, to give, preceded by upa, when used in the sense of "espousing," the Atmanepada is employed.

This is clear. As भार्यामुपयच्छते 'he espouses or knows his wife.' Bu not so when another's wife is meant; there it is parasmaipadi.

By rule 78, the verb yam would have been parasmaipadi, but th present sûtra makes an exception, when the root takes the preposition upa and means "to marry, to espouse, or to accept." The meaning of *sva-karana* is confined to accepting in general. This is according to Kâsika; according to Mahâbhâshya, sva-karana means to make one's own what was not previously his own.

Why do we say in the sense of "marrying"? When it has any other sense, prasmaipada affixes will be employed, as देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तस्य भार्यामुपयच्छति, 'Devadatta has illicit intercourse with the wife of Yajñadatta.'

ज्ञाश्रुस्मृदृशां सनः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञा-श्रु-स्मृ-दृशाम् , सनः , (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञा श्रु स्मृ दृश् इत्येतेषां सन्नन्तानामात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

57. After the Desideratives formed by the affix san, of the verbs jñâ to know, s'ru to hear, smṛi to remember, and dṛis' to see, the Atmanepada is employed.

The above four roots are âtmanepadi when in the Desiderative form, the suffix "san" being the pratyaya by which desideratives are formed.

The verb jñâ takes the terminations of the âtmanepada when used in the senses indicated by the three sûtras 44, 45 and 46 already explained. The desiderative form of jñâ would *ex necessitate* take âtmanepada affixes when used in the above senses: see Rule 62. The present sûtra however enlarges the scope of âtmanepada, by declaring all desideratives of jñâ to be âtmanepada, in whatever sense they may be used.

Similarly by sûtra 29 ante and the vârtika under it, the roots s'ru, and dṛis' take the terminations of the âtmanepada; when preceded by sam, the desideratives of those would of course have taken âtmanepada affixes by 62, but the present sûtra makes it general.

The present sûtra however enunciates a new rule in the case of the root smṛi.

As धर्मं जिज्ञासते 'he wishes to know (*i e.* enquires after) religion, गुरुं शुश्रूषते 'he serves the teacher,' नष्टं सुस्मूर्षते 'he wishes to remember the lost.' नृपं दिदृक्षते 'he wishes to see the king.'

Why do we say, when taking the affix san? Because the primitive verbs will take the parasmaipada terminations as जानाति 'he knows;' शृणोति 'he hears,' स्मरति 'he remembers' पश्यति 'he sees.'

नानोर्ज्ञः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न , अनोः , ज्ञः , (सनः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वाज्ज्ञानातेः सन्नन्तादात्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

58. After the desiderative of jñâ when preceded by anu the Atmanepada is not employed.

This is an exception to the last sûtra. The desiderative of jñâ with the prefix anu is not âtmanepadi.

This sûtra read with sûtra 45 limits the scope of parasmaipada to the transitive, desiderative verb anu-jñâ. As पुत्रमनुजिज्ञासति 'he enquires after the son.'

Why do we say when preceded by anu? Because otherwise it will take the âtmanepada terminations. As धर्म्मम् जिज्ञासते 'he inquires after religion.'

प्रत्याङ्भ्यां श्रुवः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-आङ्भ्याम् , श्रुवः , (सनः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रति आङ् इत्येवं पूर्वाच्छृणोतेः सन्नन्तादात्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

59. After the desideratives of s'ru when preceded by prati and âṅ the Atmanepada is not used.

The verb s'ru when taking the prefixes prati and âṅ, is not âtmanepadi, though taking the desiderative "san." This is also an exception to the rule of sûtra 57. Thus प्रतिशुश्रूषति and आशुश्रूषति ॥

The word prati and âṅ must be upasargas ; if they are used as karmapravachaniyas (see I. 4.—83) then the rule will not apply, as देवदत्तं प्रतिशुश्रूषते ॥

शदेः शितः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ शदेः , शितः , (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शदिर्यः शिङ्गावीशितो वा सम्बन्धी तस्मादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

60. After the verb s'ad to decay, when it has one of the affixes with an indicatory s' (s'it) the Atmanepada is used.

The root 'sad' when taking any affix which is marked with an indicatory श, is conjugated in the âtmanepadi. In connection with this must be read sûtra VII. 3. 78. पाघ्राध्मास्थाम्नादाण्दृश्यर्त्तिसर्तिशदसदांपिबजिघ्रधमतिष्ठमनयच्छपश्यर्छधौशीयसीदाः by which the root शद् is replaced by शीय before the affixes having an indicatory श. Thus शद् + श + ते = शीय + अते = शीयते 'he decays or withers, शीयेते 'they two decay,' शीयन्ते 'they decay,'

Why do we say before affixes having an indicatory श? Before other affixes it is not âtmanepadi. As अशत्स्यत् 'if he decayed,' शत्स्यति 'he will decay,' शिशत्सति.

The well-known vikaranas like शप् , श &c., the affixes like शतृ &c, are शित् affixes. In other words the root s'ad is âtmanepadi in all conjugational tenses.

म्रियतेर्लुङ्लिङोश्च ॥ ६१ ॥ म्रियते, लुङ्-लिङोः, च (शितः आ॰ प॰) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ म्रियतेर्लुङ्लिङोः शितश्चात्मनेपदं भवति अन्यत्र न भवति ॥

61. After the verb mṛi to die, when it has one of the affixes having an indicatory श, as well as when it takes the affixes luṅ (aorist III 2. 110) add liṅ (Benedictive III. 3. 159) the Atmanepada is used.

This is a restrictive sûtra, the root मृङ् (to die), is marked with a ङ् as an indicatory letter; so by sûtra 12 it would be always Atmanepadi. But the present aphorism restricts it to लुङ् luṅ (Aorist) and लिङ् liṅ (Benedictive) tenses as well as to those tenses which are शित्. It will be found hereafter that out of the ten tenses, those that take शित् affixes are the special tenses, *i.e.*, the Present, the Imperfect, the Potential and the Imperative.

It is only before these three affixes, namely, liṅ, luṅ, and s'it affixes, that the root mṛi takes the terminations of the âtmanepada. Thus the aorist अमृत amṛita he died; Benedictive मृषीष्ट mṛishîshta 'may he die.' Similarly before sit affixes: thus म्रियते 'he dies,' = मृ + श + ते (VII. 4. 28 रिङ् शयग्लिङ् क्षु) म्रिय + अ + ते = म्रियते (VI. 4. 77. अचि श्नुधातुभ्रुवां य्वोरियङुवङौ) म्रियेते, म्रियन्ते The root मृ belongs to the sixth class of verbs called Tudâdi which take the vikaraṇa श in the conjugational tenses (III. 1. 77).

In other tenses, viz., the two Futures, the Perfect and the conditional, this verb is parasmaipadi. As मरिष्यति he will die. अमरिष्यत्.

पूर्ववत्सनः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्ववत्, सनः, (आ॰ प॰) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनः पूर्वो यो धातुः आत्मनेपदी तद्वत्सन्नन्तादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

62. The verb which is Atmanepadi in its primitive form before the taking of the affix san, will also be Atmanepadi when it ends in the affix san. In other words; after a desiderative verb, Atmanepada is employed, if it would have been used after the primitive verb.

If the primary verb is parasmaipadi, its desiderative will be also parasmaipadi; if the primary verb is Atmanepadi, its desiderative will be Atmanepadi. This is the general rule. Some exceptions to it have already been mentioned in sûtras 57, 58, and 59. A root which was âtmanepadi, before taking the Desiderative affix सन् san, will be âtmanepadi even when it takes the affix सन् san. In other words, that by reason of which the âtmanepada affixes were ordained in the primary verb, will cause the same terminations

to be applied when the verb ends in सन् san. Thus it was said in sûtra 12, that roots having an anudâtta accented vowel as indicatory or a ङ् ṅ as their indicatory letter take the terminations of the âtmanepada. Thus आस्ते 'he sits down' and शेते 'he sleeps.' The verb आस् (to sit down) and शीङ् (to lie down) will remain âtmanepadi, even when they are used as Desideratives. Thus अशिशिषते 'he wishes to lie down.' Similarly sûtra 17 declared that the verb निविश् is âtmanepadi, as निविशते. This will be âtmanepadi also in the Desiderative form, as निविविक्षते 'he wishes to enter.' So also by sûtra 40, आक्रमते is âtmanepadi, the Desiderative आचिक्रंसते will also be âtmanepadi.

But though by 60 and 61, शीयते and म्रियते are âtmanepadi, yet शिशत्सति 'he wishes to lie down,' मुमूर्षति 'he wishes to die,' are parasmaipadi. Because the âtmanepada affixes were ordained after the roots शद् and मृङ् only under exceptional conditions and not generically, and as those conditions do not exist in the desiderative, the latter does not take âtmanepada terminations.

Of course that which in its primary state would not have taken the terminations of the âtmanepada, there being a prohibition to that effect, will not allow them in its Desiderative form. As अनुचिकीर्षति 'he wishes to imitate.' पराचिकीर्षति. Here the root कृञ् by rule 79 has been especially declared to be parasmaipadi, to the exclusion of âtmanepada affixes which would otherwise have come by Rules 32 and 72, and therefore its Desiderative is also parasmaipadi. The force of ञ् causing âtmanepada is counteracted by 79.

Now it might be asked:—True, this rule provides for those cases where a root is conjugated in two forms, one a Primitive and another a Desiderative conjugation. But what provision do you make for those partial verbs which take the affix सन् even in their primitive form; and in whose case we have no prior form to look upon as a guide in the application of âtmanepada affixes. And there are at least 7 such quasi-roots which take सन् in this way, called also the self-descriptive सन्. Those quasi-roots are गुप्, तिज्, कित्, मान्, बध, दान्, and शान्. What are we to do with these quasi-roots, which are always conjugated with the affix सन् and have no simpler conjugation?" To this we reply; "In the case of these partial verbs which take the self-descriptive सन् the pada will be regulated by the indicatory letters which these quasi-roots have. For though the full roots are जुगुप्स, तितिक्ष, चिकित्स, मीमान्स, बीभत्स, शीशान्स and दीदान्स, yet by the maxim अवयवे कृतं लिङ्गं समुदायस्य विशेषकं भवति, "a sign made in a portion of a thing, qualifies the whole thing;" the sign made in the expression गुप &c., will qualify the whole verb जुगुप्स &c." Thus we have जुगुप्सते he despises, चिकित्सते he cures; मीमांसते he investigates, &c.

आम्प्रत्ययवत्कृञोऽनुप्रयोगस्य ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आम्-प्रत्ययवत्, कृञः, अनुप्रयोगस्य (आ॰ प॰) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आम्प्रत्ययस्येवधातोः कृञोऽनुप्रयोगस्यात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

63. Like the verb that takes the affix âm, if the verb be conjugated with the Atmanepada terminations, so of the verb kṛi when subjoined thereto as an auxiliary, the terminations are of the Atmanepada, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

This sûtra applies where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. There are in Sanskrit two forms of the perfect tense (लिट्): one formed in the ordinary way by the reduplication of the root and adding the terminations; the other called the periphrastic perfect, is formed by adding आम् to the root, and then affixing to it the perfect tense of the roots कृ (to do), भू (to be) or अस् (to be). These latter verbs are called anuprayoga or auxiliary verbs, as it is with their help that the perfect tense is formed. The question then arises, what conjugation, parasmai or âtmanepada, do these auxiliaries take in forming the periphrastic perfect? This sûtra supplies the answer:—the auxiliary कृ follows the conjugation of principals, the other auxiliaries do not. Thus the root एध (to increase, prosper) is âtmanepadi, therefore in forming the periphrastic perfect, the verb कृ will be also in the âtmanepada. Thus एधांचक्रे (he prospered). Similarly इन्द् (to appear with great splendour) is parasmaipadi and the auxiliary कृ after it will be parasmaipada, as इन्दाञ्चकार (he appeared with great splendour).

But the other auxiliaries भू and अस् retain their own peculiar conjugation and are not influenced by the conjugation of their principal. Thus एधाम्बभूव, एधामास.

The word âm-pratyaya of the sûtra means 'that after which the affix âm (III. I. 35 and 36. कास्प्रत्ययादाममन्त्रे लिटि) comes.' Of the verb kriñ, when subjoined to another as an auxiliary, the termination is that of the âtmanepada like the verb that takes the affix âm. If this sûtra enjoined a rule of injunction (vidhi), then there would be the termination of the âtmanepada even in examples like उब्जांचकार and उम्भांचकार where the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. This is no valid objection to the present sûtra. It is to be interpreted in both ways, that is, both as a vidhi (a general injunction) and a niyama (a restrictive injunction). How is that to be done? Because the word pûrvavat of the last sûtra is to be read in the present aphorism also. The second explanation in that case will be for the sake of establishing a niyama or restrictive rule.

It has already been said above that the auxiliary verbs कृ, भू and अस् are used in forming the periphrastic perfect. This is done by force of the aphorism III. I. 40, कृञ्चानुप्रयुज्यते लिटि, meaning, the verb kṛiñ is annexed in the perfect tense, to verbs, that take âm. In this sûtra (III. I. 40) the word kṛiñ is a pratyâhâra, implying the verbs कृञ्, भू and अस्. It might be asked how is this pratyâhâra formed? The word kṛi is taken from the fourth word of sûtra V. 4. 50, अभूततद्भावे कृभ्वस्तियोगे &c., and the letter ñ is taken from sûtra V. 4. 58 कृञो द्वितीय &c. This is the way in which the commentators explain how not only the verb kriñ is used as an auxiliary in forming the periphrastic perfect, but also the verbs भू and अस्. These three verbs denoting absolute action unmodified by any especial condition have in all languages been fixed upon as the best auxiliaries.

It must, however, be noted that the word kṛiñ in this sûtra is not used as a pratyâhâra and consequently does not include the verbs भू and अस्.

प्रोपाभ्यां युजेरयज्ञपात्रेषु ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र- उपाभ्याम्, युजेः, अयज्ञ-पात्रेषु, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र उप इत्येवंपूर्वाद् युजेरयज्ञपात्रप्रयोगविषयादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वराद्यन्तोपसृष्टादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

64. After the verb yuj to join, the Atmanepada is used, when it is preceded by pra and upa except with reference to sacrificial vessels even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb युजिर् 'to join' is svaritet, and consequently by sûtra 72 it is always âtmanepadi, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sûtra declares when this verb may take the terminations of âtmanepada, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. After the verb युज् preceded by the prepositions प्र and उप the terminations are of the âtmanepada, when not employed in reference to sacrificial vessels. As प्रयुङ्क्ते 'he joins or employs'; उपयुङ्क्ते 'he fits or uses.'

Why do we say "when not employed in reference to sacrificial vessels?" Because there the terminations will be of the parasmaipada. As द्वन्द्वं न्यञ्चि पात्राणि प्रयुनक्ति.

Vârtika:—It shall be rather stated that the root takes the terminations of the âtmanepada when preceded by any preposition beginning or ending with a vowel. This is an important modification of the above rule. Thus उद्युङ्क्ते and नियुङ्क्ते. In fact, all upasargas, with the exception of सम्, निर्, and दुर्, either begin or end with a vowel, and therefore the Vârtika amounts to the inclusion of all prepositions with the above exception.

With सम्, निर् and दुर्, however, the root will take parasmaipada terminations; as संयुनक्ति.

समः क्ष्णुवः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः, क्ष्णुवः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्ष्णु तेजने परस्मैपदी ततः संपूर्वादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

65. After the verb kshṇu, to sharpen, preceded by sam, the Atmanepada is employed.

The verb क्ष्णु 'to sharpen, whet, or grind,' is generally parasmaipadi, but it is âtmanepadi, when it is preceded by the prefix सम्; as संक्ष्णुते शस्त्रम् 'he whets the weapon', संक्ष्णुवाते 'they two whet', संक्ष्णुवते 'they all whet.'

It might be objected, why has a separate aphorism been made of the verb kshṇu, when it could well have been included in the sûtra 29 ante, which also speaks of the force of the prefix sam, when used with the verbs gam, richchha, &c. To this the answer is that, that sûtra treats of intransitive verbs, the word akarmaka being understood therein, while the present sûtra, as is evident from the example we have given above, treats of transitive verbs.

भुजोऽनवने ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुजः, अनवने, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भुजपालनाभ्यवहारयोरिति रुधादौ पठ्यते । तस्मादनवनेऽपालने वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

66. After the verb bhuj, the Atmanepada is used, except in the sense of protecting.

The root bhuj when it does not mean to protect, is âtmanepadi This root belongs to the rudhadi class and has several meanings, as, to feed, to cherish, to preserve, to eat, and to enjoy. As भुंक्ते 'he eats or enjoys'; also bhuñjate, bhuñjâte &c. But पुत्रान् भुनक्ति पिता 'the father cherishes the sons', भुनक्त्येनमग्निराहितः.

The root bhuj belongs also to the tudâdi class, but there it has the sense of being curved or crooked. The bhuj belonging to the tudâdi class is not to be taken in this sûtra, because that bhuj has never the sense of protecting. Therefore विभुजति पाणिम् 'he bends the hand,' is in the parasmaipada.

णेरणौ यत् कर्म णौ चेत् स कर्त्तानाध्याने ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ णेः, अणौ, यत्, कर्म, णौ, चेत्, सः, कर्त्ता, अनाध्याने, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यन्तादात्मनेपदं भवति, कथम् अणौ यत्कर्म णौ चेत् तदेवकर्म, स एव कर्त्ता भवति । अनाध्याने, आध्यानं वर्जयित्वा ॥

67. After a verb ending in the affix ṇi (causal) the Atmanepada is employed, provided that when the object in the non-ṇi or non-causal sense becomes the

agent in the causal ; and when it does not mean 'to remember with regret ;' even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The causatives (णिच्) are conjugated in the âtmanepadi, when they are used in the passive voice, that is to say when a word which was an objective case in the ordinary verb becomes nominative case in the causative ; and the nominative case of the ordinary verbs becomes objective case in the causative. In short when casuatives are used in the passive voice, they are âtmanepadi. This round-about phraseology has been employed, because the base of the active and the passive causatives do not differ in form ; as आरोहयते हस्तिपकान् हस्ती.

The phrase 'णेः (after the causatives)' of this sûtra governs the four succeeding sûtras and is understood in them The sûtra consists of the following words :—णेः 'after the causative ;' अणौ 'in the non-causative ;' यत् 'what ;' कर्म 'object ;' णौ 'in the causative ;' चेत् 'if ;' सः 'that ;' कर्ता nominative ;' अनाध्यान 'except to remember.'

In general, by sûtra 74, the causative verbs take the terminations of the âtmanepada, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sûtra applies to the case where fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

After the verbs that take the affix णिच्, the terminations are those of the âtmanepada. How? When that which was the object when the primitive verb was used non-causatively, becomes also the object when the derivative verb is used causatively ; and even that object becomes also the agent as well. There is exception, however, in the case when the verb means to 'remember with regret.' As आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant.' Let us paraphrase this sentence by transforming the primitive non-causative verb आरोहन्ति into a causative form. The sentence then will be, आरोहयते हस्ती स्वयमेव 'the elephant makes itself to be mounted.' Similarly उपसिञ्चन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः 'the elephant-keepers sprinkle the elephant'; and उपसेचयते हस्ती स्वयमेव 'the elephant makes itself to be sprinkled;' पश्यन्ति भृत्या राजानम् 'the attendants see the king'; and दर्शयते राजा स्वयमेव 'the king makes himself to be seen.'

Why do we say 'after the causatives?' Because the rule of this sûtra will not apply, if the verb though conveying the sense of a causal verb, is, however, not formed by the affix णिच् ; as आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant ;' and आरोह्यमाणो हस्ती साध्वारोहति 'the elephant that is being mounted, mounts gracefully'. Here the terminations are of the parasmaipada in the second case also.

Why do we say 'in the non-causative non-ṇi'? For this rule will not apply when the primitive verb itself is formed by the affix णिच्; such are the roots of the tenth class or churâdi in which the ṇich is added in the self-descriptive sense, and not for a causative purpose. Thus the root गण belongs to churâdi class; whose causative and primitive forms are the same. As गणयति गणं गोपालकः 'the cowherd counts the herd;' and the causative form is गणयति गणः स्वयमेव 'the herd makes itself to be counted.' The terminations in both cases are those of the parasmaipada.

Why do we say 'when the object (karma) becomes the agent?' Because the rule will not apply, when any other kâraka or case, than the karma or object, of the primitive verb becomes the agent in the causative. Thus लुनाति दात्रेण 'he cuts with the scythe,' लावयति दात्रं स्वयमेव 'the scythe is made to cut of itself.' Here the word dâtra was the instrument of the primitive verb which became agent in the causative, and therefore in the causative the terminations are of the parasmaipada only.

Why do we say 'if in the causative' in the sûtra? It is for the purpose of indicating that the verb must be one and the same, both in the primary sentence and the causative sentence. Therefore the rule does not apply here where the causative verb सेचयति in the second sentence was not used in the first sentence; आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and आरोहयमाणो हस्तीभीतान् सेचयति मूत्रेण 'the elephant that is being caused to mount is made to sprinkle with urine the frightened men'.

The word सः 'that' is employed in the aphorism to show that the objects in both sentences must be the same and not different. Therefore in the following example where the objects are different, the terminations of parasmaipada are only used. आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant'; and आरोहयमाणो हस्ती स्थलमारोहयति मनुष्यान् 'the elephant, that is being caused to mount, makes men mount on the land.'

Why do we use the word kartâ (agent) in the sûtra? If the former object is not the agent in the second case, the terminations of the parasmaipada only would be used. As आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and तानारोहयति महामात्रः 'the elephant-driver makes it to mount.'

Why do we say 'except when meaning to remember with tenderness?' Observe, स्मरति वनगुल्मस्य कोकिलः 'the dove remembers, with regret, the forest tree;' and स्मरयत्येनं वनगुल्मः स्वयमेव 'the forest tree is made to be remembered of itself.'

भीस्म्योर्हेतुभये ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी-स्म्योः . हेतु- भये, (णेः , आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बिभेतेः स्मयतेश्च ण्यन्तादात्मनेपदं भवति हेतुभये ॥

68. After the causatives of the verbs bhî to fear, and smi to wonder, even the fruit of the action accrues not to the agent the Atmanepada is employed, when the fear is produced directly by the causative agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in णि' is understood in this sûtra and is to be supplied from the previous aphorism. This sûtra is also restricted to cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word हेतु in the aphorism has been defined later on in sûtra I. 4. 55 (स्वतन्त्र कर्त्ता); it is the agent which is the mover of another's agent. When a fear is caused by a हेतु it is called हेतुभय. The word भय 'fear' in the aphorism is illustrative, and includes by implication विस्मय 'astonishment' also. As जटिलो भीषयते 'the jatila, the cock-headed frightens.' मुण्डो भीषयते 'the munda, the shave-headed frightens'; जटिलो विस्मापयते 'the jatila astonishes,' मुण्डो विस्मापयते 'the munda astonishes' *i.e.*, the very fact of matted-hair or shaven-head frightens,' &c.

Why do we say हेतुभय? For if the fear or astonishment is not the direct result caused by the agent, but arises from something else, then the âtmanepada will not be used. As कुञ्चिकयैनं भाययति 'he frightens him with the kunchika,' रूपेण विस्माययति 'he astonishes with his form'. Here kunchika and rupa are the instruments, which cause fear or astonishment, and are not the hetu thereof.

गृधिवञ्च्योः प्रलम्भने ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गृधि-वञ्च्योः , प्रलम्भने , (णेः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गृधु अभिकाङ्क्षायाम् वञ्चु गतावित्येतयोर्ण्यन्तयोः प्रलम्भने वर्त्तमानयोरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

69. After the causatives of the verbs gṛidh to covet, and vañch to go, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of deceiving, even though the fruit of action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causatives ending in णि' is to be supplied here from sûtra 67. This sûtra is also restricted to the cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word प्रलम्भन of the sûtra means deceiving. As माणवकं गर्धयते 'he deceives the boy,' माणवकं वञ्चयते 'he cheats the boy.'

Why do we say 'when it means deceiving,' For these verbs have not this meaning, their causatives take parasmaipada. As श्वानं गर्धयति 'he causes the dog to bark,' अहिं वञ्चयति 'he avoids the serpent.'

लियः संमाननशालीनीकरणयोश्च ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ लियः, संमानन-शालीनी-करणयोः, च, (णेः प्रलम्भने आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लियो ण्यन्तात्संमानने शालीनीकरणे च वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति च शब्दात् प्रलम्भने च ॥

70. After the causative of the verb lî to melt or stick, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of showing respect, subduing and deceiving even though the fruit of action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in णि' is to be supplied here from sûtra 67. This sûtra has its scope only when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. In the Dhâtupâṭha, there are two roots ली, one is technically called लीङ् and means to stick, and belongs to divâdi class. The other ली meaning to 'melt' belongs to kryâdi class. As there is no specification in the sûtra what ली is to be taken, both are therefore taken.

The force of the word च in the sûtra is to include the word प्रलम्भन 'to delude' of the last sûtra into the present. The word संमानन means to show respect. The word शालीनीकरण means to subdue. As जटाभिरालापयते 'he gets respect or causes respect to be shown to him through or on account of his matted hair.' श्येनो वर्तिकामुल्लापयते 'the hawk subdues the partridge', कस्त्वामुल्लापयते 'who deceives thee.'

The sûtra विभाषा लीयतेः VI. 1. 51 declares that the ई of ली is optionally changed into आ before certain terminations. But there is no option allowed when the root ली has any of the above three senses : in these cases the substitution of आ is necessary and not optional. For the option allowed by sûtra VI. 1. 51 is a व्यवस्थितविभाषा and not a general विभाषा applicable everywhere.

Why do we say 'when it has the meaning of 'to show respect, &c.'? Because otherwise there is parasmaipada. As बालकमुल्लापयति

मिथ्योपपदात्कृञोऽभ्यासे ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिथ्या-उपपदात्, कृञः ; अभ्यासे, (णेः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यन्तात् करोतेर्मिथ्योपपदादात्मनपद भवति अभ्यासे ॥

71. After the causative of the verb kṛi, the Atmanepada is used, when it has the word mithya, incorrect, as an upapada or dependent word, and is

employed in the sense of 'repeated wrong utterance' even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in णि' is to be supplied from sûtra 67. The aphorism is restricted to the cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word abhyâsa means doing again, or repetition; as पदं मिथ्या कारयति means 'he repeatedly pronounces the word incorrectly, that is with wrong accent, &c., not once but constantly'.

Why do we say 'when the word mithyâ is used as an upapada?' The causative of kṛi will take parasmaipada when it has any other upapada. Thus पदं सुष्ठुम् कारयति 'he pronounces the word correctly.'

Why do we say 'of the verb कृञ्'? Because the causative of any other verb used along with the word mithyâ will not have âtmanepada; as पदं मिथ्या वाचयति 'he repeatedly utters the word wrongly.' Here वच् takes parasmaipada.

Why do we say 'repeatedly'? For if the incorrect utterance is not habitual, then parasmaipada will be used; as पदं मिथ्याकारयाति 'he pronounces wrongly, not always but once.'

स्वरितञितः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरित-ञितः, कर्तृ-अभिप्राये, क्रिया-फले (णेः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरितेतो ये धातवो ञितश्च तेभ्य आत्मनेपदं भवति कर्त्तारं चेत् क्रियाफलमभिप्रैति ।

72. After the verb marked with a svarita, (svaritet) or which has an indicatory ñ (ñit), the terminations of the Atmanepada are employed, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The anuvṛitti of the phrase णेः does not go further. The word क्रियाफलं is a compound, meaning 'fruit of the action.' When the principal object for the sake of which the action is begun, is meant for the agent indicated by the verb, there the âtmanepada is used after verbs having an indicatory ञ or a svarita accent. As यजते 'he sacrifices for himself'; पचते 'he cooks for himself.' Here the verb यज् and पच् are marked with svarita accent in the Dhâtupâṭha, and therefore they take the âtmanepada terminations.

Similarly सुनुते 'he presses the soma-juice,' कुरुते 'he does.' Here the verbs सुञ् and कृञ् have an idicatory ञ.

In all the above cases, the principal object of the action such as getting heaven by performance of sacrifices, eating of food, &c., is meant for the agent. That is to say, he sacrifices in order that he himself may attain heaven, he cooks in order that he himself may eat, &c.

Why do we say 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent'? Otherwise it will have parasmaipada. As यजन्ति याजकाः 'the priests sacrifice, (not for themselves, but for their clients)' पचन्ति पाचकाः 'the cooks cook (for their masters)'; कुर्वन्ति कर्मकराः 'the menials work (for their masters).' Here though the fees and the wages are the fruits which the agent gets, yet as that fruit is not the principal object for which the action was begun—the principal object of the sacrifice was not that the priest should get his fee, but that the sacrificer may go to heaven—the verb takes the terminations of the Parasmai pada. Here the principal fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, but to a third party.

अपाद्वदः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपात्, वदः, (कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपपूर्वाद्वदतेः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

73. After the verb vad to tell, preceded by apa, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the terminations are of the Atmanepada.

The phrase "when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent," is understood here. The sûtra is clear. As धनकामो न्यायमपवदते 'the wealth-seeker forsakes justice, that is to say, he wishes to acquire wealth at the sacrifice of justice. But when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the parasmaipada is employed. As अपवदति.

णिचश्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ णिचः, च, (कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णिजन्तादात्मनेपदं भवति कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले ॥

74. After a verb ending in affix ṇi (causal) when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the Atmanepada is employed.

The phrase "when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent" is to be supplied from sûtra 72. The verbs that take the affix णिच् ṇich are generally causatives. As कटं कारयते 'he causes the mat to be made for himself'; ओदनं पाचयते 'he causes the food to be cooked for himself. When the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the parasmaipada is used. As कटं कारयति परस्य 'he causes another's mat to be made.'

समुदाङ्भ्यो यमोऽग्रन्थे ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-उद्-आङ्भ्यः, यमः, अग्रन्थे (कर्त्रभिप्राये आ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम् उद् आङ् इत्येवं पूर्वाद्यमेः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आत्मनेपदं भवति ग्रन्थविषयश्चेत्प्रयोगो न भवति ॥

75. After the verb yam to strive, preceded by sam, ut and âṅ, when it does not refer to a book, the Atmanepada is employed, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase 'when the fruit of the action accrues the to agent' is read into this aphorism by anuvritti from sûtra 72. As व्रीहीन् संयच्छते 'he gathers rice'; भारमुद्यच्छते 'he lifts up the load'; वस्त्रमायच्छते 'he draws out the cloth.' The root yam preceded by the preposition आङ् takes the terminations of the Atmanepada by virtue of aphorism 28 ante; but in that aphorism the verb was intransitive, here it is transitive, and this explains the necessity of making two different sûtras for one compound verb आयम्.

Why do we say 'when it does not refer to a book.' For otherwise the verb will take the terminations of the parasmaipada. As उद्यच्छति चिकित्सां वैद्यः 'the physician diligently studies medicine.'

When however the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the above compound verbs are parasmaipadi. As संयच्छति, उद्यच्छति, आयच्छति.

अनुपसर्गाज्ज्ञः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गात्, ज्ञः (कर्त्रभिप्राये आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गाज्जानातेः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

76. After the verb jñâ when not preceded by any upasarga, the terminations are of the Atmanepada, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent' is understood in this sûtra also. Thus गां जानीते 'he recognises the cow as his own'; अश्वं जानीते 'he recognises the horse as his own.'

Why do we say when not preceded by any upasarga? For when compounded with prepositions, it may take the Atmanepada terminations; as स्वर्गं लोकं न प्रजानाति मूढः 'the fool does not know the heavenly regions.'

When, however, the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the simple root ज्ञा takes parasmaipada terminations. देवदत्तस्य गां जानाति 'he recognises Devadatta's cow.'

विभाषोपपदेन प्रतीयमाने ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उपपदेन, प्रतीयमाने (कर्त्रभि० आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समीपेश्रूयमाण शब्दान्तरमुपपदं तेन प्रतीयमाने कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले विभाषाऽऽत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

77. The Atmanepada is optionally used, when the fact of the fruit of the action accuring to the agent is indicated by an upapada, *i.e.* by a word used along with the verb.

By the preceding five sûtras 72 to 76, Atmanepada terminations were ordained to come after verbs which implied the accrual of the fruit of the action to the agent, that is to say, where the verb by itself denoted this. But when the same idea, instead of being inherent in the verb, is expressed by an upapada, that is by a word governed by the verb, the necessity of using the Atmanepada affixes, to denote the same idea, is obviously removed, and in such a case it is optional whether we use the Atmanepada or the Parasmaipada terminations. As स्वं यज्ञं यजति or यजते 'he sacrifices for his own yajña'; स्वं कटं करोति or कुरुते 'he makes his own cot.'; स्वं पुत्रमपवदति or अपवदते ; स्वंमोदनं पाचयते or पाचयति, &c. So on with all the above five sûtras.

शेषात् कर्तरि परस्मैपदम् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषात्, कर्त्तरि, परस्मैपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषात्कर्तरिपरस्मैपदं भवति शेषादेवनान्यस्मात् अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदमुक्तम् ॥

78. After the rest, *i.e.* after all those verbs not falling under any one of the previous provisions, the terminations of the Parasmaipada are employed in marking the agent (*i.e.* in the active voice).

The rules of Atmanepada have been declared in the preceding 66 sûtras, 12 to 77. The terminations of the Parasmaipada, which are the general verbal terminations, will come everywhere else, that is to say, where its operation is not debarred by any one of the preceding aphorisms. The present sûtra declares this universal rule. The word s'esha or the rest, means that which is the residue after the application of all the previous restrictive rules. Thus it was declared by sûtra 12 ante that a root having an Anudâtta vowel or a ङ as *it*, will take Atmanepada terminations. As आस्ते शेते. The converse of this will take parasmaipada terminations, namely all verbs which do not have an anudâtta accent or a ङ as *it*. Thus याति 'he goes,' वाति 'it blows.' It has been declared by sûtra 17 that the root विश when preceded by नि takes Atmanepada terminations, as निविशते. When not preceded by नि but any other preposition, it will take the parasmaipada termination. As आविशति, प्रविशति

Why do we say "when marking the agent"? For when used in the passive voice the root will take the Atmanepada termination. As पच्यते 'it is cooked', गम्यते 'it is gone.'

Why is not parasmaipada used when the verb is employed reflexively? As in the following example :—पच्यते ओदन: स्वयमेव 'the food cooks of itself.' Because in the present sûtra the word कर्तरि of sûtra 14 ante is to be read in by anuvritti, so that, in fact there are two कर्तरि in this aphorism which thus means "when the agent of the verb is an agent pure and simple then parasmaipada is employed." While when a verb is used reflexively (कर्म्मकर्तरि) the agent of the verb is also, in one aspect, the object of the verb; and it is therefore, that in reflexive verbs the Atmanepada terminations are employed.

अनुपराभ्यांकृञः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु-पराभ्याम् । कृञः । (परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपरा इत्येवं पूर्वात् करोतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

79. After the verb kṛi to make, preceded by anu and para, parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent, and when the sense is that of "divulging," &c.

By aphorism 32 ante, the root कृ took the terminations of the Atmanepada when the sense denoted was that of "divulging, reviling," &c., and it also took Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent by virtue of sûtra 72, because the root कृञ् has an indicatory ञ. The present sûtra makes an exception to those rules, and ordains parasmaipada. Thus अनुकरोति 'he imitates,' पराकरोति 'he does well.'

अभिप्रत्यतिभ्यः क्षिपः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-प्रति-अतिभ्यः क्षिपः ॥ (प० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिप्रति अतिइत्येवं पूर्वात् क्षिपः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

80. After the verb kship, to throw, coming after abhi, prati and ati, parasmaipada is used, even though the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

The root क्षिप् to throw, is svariteta therefore by sûtra 72 ante, it would have taken Atmanepada termination, when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent; this aphorism ordains prasmaipada instead. As अभिक्षिपति 'he throws on', प्रतिक्षिपति 'he turns away or rejects,' अतिक्षिपति 'he throws beyond.'

Why do we say 'when coming after abhi, prati, and ati'? Because when compounded with any other preposition, it will not take parasmaipada, but will be governed by sûtra 72. As आक्षिपते 'he throws down.'

The second कर्तृ of sûtra 14 is also understood here, so that when the verb is used reflexively, the agent not being purely an agent, the present sûtra will not apply. As अभिक्षिप्यते स्वयमेव 'it is thrown on of itself.'

प्राद्वह ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राद् । वहः (पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र पूर्वाद् वहतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

81. After the verb vah to bear, coming after pra, parasmaipada is used, even though the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The root वह to carry is svaritet, and by sûtra 72 it would have taken the Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. But the present sûtra ordains parasmaipada instead. As प्रवहति 'it flows.'

Why do we say "when coming after pra"? Because after any other preposition it will not take prasmaipada, as आवहते 'he brings.'

परेर्मृषः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः । मृषः । (पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिपूर्वाद् मृष्यतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

82. After the verb mṛish to bear, preceded by pari, parasmaipada is used, even when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The root मृष "to suffer" is svaritet, and by sûtra 72 it would have taken Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This ordains parasmaipada instead. As परमृष्यति 'he endures or he becomes angry.' When not preceded by this preposition, it takes Aṭmanepada termination. As आमृष्यते.

According to some authors, the root वह of the last aphorism is said to be understood in this, so that वह preceded by परि will also take prasmaipada terminations; as परिवहति

व्याङ् परिभ्योरमः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वि-आङ्-परिभ्यः । रमः । (पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विआङ्परिइत्येवं पूर्वाद्रमतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

83. After the verb ram to sport, preceded by vi and âṅ, parasmaipada is used.

The verb रम् means 'to sport.' It is anudâttet and therefore by sûtra 12 it would have taken Atmanepada terminations; the present sûtra ordains parasmaipada instead, as विरमति 'he takes rest'; आरमति 'he delights in,' परिरमति 'he sports.'

With other prepositions than these, it will take âtmanepada termination. ऽअभिरमते

उपाच्च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात् । च । (रमः परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वाद्रमतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

84. And also after upa, the verb ram takes the affixes of the parasmaipada.

As देवदत्तमुपरमति 'he causes Devadatta to refrain.' The sense of the verb uparamati is causative here, as if it was उपरमयति. This is an example of a verb involving in it the force of the causative affix णिच्.

It might be asked why was not the preposition उप read along with the other preposition in the last aphorism, instead of making this a separate sûtra. The answer is that the necessity of making a separate sûtra with the preposition upa arose from the exigencies of sûtra making. It is desired, that the next sûtra 85 should apply only to the root upa-ram, and not to other compounds of ram; and this could only be done by making these two distinct sûtras.

विभाषाऽकर्मकात् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा । अकर्मकात् (रमः पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वाद्रमतेरकर्मकाद्विभाषा परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

85. After the verb ram preceded by upa, parasmaipada is optionally used, when employed intransitively.

The last aphorism ordained parasmaipada absolutely. This declares an option under certain circumstances. As यावद्भुक्तमुपरमति or उपरमते, he desisted from or was quiet while it was eaten.

बुधयुधनशजनेङ्प्रुद्रुस्रुभ्यो णेः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बुध-युध-नश-जन एङ्-प्रु-द्रु-स्रुभ्यः । णेः । (प० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बुधयुधनशजन एङ् प्रु द्रु स्रु इत्येतेभ्यो ण्यन्तेभ्यः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

86. After the verbs budh to know, yudh to fight, nas' to destroy, jana to be born, iṅ to go, pru to move, dru to run, and sru to flow, ending in the affix ṇi (*i.e.*, when used in the causative), parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

By sûtra 74 ante, causatives took the âtmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This makes an exception to that and ordains parasmaipada. As बोधयति he expands; योधयति he causes to fight; नाशयति he causes destruction, जनयति he begets; अध्यापयति he teaches; प्रावयति he causes to obtain; द्रावयति he causes to melt; स्रावयति he causes to trickle.

Of the above eight roots, those which are intransitive would have taken the parasmaipada terminations under the conditions mentioned in sûtra 88 sub, that is to say, when the agent is a being endowed with reason. The present aphorism in the case of such intransitive verbs makes this additional statement, that those intransitive verbs will take parasmaipada, even when the agent is not a being endowed with reason. As बोधयति पद्मम् he makes the lotus to expand, योधयति काष्ठानि he makes the woods to strike each other, नाशयति दुःखम् he destroys sorrow, जनयति सुखम् he produces pleasure.

Again of the above eight roots, those that have ordinarily the sense of "moving" will get parasmaipada by sûtra 87. The present sûtra, in their case makes this additional statement, that they will take parasmaipada terminations even when the sense is not that of moving. Thus प्रु means both 'to move' and 'to obtain,' द्रु means 'to run' as well as 'to melt,' and स्रु means 'to flow' as well as to 'to trickle.' As प्रवते he obtains; अयोद्रवति the iron melts; कुण्डिका स्रवति the water-vessel drips. The examples in the first paragraph have therefore been thus translated.

The root इङ् is always compounded with अधि.

निगरणचलनार्थेभ्यश्च ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ निगरण-चलन-अर्थेभ्यः च । (णेः परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निगरणार्थेभ्यश्च चलनार्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्योरायन्तेभ्यः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अदेः प्रतिषेधोवक्तव्यः ॥

87. And after the causatives of verbs which have the sense of the 'eating or swallowing' and 'shaking or moving' parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

The phrase 'when used in the causative (णेः) of the last sûtra is to be read into this also. The parasmaipada is ordained as an exception to sûtra 74 by which âtmanepada was ordained when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. The word निगरणं means 'eating,' and चलनं means 'moving,' 'shaking.' As निगारयति he causes to swallow; आशयति he causes to eat; भोजयति he feasts; चलयति he moves; चोपयति, कम्पयति he shakens. This aphorism applies to transitive verbs, and to verbs whose agents in non-causative state are inanimate objects, *i. e.* not possessed with reason.

Vart:—The prohibition of the root अद to eat, must be mentioned. The causative of अद to eat, takes âtmanepada. Thus अत्ति देवदत्तः Devadatta eats; आदयते देवदत्तेन he is made to eat by Devadatta.

अणावकर्म्मकाच्चित्तवत् कर्तृकात् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अणौ । अकर्म्मकात् । चित्तवत् । कर्तृकात् (णेः पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः । अण्यन्तो यो धातुरकर्मकश्चित्तवत्कर्तृकश्चतस्माण्ण्यन्तात् परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

88. The affixes of the parasmaipada are employed after the causal of that verb, which in its non-causal state was intransitive and had a being endowed with reason for its agent; even when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase णेः is understood here also. The Atmanepada was ordained by sûtra 74 when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This aphorism is an exception to that, and ordains parasmaipada. As आस्ते देवदत्तः Devadatta sits; आसयते देवदत्तं he makes Devadatta to sit; शेते देवदत्तः Devadatta sleeps; शाययते देवदत्तं he causes Devadatta to lie down.

Why do we say 'in its non-causal state'? For if the causative root is from another causative root, and not from a simple non-causative root, then the parasmaipada will not be employed. Thus 'if one person such as Devadatta, causes another person Yajñadatta, to cause a third person Ramadatta, to do an act denoted by an intransitive root, as 'mounting' for instance, though Ramadatta mounts for his own benefit, the verb to be used in such a case is आरोहयते. in the Atmanepada, from the root आरुह to mount; and not आरोहयति.' (Iengar's Guide to Panini).

Why do we say 'which was intransitive"? This rule will not apply if the verb in its non-causative state was transitive. Thus from कारि the causative from कृ, if the person caused to do the act denoted by the verb does it for his own use, comes only कारयते though the person has a will; for the original root कृ though a non-causative root, is not an intransitive root.' (*Ibid*).

Why do we say 'having a being endowed with reason for its agent'? For if the agent is a non-sentient object, the verb will be Atmanepadi. Thus from शोषि the causative from शुष 'to dry' if that which dries is a thing not possessed of a will as व्रीहयः 'paddy,' for instance, though the fruit of the action, *i. e.*, the drying, affects only the paddy itself, comes शोषयते in the âtmanepadi, though 'to dry' is an intransitive root; *e. g.*, शोषयते व्रीहीनातपः the sun-shine causes the paddy to dry.' (*Ibid*).

न पादम्याङ्यमाङ्यसपरिमुहरुचिनृतिवदवसः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न । पा-दमि-आङयम-आङ्यस-परिमुह-रुचि-नृति-वद-वसः । (णेः । परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादमि आङ्यम आङ्यस परिमुह रुचि नृति वदवसः इत्येतेभ्यो णयन्तेभ्यः परस्मैपदं न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ धेट उपसंख्यानम् ॥

89. But the affixes of the parasmaipada are not used after the causals of the verbs pâ to drink, dam to tame, âyam to extend, âyas to exert oneself, parimuh to be bewildered, ruch to shine, nṛit to dance, vad to speak, and vas to dwell.

The last two aphorisms had ordained parasmaipada instead of Atmanepada, even when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent, thus debarring the latter's action which would otherwise have taken place by virtue of sûtra 74. This sûtra prohibits the last two sûtras, and re-instates Atmanepada of sûtra 74. Thus root पा to drink, has the sense of nigaraṇa or swallowing, the roots दम &c., have sentient beings as their agent; the root नृत् to dance has the sense of चलन or moving, but still these verbs have âtmanepada affixes, and do not take parasmaipada in the causative. As पाययते he causes to drink, दमयते he causes to be tame, आयामयते he lengthens, आयासयते he troubles, परिमोहयते he entices, रोचयते he makes agreeable, नर्तयते he causes to dance, वादयते he makes to speak, वासयते he causes to dwell.

Vart:—The root धेट् should be enumerated along with पा &c. Thus धापयेते शिशुमेकं समीची. The doe suckles a young infant.

वाक्यषः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा । क्यषः । (परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्यषन्ताद्धातोर्वा परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

90. The affixes of the parasmaipada are used optionally after the denominative verbs ending in the affix kyash.

The affix क्यष is ordained by sûtra III. 1. 12 भृशादिभ्यो भुव्यच्वेर्लोपश्च हलः: after the words लोहित &c, These roots take optionally parasmaipada. As लोहितायति or ते he reddens. पटपटायति or ते he makes paṭ paṭ.

द्युद्भ्यो लुङि ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्युद्भ्यः । लुङि । (वा परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्युतादिभ्यो लुङि वा परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

91. After the verbs dyut to shine, &c. the terminations of the parasmaipada are optionally employed, when the affixes of luṅ (aorist) follow.

The Dyutâdi verbs are 22 in number, to be found in Dhâtupâṭha in the Bhuadi class. By the use of the word द्युद्भ्यः in the plural in the sûtra, the force is that of &c. These verbs are anudatta and so by sûtra 12 they would have been invariably âtmanepadî, this aphorism makes them optionally

so in the aorist. Thus अद्युतत् or अद्योतिष्ट he shone. In other tenses than the aorist (लुङ्) these verbs are invariably Atmanepadi. As द्योतते he shines.

For a list of Dyutâdi verbs see Dhatupaṭha.

वृद्भ्यः स्यसनोः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्भ्यः । स्य-सनोः । (वा । परस्मैप०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृतु, वृधु शृधु स्यन्दू क्लृपू । एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्यसनि च परतो वा परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

92. After the verbs vṛit to exist, &c., Parasmaipada is optionally employed when the affixes sya (Future and conditional) and san (Desiderative) follow.

The वृतादि verbs are five in number and are included in the द्युतादि sub-class. They are वृत् to be, वृध् to grow, शृधु to fart or break wind; स्यन्दु to ooze, and कृपु to be able. As 1st Future वर्त्स्यति or वर्तिष्यते, it will be; conditional अवर्त्स्यत् or अवर्तिष्यत; Desiderative विवृत्सति or विवर्तिषते &c.

In other tenses than the above, they are always Atmanepadi. As वर्तते it is.

लुटिचक्लृपः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुटि । च क्लृपः । (स्यसनो वा परस्मैप०)

वृत्तिः ॥ लुटि च स्यसनोश्च क्लृपेः परस्मैपदं वा भवति ॥

93. After the verb klṛip to be fit, Parasmaipada is optionally employed, when luṭ (1st Future) is affixed, as well as when sya and san are affixed

The verb क्लृप् is one of the five verbs of the sub-class वृतादि of the last apnorism. Therefore it will take both parasmaipada and Atmanepada, when the affixes स्य or सन follow. The present sûtra makes the additional declaration in the case of 1st Future or लुट. Thus in Luṭ we have—कल्प्तासि or कल्प्तासे thou wilt be; in 1st Future we have :—कल्पिष्यते or कल्प्स्यति he will be; in the Desiderative we have :—चिक्लृप्सति or चिकल्पिषते; in the conditional we have :—अकल्प्स्यत् or अकल्पिष्यत.

ओ३म्

॥ अथ प्रथमाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER IV.

आकडारादेका संज्ञा ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ कडारात्, एका-संज्ञा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कडाराः कर्मधारये इति वक्ष्यति आ एतस्मात् सूत्रावधेर्यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः तत्र एकासंज्ञाभवतीति वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. From this sûtra up to the aphorism Kaḍârâḥ Karmadhâraye (II. 2. 38) only one name of each thing named is to be understood.

What is that name then? That which comes last, where the claims are otherwise equal (I. 4. 2.) and that which were its claim disallowed, would have no other opportunity of conducing to any result, would be the recognised name. As a short vowel is called 'light' by I. 4. 10. and it is also called 'heavy' when it precedes a conjunct consonant (I. 4. 11.) Thus a short vowel has two names 'light' and 'heavy.' But it will not be called 'light' when it precedes a conjunct consonant, but will have only one name, i.e. 'heavy.' Thus in भिद् to divide छिद् to split, the इ is 'light' while the same letter is 'heavy' in शिक्षा teaching भिक्षा begging. Thus in the root तक्ष् the अ is 'heavy' and therefore in forming its aorist we have the form अततक्षत्. Similarly अररक्षत्. The rule VII. 4. 93 not applying here as that rule is applicable to laghu vowels only.

विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् ॥ २॥ पदानि ॥ विप्रतिषेधे, परम्, कार्यम्॥

वृत्तिः ॥ (तुल्यबलविरोधो विप्रतिषेधः) तस्मिन् विप्रतिषेधे परंकार्यं भवति ॥

2. When rules of equal force prohibit each other, then the last in the order herein given is to take effect.

The word विप्रतिषेध means 'opposition of rules of equal force.' When two topics having different objects in view find scope of action simultaneously in one particular case, that opposition of equal forces is called vipratishedha. A general rule (utsarga) and its exception (upavâda), or an invariable (nitya) and an optional (anitya) rule, or an antaranga and

a bahiranga rule, are not rules of equal force. There the stronger prevails against the weaker. As an example of rules of equal force, see VII. 3. 102. and VII. 3. 103. The first rule declares, 'when a case-affix beginning with a letter of yañ pratyâhâra follows, the long vowel is substituted for the final of an inflective base ending in a short अ.' As Vṛiksha + bhyâm = Vṛikshâbhyam. The next rule declares :—When a plural case-affix beginning with a letter or jhal pratyâhâra follows, ए is the substitute for the final short अ of an inflective base.' As Vṛiksha + su = Vṛiksheshu. But when the plural case-affix bhyaḥ follows, what rule are we to apply? For the letter bha belongs both to the pratyâhâras yañ and jhal. Are we to lengthen the short अ, or substitute ए? The present sûtra gives the reply, ए is to be substituted because VII. 3 103 ordaining ए follows next to VII 3. 102. Thus Vṛiksha + bhyaḥ = Vṛikshebyaḥ.

यूस्त्र्याख्यौ नदी ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई-ऊ, स्त्री-आख्यौ, नदी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईकारान्तमूकारान्तं च स्त्र्याख्यं शब्दरूपं नदी संज्ञं भवति ॥

3. Word-forms ending in long î and û being names of females are called Nadî.

The word यू is compound of ई + ऊ. The word stryâkhya means that which by itself denotes the name of a female. These words must be always feminine, having no masculine of the same form, as the word grâmaṇiḥas. As the words कुमारी Kumârî a virgin, यवागू, yavâgûḥ rice gruel. The declension of nouns of nadî class is somewhat peculiar which will be treated of later. As see Rule VII. 3. 112 आट् is the augment of the case-affixes having an indicatory ङ when they come after a word ending with a Nadî.

Why do we say ending in ई and ऊ? Because feminine nouns not ending in these vowels will not be declined like Nadi words. Thus while the dative of कुमारी will be कुमार्यै, the dative of दुहितृ will be दुहित्रे.

Why do we say 'which are feminine'? Because if they are names of males, they will not be called Nadî. As ग्रामणीः leader of a village; सेनानीः leader of an army; खलपूः a sweeper; their dative being ग्रामण्ये, सेनान्ये, खलप्वे.

Why have we used the word âkhyâ 'name' in the text? Because feminine gender must be denoted by the word itself and not by any other epithet used along with the word. Thus if the head-borough or the sweeper should be of the female sex, the Dative Singular would still be ग्रामण्ये स्त्रियै and खलप्वे स्त्रियै.

नेयङुवङ्स्थानावस्त्री ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इयङ्-उवङ्-स्थानौ, अस्त्री, (यूनदी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयङ् उवङोः स्थानं ययोरितीयङुवङ्स्थानौ स्त्री यू नदीसंज्ञौ न भवतः ॥

4. Feminine words ending in î and û which admit the substitute (इयङ्) iyañ and (उवङ्) uvañ (VI. 4. 77) are not called Nadî; except the word strî, (which is called nadî) notwithstanding its substituting iyañ.)

The definition of Nadî given in the last sûtra was rather too wide, this limits the scope. Thus श्री, happiness, भ्रू brow, admit the substitutes iyañ and uvañ respectively, and are not nadî. Their vocative singular is हे श्रीः, हे भ्रूः &c., while the vocative singular of strî is हे स्त्रि.

वाऽऽमि ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आमि, (नेयङुवङ-यू-नदी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयङुवङ्स्थानौ यू आमिपरतो वा नदीसंज्ञौ न भवतः ॥

5. Feminine words ending in î and û, though admitting iyañ and uvañ substitutes, are optionally termed Nadî, when the affix âm (Gen Pl.) follows, but not so the word strî, which is always Nadî.

श्री+आम्=श्री इयङ्+आम्=श्रीयाम्; भ्रू+आम्=भ्रुवाम्; or श्री+आम्=श्रीनुट् +आम् (VII. 1. 54.)=श्रीणाम्; भ्रू+आम्=भ्रूणाम्. But strî is always nadî. and we have स्त्रीणाम् strînâm.

To the absolute prohibition enjoined by the last sûtra, this allows an option in the case of Genitive Plural.

ङिति ह्रस्वश्च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङिति (ङ्-इति) ह्रस्वः, च, (यु स्त्र्याख्या-नदी-इयङुव-वा-अस्त्री) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङिति परतो ह्रस्वश्च य्वोः सम्बन्धी यः स्त्र्याख्यौ इयङुवङ्स्थानौ च यू वा नदीसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

6. When a case-affix having an indicatory ñ (ñit) follows, then feminine words ending in short i and u are optionally termed Nadî, as well as feminine nouns in long î and û which admit of iyañ and uvañ; but not so the word strî, which is always Nadî.

Feminine words in long î and û have been defined as nadî, words in short vowels can never be termed nadî, while even some words in long vowels have also been excluded from the scope of the definition if they take iyañ and uvañ. The present sûtra declares an option in the case of all the above words, when a case-affix having an indicatory ङ follows.

The case-affixes having an indicatory ñ are the Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative singulars. Thus we have:—

Dative मतये or मत्यै, धेनवे or धेन्वै, श्रिये or श्रियै; Ablative and Genitive मतेः or मत्याः, धेनोः or धेन्वाः, श्रियः or श्रियाः; Locative मतौ or मत्याम्, धेनौ or धेन्वां श्रियि or श्रियां. So also भ्रुवे or भ्रुवै &c. But strî is always स्त्रियै &c.

शेषो घ्यसखि ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषः, घि, असखि, (ह्रस्व) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषो ऽत्र घिसंज्ञो भवति सखिशब्दं वर्जयित्वा । क स्तु शेषः ? ह्रस्वमिवर्णोवर्णान्तं यन्नदीसंज्ञकं स्त्र्याख्यं च यन्नदीसंज्ञकं च शेषः ॥

7. The rest of the words that end in short इ and उ are called ghi with the exception of the word sakhi.

This defines the word ghi. The peculiarity of the declension of ghi words will be treated later on. The word hrasva is understood in this sûtra. The word śesha or 'the rest' implies 'the words ending in short इ or उ which are not the names of females, or if they are feminine names they are not nadî words.'

As अग्नि fire. Before case-affixes having an indicatory ṅ, the ghi nouns guṇate there vowel VII. 3. 111. As अग्नि + ङे = अग्ने + ए = अग्नये to the fire. So also वायु + ङे = वायवे to the wind. But the declension of sakhi in these cases is:—सख्या सख्ये सख्युः and सख्यौ.

पतिः समास एव ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पतिः, समासे, एव, (घि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दः समास एव घिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

8. The word pati is called ghi only when it is in a compound.

The word pati would have been ghi by the last sûtra; the present sûtra is therefore a niyama rule, restricting the use of ghi in the case of pati to its occurring in composition. The word eva 'only' is used in a restrictive sense.

As पत्या by the lord but प्रजापतिना by the lord of creatures. So also पत्ये and प्रजापतये; पत्युः and प्रजापतेः, पत्यौ and प्रजापतौ &c. When पति is ghi, there is guṇa of the vowel before the four ङित् affixes by VII. 3. 111.

षष्ठी युक्तश्छन्दसि वा ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी-युक्तः, छन्दसि, वा, (पतिः घि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षष्ठ्यन्तेन युक्तः पतिशब्दः छन्दसि विषये वा, घिसंज्ञो भवति ।

9. The word pati when used in connection with a noun ending in the sixth or genitive case, is ghi, optionally, in the Chhandas (veda).

The word pati is understood in this sûtra. By the last sûtra, pati would have not been ghi when not in composition. This sûtra makes an exception to that when this word occurs in the Vaidic literature

कुलुञ्चानां पतये or पत्ये नमः salutationto the lord of the Kulunchas.

Why do we say 'when used in connection with a noun in the genitive case'? Observe मया पत्या जरदष्टिर्यथासः.

Why do we say 'in the Chhandas'? Observe ग्रामस्य पतये.

ह्रस्वं लघु ॥ १० ॥ पदानि । ह्रस्वम्, लघु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वमक्षरं लघुसंज्ञं भवति ॥

10. A short vowel is called 'light' (laghu).

This defines the word Laghu. A hrasva vowel which has already been defined (I. 2. 27), is under certain circumstances called laghu or 'light'; thus the i of भिद् to break, is laghu; and by being laghu it is guṇated before the affix ता+आ, as भेत्ता he will break, by virtue of the rule VII 3. 86, which declares that a laghu penultimate vowel is guṇated before a Saravadhatuka or an ârdhadhatuka affix. So also छेत्ता, अचीकरत् and अजीहरत्.

संयोगेगुरु ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोगे, गुरु, (ह्रस्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः॥ संयोगे परतो ह्रस्वमक्षरं गुरुसंज्ञं भवति ॥

11. When a conjunct consonant follows, a short vowel is termed 'heavy' (Guru).

A hrasva vowel however is not to be called 'light' when it is followed by a conjunct consonant. As the i of शिक्षा 'learning' is a heavy vowel. Thus शिक्षा is derived from शिक्ष+अ (III. 3. 103, let the affix अ come after that verb which has a heavy vowel and ends in a consonant when the word to be formed is feminine). So also कुण्डा and भिक्षा.

दीर्घञ्च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घम्, च, (गुरु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घंचाक्षरंगुरुसंज्ञं भवति ॥

12. And a long vowel is also termed heavy, (Guru).

This is clear the anuvritti of the word conjunct is not understood in this sûtra. As ई of ईहांचक्रे he endeavoured, ईक्षांचक्रे he saw. Here the letter ई is guru, and because of its being called guru, the rule III. 1. 36 is applied in forming the perfect tense by the addition of the aug nt आम्. Thus all long vowels, and short vowels followed by conjunct consonants are guru or heavy. All other short vowels are laghu.

यस्मात् प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्यये ऽङ्गम् ॥१३॥ पदानि ॥ यस्मात्, प्रत्यय-विधिः, तद्-आदि, प्रत्यये, अङ्गम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मात् प्रत्ययो विधीयते धातोर्वा प्रातिपदिकाद्वा तदादि शब्दरूपं प्रत्यये परतो ऽङ्गसंज्ञं भवति ॥

13. After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether verbal root or crude-form, that which begins therewith in the form in which it appears when the affix follows it, is called an Inflective base (añga).

The words of this sûtra require some explanation. Yasmat after whatsoever; pratyaya-vidhih compound of pratyaya meaning an affix and vidhih, a precept *i.e.* a rule enjoying an affix; tadâdi, 1. S. that which begins therewith pratyaye 7. S.=in a pratyaya *i.e.* when a pratyaya follows (I. 1.) is called a base.

After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether it be a verbal root (Dhâtu) or a nominal base (prâtipadika), the word-form having that as its beginning, is called an añga, with regard to the affix that follows. The word yasmât is used in the aphorism to point out the thing named, as anga; because the word tadâdi follows it. This defines the word añga. The word 'base' is thus a relative term with regard to its affix. Thus कृ+ता=कर्ता he will do हर्ता he will lose. करिष्यति, हरिष्यति. Here because the root कृ and हृ gets the name अंग they are gunated by (VII. 3. 84). Similarly because उपगु &c. get the name Anga, their vowel is vriddhied in औपगवः &c.

The words kṛi hṛi are anga with regard to the affix tâ &c. उपगु+अण्= औपगवः; कापटवः. Here upagu and kapaṭu are añga with regard to an. Similarly कृ+स्य+वः=करिष्य+वः=करिष्यावः. Here the whole word form Karishya is regarded as añga, and as such the short a is lengthened by VII. 3. 101; because though the affix vaḥ is enjoined after the word kṛi, the form which begins with kṛi *i.e.* karishya will also be called añga when the affix is to be added. The word tadâdi, therefore, has been used in the sûtra, to make the definition of Anga applicable to the forms which a word may assume after taking the intermediate affixes like sya &c., or नुम् before the final affixes. Thus कुण्ड+नुम्+इ=कुण्डन्+इ=कुण्डानि (VII. 1. 72 and VI. 4. 8) kuṇḍa+num+î=kuṇḍan+î=kuṇḍâni, bowls. Here the whole form kuṇḍan is called anga, and as such it lengthens its vowel before the case-affix î by VI. 4. 8.

Why have we used the word pratyaya? Without it the rule would have run thus:—'After whatever there is anything enjoined &c., is called Anga.' Then in स्त्री+इयती=स्त्र्यती. Here sandhi of vowels is enjoined between ई+इ=ई. If स्त्री was here an Anga, then its last last vowel would have been replaced by इयङ् (VI. 4. 77), the form being स्त्रियियति.

Why have we used the word विधि? Had we omitted it the rule would have run thus:—"After whatsoever there is an affix, whether root or prâtidadika is Añga." Thus in दधि अधुना, though the affix adhunâ is placed aftre

the word dadhi, it is not enjoined by any rule ; and the word दधि is not called anga. Had it been so called, then the इ of dadhi should have been elided by rule VI. 4. 148.

The word pratyaya has been repeated twice in this sûtra in order to show that when an affix is elided, the term anga will not apply to what stood before it. Thus in the compound word स्त्रियै+अर्थं=स्त्र्यर्थं for the sake of the woman. Here in forming the Tat purusha compound th dative case-affix after the word स्त्री has been elided, for as a general rule case-affixes are elided in forming compounds. If the word स्त्री after its affix had been elided, still retained its old designation of Anga, the स्त्री+अर्थं would have been स्त्रियर्थं, the augment iyañ being added by the rule already referred to above.

सुप्तिङन्तं पदम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुप्-तिङ्-अन्तम्, पदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्तं तिङन्तं च शब्दरूपं पदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

14. That which ends in sup (case-affix) IV. 1. 2; or in tiñ III. 4. 78 (tense-affix), is called a pada or inflected word.

The sup or case-affixes are those by which nouns are declined ; and tiñ are tense-affixes by which verbs are conjugated. They have already been given before. Thus ब्राह्मण+जस्=ब्राह्मणाः the Brâhmaṇas पचन्ति they cook.

It might be asked by a caviller why the word अन्त has been used in the aphorism, for by the rule of tadanta given in Sûtra I. 1. 72 a rule relating to sup will mean and include also that which ended with a sup-affix. To this we reply, that the very fact that the word anta is used in this sûtra, indicates by implication (jñâpaka) that the Tadanta rule of Sûtra 72 Chapter I does not apply to rules of sanjñâ (definition) made with regard to affixes. Thus tarap and tamap affixes are called gha by Sûtra I. 1. 22. The tadanta-vidhi will not apply here ; words ending with these affixes will not be called gha. Thus ब्राह्मणितरा will not be called gha, for had it been so called, the long ई will be shortened in गौरी ब्राह्मणितरा. In short, 'an affix when employed in a rule which teaches the meaning of a technical term (sanjñâ) does not denote a word-form ending with the affix.'

नः क्ये ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, क्ये, (पदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नान्तं शब्दरूपं क्ये परतः पदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

15. The word-form ending in n, is called pada, when kya follows (*i.e.*), the affixes kyach, kyañ and kyash).

These are affixes by which denominative verbs are formed from nouns. See III. 1. 8, 11, and 13. A word ending in न is called pada, when these affixes follow. Thus राजन्+क्यच्=राजीय 3rd Per. *s.* राजीयति he behaves like

a king. So also राजन्+क्यङ्=राजायते (VII. 4. 5.) चर्मन्+क्यष्=चर्मायते or चर्मायति. The result of its being called pada is that the न् of राजन्, चर्मन् &c., is elided by Sûtra VIII. 2. 7. (there is elision of न् final in a pada which is entitled to the designation of prâtipadika). Thus राजन्+क्यच्=राज+य=राजीय (VII. 4. 33).

These three affixes क्यच् &c., come after case-inflected words (*i.e.*, words ending in sup), and though, before these affixes, the case terminations are elided, still by Sûtra I. 1. 62 such words would have retained the name of pada which they got by Rule 14 of this Chapter. The present sûtra however makes a restriction (niyama). It declares that only words ending in न् retain the name of pada; while all other case-inflected words before these affixes do not retain that designation. Thus the words वाच् speech, स्रुच् a ladle are not treated as pada and we have वाच्यते and स्रुच्यते. Had they been pada, the च् would have been changed into क् by VIII. 2. 30.

सिति च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स-इति, च, (पदम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ सिति प्रत्यये परतः पूर्वं पदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

16. When an affix having an indicatory स् follows then that which precedes it is called pada.

The sûtra 18 of this chapter teaches that before certain affixes, the preceding word is called bha. This sûtra declares an exception to that by anticipation. Thus Rule IV. 2. 115 declares :—" Affixes ठक् and छस् come after the vriddha (I. 1. 74) word भवत्." Here the affix छस् has an indicatory स्, therefore the word भवत्, standing before it, will be called pada. Thus भवत्+छस्=भवदीयः VII. 1. 2, belonging to you. The result of being pada is that त is changed into द (VIII 2. 39). Similarly स् is इत in युस् (After the word ûrṇâ there is yus V. 2 123). Thus ऊर्णायुः ; so also घस् V. 1. 106, has स् as indicatory. Thus ऋत्वियः There is no guṇa because of its being pada

स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थाने ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-आदिषु, असर्वनाम स्थाने, (पदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वादिषु प्रत्ययेषु परतः सर्वनामस्थानवर्जितेषु पूर्वं पदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

17. When the affixes beginning with सु (IV. 1. 2) and ending in कप् (V. 4. 151). follow, not being Sarvanâmasthâna (I. 1. 43) then that which precedes is calied pada.

The affixes beginning with su and ending with kap are meant by the above sûtra. Thus the case-affix भ्याम् (Ins Dual) is an affix included in the above. Thus राजन्+भ्याम्=राजभ्याम्, राजभिः, राजत्वं, राजता, राजतरः, राजतमः The न is elided by being pada.

Why do we say 'when not a Sarvanâmsthâna'? Observe राजन्+औ =राजानौ two kings. राजानः kings. The न is not elided.

यचि भम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ य्-अचि, भम्, (स्वादिष्वस०)

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादावजादौ च स्वादौ सर्वनामस्थानवर्जिते प्रत्यये परतः पूर्वं भसंज्ञं भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नभोऽङ्गिरोमनुषां वत्युपसंख्यानम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वृषण्वस्वश्वयोः ॥

18. And when an affix, with an initial y or an initial vowel, being one of the affixes, beginning with su and ending in k, follows, not being Sarvanâmasthâna, then what precedes, is called Bha.

This debars the application of pada. Thus गर्ग+यञ् (IV. 1. 105)=गार्ग्यः a grandson of Garga. So also वात्स्यः. The affix yañ begins with a ya and the word garga being treated as Bha its final अ is elided before the affix by VI. 4. 148.

So also दक्ष+इञ्=दाक्षिः (IV. 1. 95) grandson of Daksha दाक्षिः. Here the affix इञ् begins with a vowel the word standing before it being Bha, it causes elision of the final अ of Daksha.

The word यचि is in the 7th case meaning when य् or अच् follow; and by the last *Vart* of Sûtra I 1. 72, it means 'when an affix beginning with ya or ach follow.'

Vart.—The words नभस्, अङ्गिरस् and मनुष् should be treated as Bha when the affix वत् follows. Thus नभस्वत् like the sky. अङ्गिरस्वत् like the Angiras. मनुष्वत् like the man. By being Bha, the स् is not changed into रु, which it would have been, had it been a pada (VIII. 2. 66).

Vart.—The words वृषन् is treated as Bha in the vedas when the words वसु and अश्व follow. Thus वृषण्वसुः ; वृषणश्वस्य मेने. Here had the word vrishan been treated as pada, the न would not have been changed into ण (See Rule VIII. 4. 37); and this न would have been dropped before the affix vasu by VIII. 2. 7.

तसौ मत्वर्थे ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ त-सौ, मतु-अर्थे, (भम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तकारान्तं सकारान्तं शब्दरूपं मत्वर्थे प्रत्यये परतो भसंज्ञं भवति ॥

19. The word-form ending in t or in s is called Bha when an affix with the force of matup ('whose is it,' 'or in whom it is' V. 2. 94) follows.

The word Bha is understood in this sûtra. Thus is the word उदश्वित्वत् having butter milk Nom. Sing. उदश्वित्वान् घोषः the herdsman having butter milk, विद्युत्वान् वलाहकः the cloud full of thunder. So also यशस्वी famous;

पयस्वी full of milk. Thus उदश्वित्+वतुप्=उदश्वित्वत्, यशस्+विनि (V. 2. 121)= यशस्विन्. By making these Bha, the operation of pada rule is debarred in their case. That is to say the final त of udaśvit &c., and the स् of yaśas &c., are not changed into द and र respectively, which had they been pada words would have been the case by the action of Sûtra VIII. 2. 39, and VIII. 2. 66. *viz.*, उदश्विद्वत् and यशोविन् which are incorrect.

अयस्मयादीनि च्छन्दसि ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अयस्मय-आदीनि, छन्दसि, (भम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अयस्मयादीनि शब्दरूपाणि च्छन्दसि विषये साधूनि भवन्ति ॥

20. Words like ayasmaya &c., are valid forms in the chhandas (veda).

These words being taught here in the topic relating to pada and Bha, show that they have been properly forced in the chhandas by the application of the rules of Bha and pada. Thus अयस्+मय=अयस्मय made of iron. Here the word अयस् is treated as Bha and hence the स् is not changed into र. Thus अयस्मयं वर्म iron-made coat of mail. अयस्मयानि पात्राणि iron vessels. The present form of this word is अयोमयं. In some places both these pada and Bha apply simultaneously. Thus in the word ऋक्वत् formed by ऋच्+वत्, the च् is first changed into क् by treating the word ṛich as a pada. Then the word ऋक् is treated as bha, and therefore the क् is not changed into ग् before वत्. For had it been pada, the form would have been ऋग्वत् Rigvat. These irregularly formed words occur only in the chhandas or Vedic literature. Thus स सुष्टुभा स ऋक्वता गणेन.

बहुषु बहुवचनम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुषु, बहु-वचनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुषु बहुवचनं भवति ॥

21. In expressing multeity, a Plural case affix is employed.

When it is intended to denote multeity those affixes should be employed after nouns and verbs, which denote plural number. Thus ब्राह्मणाः पठन्ति. The Brahmins read.

This rule applies to words which are capable of expressing numbers. Indeclinables (Avyaya) do not admit of numbers, and consequently they are always in singular number which is the general form.

द्व्येकयोर्द्विवचनैकवचने ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि-एकयोः, द्विवचन-एकवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वित्वैकत्वयोरर्थयोर्द्विवचनैकवचने भवतः ॥

22. The dual and singular case-affixes are employed severally in the sense of duality and unity.

This is also clear. When duality is to be expresseu, a dual case-affix should be employed, and in the case of unit, the singular case-affix. Thus ब्राह्मणौ पचतः the two Brahmins cook. ब्राह्मणः पचति the Brahmin cooks.

कारके ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कारके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कारक इत्यधिकारो वेदितव्यः, यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः कारक इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

23. The phrase 'kâraka' (meaning 'in the special relation to a word expressing an action') is to be understood in the following aphorisms.

Any thing that helps towards the accomplishment of an action is a kâraka. Thus in 'cooking,' the fire, the furnace, the vessel, the cook are all helpers in the accomplishment of the action. Thus 'Rama cooks food in a vessel, by the fire from the furnance for his master.' Here Rama is agent kâraka; 'food' is object kâraka; 'vessel' is a locative kâraka, fire is an instrumental kâraka, 'furnace' is the ablative kâraka and 'master' is the dative kâraka.

The word 'karaka' thus is synonymous with the word cause (hetu) and occasion (nimitta). All the various causes and the occasions that are required to complete an action will be kârakas. Out of the seven cases in which a sanskrit noun is declined, six represent such relation with an action. The Genitive or the sixth case can never be directly related with an action, and thus can never stand in the relation of a kâraka to a verb

ध्रुवमपायेऽपादानम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ध्रुवम्, अपाये, अपादानम् (कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ध्रुवं यदपाययुक्तमपाये साध्ये यदवधिभूतं तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ जुगुप्साविरामप्रमादार्थानामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

24. A noun whose relation to an action is that of a fixed point from which departure takes place is called apâdâna or ablation.

This defines the Ablation or Apâdâna kâraka. Thus ग्रामादागच्छति he comes from the village. पर्वतादवरोहति he descends from the mountain. स्वार्थाद्धीनः lost his object. रथात् पतितः fallen from the chariot. The Apâdâna takes the 5th case-affix (II. 3 28) and the above examples show this. When therefore this relation is to be expressed, 'the fixed point (like grâma, purvata &c., in the above) which is the limit denoted by a word dependent on a verb, is called ablation.'

Vart.—The objects of verbs denoting 'aversion,' 'cessation' and 'negligence' are also called ablation. Thus :—अधर्माज्जुगुप्सते he dislikes injustice; अधर्माद्विरमति he ceases from injustice. धर्मात्प्रमाद्यति he neglects justice.

भीत्रार्थानां भयहेतुः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी-त्रा-अर्थानाम्, भय-हेतुः, (कारके अपादानम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बिभेत्यर्थानां त्रायत्यर्थानां च धातूनां प्रयोगे भयहेतुर्यस्तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

25. In the case of words implying 'fear' and 'protection from danger' that from which the danger or fear procedes is called Apâdâna kâraka.

The verbs signifying 'fear' or 'protection govern the object feared of, or the danger to be protected from, in the ablative case. Thus चौरेभ्यो बिभेति he is afraid of thieves, चौरेभ्य उद्विजते he is agitated because of the thieves. चौरेभ्यस्त्रायते or रक्षति. He protects or saves from the thieves.

Why do we say 'the cause of fear (bhaya-hetu) is put in the ablative case'? Observe अरण्ये बिभेति or त्रायते he fears or protects in the forest.

पराजेरसोढः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पराजेः, असोढः, (का० अपादानम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परापूर्वस्य जयतेः प्रयोगेऽसोढो योऽर्थः सोढुं न शक्यते तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

26. In the case of the verb parâji, 'to be tired or weary of,' that which becomes unbearable, is called Apâdana kâraka.

When the verb जि to conquer, with the preposition parâ has the sense of 'becoming tired or unbearable' it governs the ablative case of the thing become unbearable. As अध्ययनात् पराजयते he finds study unbearable.

Why do we say 'that which becomes unbearable.' Observe शत्रून् पराजयते he defeats the enemies.

वारणार्थानामीप्सितः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वारण-अर्थानाम्, ईप्सितः (का० अपादा०)

वृत्तिः ॥ वारणार्थानां धातूनां प्रयोगे च ईप्सितोऽर्थः तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ।

27. In the case of verbs having the sense of 'preventing', the desired object from which one is prevented or warded off is called Ablation or Apâdana kâraka.

The obstruction to one's natural inclination is called vâraṇa or prevention. As यवेभ्यो गां वारयति or निवर्तयति he wards off or withholds the cow from the barley.

Why do we say 'the object desired' is put in the ablative case? Observe गां वारयति क्षेत्रे he wards off the cow in the field.

अन्तर्द्धौ येनादर्शन मिच्छति ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्द्धौ, येन, अदर्शनम्, इच्छति, (का० अपादा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तर्द्धिनिमित्तं येनादर्शनमात्मन इच्छति तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

28 When concealment is indicated, the person whose sight one wishes to avoid, is called Apâdâna kâraka.

Thus उपाध्यायादन्तर्धत्ते or निलीयते he conceals or hides from the teacher; so that the teacher may not find him out or see him.

Why do we say 'when concealment is indicated'? Observe चौरान् न दिदृक्षते he does not wish to see the thieves. Here the term chauran is in the accusative case.

Why has the word ichchhati been used in the text? The apâdâna kâraka is to be used there only, where one desires that he should not be seen, yet he shows himself.

आख्यातोपयोगे ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ-ख्याता, उप-योगे, (का० अपा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपयोगे साध्ये य आख्याता तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

29. The noun denoting the teacher is called Apâdâna or ablation, in relation to the action signifying formal teaching.

The word आख्याता means teacher, and उपयोग means acquiring knowledge in the regular way. Thus उपाध्यायादधीते or आगमयति he learns from the preceptor.

Why do we say 'when meaning to learn'? Observe नटस्य शृणोति he hears the player.

जनिकर्त्तुः प्रकृतिः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ जनि-कर्त्तुः, प्रकृतिः, (का० अपा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जन्यर्थस्यजन्मनः कर्त्ता जायमानः तस्यया प्रकृतिः कारणं हेतुः तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

30. The prime cause of the agent of the verb jan to be born, is called Apâdâna.

That which is the Agent (कर्ता) of the verb jan, is called जनिकर्ता. That which is the prime-cause (प्रकृति) of the agent (or product) of the

root jan is put in the ablative case. As शृङ्गाच्छरो जायते, the arrow is produced from horn. गोमयाद् वृश्चिको जायते the scorpion is produced from cowdung.

भुवः प्रभवः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, प्रभवः, (का० अपा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूकर्तुः प्रभवो य स्तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

31. The source of the agent of the verb bhu, to become is called Apâdâna.

The phrase 'of the agent (karuth)' is understood here. The word प्रभव means the source or that from which anything arises. As हिमवतो गंगा प्रभवति the Ganges has its source in the Himalayas. काश्मीरेभ्यो वितस्ता प्रभवति. The Hydaspes has its source in Cashmere.

कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स संप्रदानम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणा, यम्, अभिप्रैति, सः, संप्रदानम्, (का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणा, करणभूतेन कर्त्ता यमभिप्रैति तत्कारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्रियाग्रहणमपि कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कर्मणः करणसंज्ञा वक्तव्या संप्रदानस्य च कर्मसंज्ञा ॥

32. The person whom one wishes to connect with the object of giving, is called Sampradâna or recipient.

Though the word कर्मणा in the sûtra is indefinitely used, meaning 'with the object' yet it is not every object of any verb. The object must be of the verb 'to give.'

As उपाध्यायाय गां ददाति he gives the cow to the teacher. माणवकाय भिक्षां ददाति he gives alms to the boy. Here the words 'cow' and 'alms' are the object of the verb 'give'; the persons connected with this object are the teacher and the boy respectively. These latter are in the Dative case and take the 4th case-affix.

Vart :—The person whom one wishes to connect with the action should also be called recipient. As श्राद्धाय निगर्हते he censures for the sake of Sraddha. युद्धाय सन्नह्यते he prepares for battle. पत्ये शेते she sleeps for her husband.

Vart :—2. After some verbs (especially to sacrifice), the object (karma) gets the name of Instrument (karaṇa) and the recipient (Sampradâna) is called object (karma).

Thus पशुना रुद्रं यजते or पशुं रुद्राय ददाति he sacrifices with an animal to Rudra, which is equivalent to, 'he gives an animal to Rudra.'

रुच्यर्थानां प्रीयमाणः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुचि-अर्थानाम्, प्रीयमाणः, (का० संप्रदानम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ रुच्यर्थानां धातूनां प्रयोगे प्रीयमाणो योऽर्थः तत्कारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

33. In case of verbs having the signification of the root ruch 'to like,' the person or thing that is pleased or satisfied, is called Sampradâna or recipient.

The verbs having similar meaning (artha) as the word ruchi or 'liking' are रुच्यर्थ. A desire or longing caused by something else, is called ruchi. As देवदत्ताय रोचते मोदकः the sweet meat pleases Devadatta. यज्ञदत्ताय स्वदते अपूपः Yajnadatta likes Apupa. Here modaka is the agent that draws out the longing which is latent in Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the person pleased'? Observe देवदत्ताय रोचते मोदकः पथि. Devadatta likes modak in the way. The word pathi being in the 7th case.

श्लाघह्नुङ्स्थाशपां ज्ञीप्स्यमानः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्लाघ-ह्नुङ्-स्था-शपाम्, ज्ञीप्स्यमानः, (का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्लाघ ह्नुङ् स्था शप् इत्येतेषां ज्ञीप्स्यमानो योऽर्थः स तत् कारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

34. In the case of verbs ślâgh to praise, hnu to take away sthâ to stand, and śap to curse, the person whom it is intended to inform of or persuade by, these actions, is called Sampradâna.

The word ज्ञीप्स्यमान means whom it is desired to make known or inform. As देवदत्ताय श्लाघते he praises Devadatta, *i.e.*, while praising Devadatta, he wishes that he should know this praise. So also with other verbs. As देवदत्ताय ह्नुते he hides from (wishing that Devadatta should know of it) Devadatta, देवदत्ताय तिष्ठते she offers herself to Devadatta (for sexual embrace, wishing that he should know of it). देवदत्ताय शपते he reviles Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the person whom it is intended to inform'? Observe देवदत्ताय श्लाघति पथि. Here pathi is in the Locative case.

धारे रुत्तमर्णः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ धारेः, उत्तम-ऋणः, (का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धारयतेः प्रयोगे उत्तमर्णो योऽर्थः स तत्कारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

35. In the case of the verb dhâṛi 'to owe,' the creditor is called Sampradâna.

The word उत्तमर्ण is compounded of two words उत्तम best and ऋण debt meaning (whose debt is best) creditor, as opposed to अधमर्ण debtor. As देवदत्ताय शतं धारयति he owes hundred to Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the creditor is called Recipient'? Observe देवदत्ताय शतंधारयति ग्रामे he owes hundred to Devadatta in the village. Here village is in the Locative case.

स्पृहे रीप्सितः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्पृहेः, ईप्सितः, (का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पृह ईप्सायां, चुरादावदन्तः पठ्यते, तस्य ईप्सितो योऽर्थस्तत्कारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

36. In the case of the verb spṛih to desire, the thing desired is called Sampradâna kâraka.

The verb स्पृह to desire, belongs to the churâdi class. The word governed by this verb takes the Dative case. As पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृहयति he desires flowers, फलेभ्यः स्पृहयति he desires fruits.

Why do we say 'the thing desired.' Observe पुष्पेभ्यो वने स्पृहयति he desires flowers in the forest. Here वने is in the Locative case.

क्रुधद्रुहेर्ष्यासूयार्थानां यं प्रतिकोपः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रुध-द्रुह-ईर्ष्या-असूय-अर्थानां, यं, प्रतिकोपः (का० संप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रुधाद्यर्थानां प्रयोगे यं प्रतिकोपस्तत्कारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

37. In the case of the verbs having the sense of krudh to be angry, druh to injure, îrshyâ to envy, asûyâ to detract, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called Sampradâna.

Krudh means non-tolerance, droha means doing wrong or hurt, îrshyâ jealousy; and asûya means to find out the faults of another. The word kopa includes all the above four sorts of actions. As देवदत्ताय क्रुध्यतिद्रुह्यतीर्ष्यति or असूयति he is angry upon, (*i. e.* with) or bears malice to, or is jealous of, or finds out the faults of Devadatta. Here Devadatta is in the Dative case.

Why do we say 'against whom the feeling of anger is directed.' Because if there be no feeling of anger, then these verbs will not govern the dative case, but the accusative. Thus भार्यामीर्ष्यति he is jealous of his wife, *i.e.*, does not wish her to be seen by others. Here the word bhâryâ is in the accusative case.

क्रुधद्रुहो रुपसृष्टयोः कर्म ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रुध-द्रुहोः, उपसृष्टयोः, कर्म (का० यं प्रतिकोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रुधद्रुहो रुपसृष्टयो रुपसर्गसंबन्धयो र्यं प्रतिकोपस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥

38. But in the case of the verbs krudh and druh, when preceded by prepositions, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called karma karaka or object.

This aphorism is a proviso to the last, and enjoins accusative case, where by the last, there would have been dative. The word upasrishta means having upasarga or preposition. As देवदत्तमभिक्रुध्यति अभिद्रुह्यति. When used simply, those verbs of course govern the Dative case by the last aphorism. As देवदत्ताय क्रुध्यति.

राधीक्ष्योर्यस्य विप्रश्नः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ राधि-ईक्ष्योः, यस्य, विप्रश्नः, (का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राधेरीक्षेश्च कारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति कीदृशं यस्य विप्रश्नः, विविधः प्रश्नः, विप्रश्नः; स कस्य भवति यस्य शुभाशुभं पृच्छ्यते ॥

39. In the case of the verbs râdh, to propitiate, and îksh to look to, the person about whose good or bad fortune questions are asked is called Sampradâna.

The word vipraśna means literally asking various questions; and denotes questioning about the good or bad luck of another. Thus देवदत्ताय राध्यति-ईक्षते गर्गः Garga is favorable to or looks to Devadatta, the sense is that being casually asked by Devadatta, he reflects upon the good or bad fortune of Devadatta.

Another explanation of this sûtra is, the agent that puts various questions is put in the dative case. As शिष्याय राध्नोति or ईक्षते वा गुरुः meaning, the pupil asks the teacher various questions to resolve his doubts, and the teacher answers those questions to the pupil.

प्रत्याङ्भ्यां श्रुवः पूर्वस्य कर्त्ता ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-आङ्भ्याम्, श्रुवः, पूर्वस्य, कर्त्ता (का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिआङ् इत्येवं पूर्वस्य शृणोतेः कारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति कीदृशं पूर्वस्य कर्त्ता ॥

40. In the case of the verb Śru preceded by the prepositions prati and âṅ; and meaning 'to promise' the person to whom promise is made (lit: the person who was the agent of the former verb) is called Sampradâna.

The compound verb प्रतिश्रु and आश्रु means to promise. A promise is made on the motion or at the instance of another. The person so proposing who was the agent of the former action becomes the recipient of the promise in the latter case. As देवदत्ताय गां प्रतिशृणोति—आशृणोति he promises a cow to Devadatta.

अनुप्रतिगृणश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु-प्रति-गृणः, च, (का० संप्रदा० पूर्वस्य, कर्त्ता) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वस्य प्रतिपूर्वस्य च गृणातेः कारकं पूर्वस्याः क्रियायाः कर्तृभूतं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

41. In the case of the verb gṛi, preceded by anu and [prati, aud meaning 'to encourage by repeating', the person who was the agent of the prior action, which is repeated, is called Sampradâna.

The phrase pûrvasya kartâ of the last is to be read into this aphorism. As होत्रे ऽनुगृणाति. They encourage the Hotri, *i.e.* the Hotri priest invokes first, the others then follow him in invocation and by so doing encourage him. The word अनुगरः and प्रतिगरः mean encouraging the invoker.

साधकतमंकरणम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ साधकतमम्, करणम् (कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियासंसिद्धौ यत् प्रकृष्टोपकारकं विवक्षितं तत्साधकतमं कारकं करणसंज्ञं भवति ॥

42. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action is called the Instrument or karaṇa kâraka.

As दात्रेण लुनाति he cuts with the sickle. परशुना छिनत्ति he divides by the axe. The instrument कारक takes the third-case affix.

Why do we say 'especially'? Because in the case of the other kârakâs, the non-mention of the word 'especially' makes it possible for us to use those cases, in not their strict sense. Thus though the locative case should be used where strictly a thing is located in another, yet we may say गङ्गायां घोषः the herdsman in the Ganges, not strictly in, but on the banks of, the Ganges. कूपे गर्गकुलम् the family of frogs in the well, *i.e.* on the sides of the well.

दिवः कर्म च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, कर्म, च, (का साधक तमम् करणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवः साधकतमं यत्कारकं तत्कर्मसंज्ञं भवति चकारात् करणसंज्ञं च ॥

43. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action, of the verb div to play, is called karma object, as well as karaṇa, Instrument.

The present sûtra ordains accusative case, where by the operation of the last aphorism there ought to have been Instrumental case. The force of च in the sûtra is to indicate that karaṇa is also to be read into this. As अक्षान् दीव्यति or अक्षै दीव्यति he plays the dice or with the dice.

परिक्रयणे संप्रदानमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिक्रयणे, संप्रदानम्, अन्यतरस्याम् (का० साधकतमं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिक्रयणे साधकतमं कारकमन्यतरस्यां संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

44. In the case of hiring on wages, that which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action of the verb parikrî, 'employing on stipulated wages,' is optionally called Sampradâna or recipient.

This ordains dative case, where there would otherwise have been Instrumental case. The word परिक्रयते means to engage for a limited period on payment of wages, and not absolute purchase for all time. As शताय परिक्रीतो ऽनुब्रूहि शतेन परिक्रीतो ऽनुब्रूहि.

ADHIKARANA.

आधारोऽधिकरणम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आधारः, अधिकरणम्, (का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृकर्मणोः क्रियाश्रयभूतयोर्धारण क्रियां प्रति य आधारस्तत्कारकमधिकरण संज्ञं भवति ॥

45. That which is related to the action as the site where the action is performed by reason of the agent or the object being in that place is called Adhikarana or the Location.

That in which the action is supported or located is called âdhâra. As कटे आस्ते he is seated on the mat. कटे शेते he is sleeping on the mat. स्थाल्यां पचति he cooks in the pot. The Adhikaraṇa takes the 7th case-affix.

अधिशीङ्स्थासां कर्म ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि । अधि-शीङ्-स्था-आसाम्, कर्म, (का० आधारः)

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिपूर्वाणां शीङ् स्था आस् इत्येतेषा माधारो यस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥

46. That which is the site of the verbs śî to lie down, stha, to stand, âs to sit, when preceded by the preposition adhi, is however called karma kâraka or object.

This ordians accusative case, where otherwise by the last sûtra there would have been the Locative case. As ग्राममधिशेते अधितिष्ठति or अध्यास्ते he lies down, occupies or lies in the village.

अभिनिविशश्च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-नि-विशः, च, (का० आधारः कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिनिपूर्वस्य विशतेराधारो यस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥

47. That which is the site of the verb abhiniviś to enter, is also called karma-kâraka.

As ग्राममभिनिविशते he resorts to the village. This is an optional rule, as the word "option" of sûtra 44 should be read into it. Thus we have the following forms also पापेऽभिनिवेशः resorting to sin. कल्याणेऽभिनिवेशः resorting to good. The rule here is that of vyavasthita vibhâsa.

उपान्वध्याङ् वसः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप-अनु-अधि-आङ्-वसः, (का० आधारः कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उप अनु अधि आङ् इत्येवं पूर्वस्य वसतेराधारो यस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वसेरश्यर्थस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

48. That which is the site of the verb vas to dwell, when preceded by upa, anu, adhi, and âṅ, is called karma-kâraka.

As ग्राममुपवसति सेना the army dwells in the village पर्वतमुपवसति-अनुवसति-अधिवसति or आवसति.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when the verb वस् means "fasting," or does not denote lying in a locality. As ग्रामे उपवसति he fasts in the village. Here the verb upavasati governs the locative case and not the accusative.

KARMA.

कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तुः, ईप्सिततमम्, कर्म, (का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तुः क्रियया यदाप्तुमिष्टतमं तत्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥

49. That which it is intended should be most affected by the act of the agent is called the object or karma.

That which is especially desired by the agent to be accomplished by the action is called karma. As कटं करोति He makes the mat. ग्रामं गच्छति he goes to the village. Why do we say "desired by the agent"? Observe माषेष्वश्वं बध्नाति he ties the horse in the gram field. Here gram is no doubt most desired by the horse, but as the horse is not the agent of the verb, the word माष takes the locative case. Why do we use the word "most"? Observe पयसौदनं भुङ्क्ते he eats the food along with the milk. Here milk is no doubt desired by the agent, but not being the principal object desired, takes the Instrumental case.

Though the word कर्म was understood in this sûtra by anuvritti from the last sûtra, the repetition of this word here is to indicate that the anuvritti of the word âdhâra does not extend to this sûtra, because as we do not take the anuvritti of the word karma into this sûtra, we do not take

the anuvritti of any word of the previous sûtra into this. Had we taken the anuvritti of the word karma from the last sûtra, then we could use the accusative case in those limited instances, where the word is capable of taking the Locative case also, but not in other cases. Thus while we could very well say गेहं प्रविशति he enters the house, we could not say ओदनं पचति he cooks the food, सक्तुं पिबति he drinks saktu. By repeating the word karma in this sûtra, such examples become valid everywhere. The karma-kâraka, takes the second case-affix.

तथा युक्तं चानीप्सितम् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ तथा, युक्तम्, च, अनीप्सितम्, (का० कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येन प्रकारेण कर्तुरीप्सिततमं क्रियया युज्यते तेनैव चेत् प्रकारेण यदनीप्सितं युक्तं भवति तस्य कर्मसंज्ञा विधीयते ॥

50. If that which is not intended to be most affected by the act becomes however similarly connected with the action it also is called karma.

That which is not desired by the agent is anîpsita or object of aversion. Thus विषं भक्षयति he eats poison, चोरान् पश्यति. He sees the thieves. ग्रामम् गच्छन् वृक्षमूलान्युपसर्पति going to the village, he plucks the roots of the trees.

अकथितं च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकथितम्, च, (का० कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकथितं च यत्कारकं तत्कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥

51. And that kâraka which is not spoken of as coming under any of the special relations of ablation &c., is also called karma.

There are some verbs in Sanskrit which take what is called an akathita object, in addition to their usual direct one. As its name indicates, it is that object which is not otherwise kathita or mentioned by way of any of the other case relations, such as अपादान अधिकरण &c. and is, therefore optional. If the noun capable of taking this akathita object be not intended for any other case, it is put in the Accusative case with such verbs; as, धेनुं दोग्धि पयः he milks the cow (her milk) व्रजमवरुणद्धि गां 'he confines the cow to the fold.' Here धेनुं and व्रजं are akathita or optional objects. If the speaker does not intend to have this object, the words will be put in their natural cases; as, धेन्वाः (ablative) पयो दोग्धि, व्रजे (locative) अवरुणद्धि गाम्.

The roots that are capable of governing two accusatives are mentioned in the following kârikâ :—दुह्याच् पच् दण्ड् रुधि प्रच्छि चि ब्रू शासु जि मथ् मुषाम् ॥ कर्मयुक् स्यादकथितं तथा स्यान्नी हृ कृष् वहाम् ॥

In the case of the roots दुह् 'to milk' याच् 'to beg,' पच् 'to cook,' दण्ड् 'to punish,' रुध् 'to obstruct or confine' प्रच्छ् to ask,' चि 'to collect' ब्रू to tell शास् 'instruct' जि 'to win' (as a prize of wager) मन्थ् 'to churn' मुष् 'to steal,' and also in the case of नी, हृ, कृष्, and वह all meaning 'to take or carry' and others having the same signification, that noun which, besides the direct object, is affected by the verb, is put in the Accusative case; as, गां दोग्धि पयः (S. K.) 'he milks the cow'; बलिं याचते वसुधां. He begs the earth of Bali'; similarly तंडुलानोदनं पचति, गर्गान् शतं दण्डयति, व्रजमवरुणद्धि गां, माणवकं पंथानं पृच्छति, वृक्षमवचिनोति फलानि, माणवकं धर्मं ब्रूते-शास्ति वा, शतं जयति देवदत्तं, सुधां क्षीरनिधिं मथ्नाति, देवदत्तं शतं मुष्णाति; ग्राममजां नयति-हरति-कर्षति-वहति वा are examples of the other roots in order. माणवकं धर्मं भाष ते वक्ति वा, बलिंवसुधां भिक्षते, तां तुधां संवरणस्यार्थे वरयामि विभावसो are instances of this kind of object, because भाष् or वाच् and भिक्ष् or वृ have the same meaning as ब्रू and याच्, the roots given in the Kâsikâ.

Obs.—The roots चि, मुष्, पच् मंथ्, रुध्, जि, कृष् हृ and ever वह् are of every rare occurrence as governing two accusatives, in the classical literature, though given in the above list.

The roots mentioned above and others having the same sense, take two objects. One of them is principal, and the other, secondary. In the case of the first twelve roots from दुह् to मुष्, the nouns पयः, वसुधां, फलानि, सुधां, &c. are principal objects, and गां, बलिं, वृक्षं, क्षीरनिधिं &c. are secondary objects, for they can, according to the speaker's volition, be put in other cases. And in the case of the last four roots अजा, is the principal object and ग्रामं the secondary. Thus that which is necessarily put in the accusative case in order to complete the idea of the verb, is the principal object, and that which may be put in the Accusative case, depending upon the speaker's will, is called the secondary object.

गति बुद्धि प्रत्यवसानार्थशब्द कर्माकर्म काणा मणिकर्त्ता स णौ ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गति-बुद्धि-प्रत्यवसान-अर्थ-शब्दकर्म-कर्मकाणाम्, अणिकर्त्ता, सः, णौ (कारके कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थानां बुद्ध्यर्थानां प्रत्यवसानार्थानां च धातूनां तथाशब्द कर्मकाणा मकर्मकाणां च अण्यन्तानां यः कर्त्ता स ण्यन्तानां कर्मसंज्ञो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गत्यर्थेषु नी वह्योः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वहेर नियन्तृ कर्तृकस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आदि खाद्योः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भक्षेर हिंसार्थस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

52. Of the verbs having the sense of 'motion' 'knowledge or information' and 'eating,' and of verbs that have

some literary work for their object, and of intransitive verbs that which was the agent of the verb in its primitive (non-ṇi or non-causal state), is called the object (karma) in its causative state (when the verb takes the affix ṇi).

In the case of the roots that imply 'motion,' 'knowledge' or 'information' or some kind of 'eating,' and other roots having a similar sense; also of roots that have some literary work for their object, and of intransitive roots, that which is the subject of the verb in its primitive sense is put in the Accusative case in the causal, the object remaining unchanged; e. g.

PRIMITIVE.	CAUSAL.
शत्रवः स्वर्गमगच्छन्	शत्रून् स्वर्गमगमयत्
स्वे वेदार्थमविदुः	स्वान् वेदार्थं अवेदयत्
देवा अमृतमाश्नन्	देवान् अमृतमाशयत्
विधिर्वेदमध्यैत	विधिं वेदमध्यापयत्
पृथ्वी सलिले आस्त	पृथ्वीं सलिले आसयत्

But in गमयति रामो गोविन्दं (Rama makes Govind go) if some body else (विष्णु मित्र) prompts Ráma to do this, we shall have to say विष्णुमित्रो रामेण गोविन्दं गमयति 'Vishnu mitra prompts Ráma to cause Govind to go.' Here 'Ráma' is not put in the Accusative case, because it is the subject of the verb, not in its primitive, but causal, sense.

Patanjali, in his Mahâbhâshya, adds this explanation on the meaning of the word शब्दकर्म in the sûtra गतिबुद्धि &c. शब्दकर्म may be either शब्दो येषां क्रिया or शब्दो येषां कर्म.

When we take the former interpretation, the roots ह्वयति (ह्वे) क्रन्दति (क्रन्द्) and शब्दायते (denom. of शब्द) have to be excluded from the rule; as, ह्वयति देवदत्तः ह्वाययति देवदत्तेन; क्रन्दति-शब्दायते-देवदत्तः; क्रन्दयति-शब्दाययति-देवदत्तेन. And the roots श्रु, ज्ञा with वि and लभ् with उप must be included in the rule; as, शृणोति विजानाति-उपलभते-देवदत्तः श्रावयति-विज्ञापयति-उपलम्भयति-देवदत्तम्. When we adopt the second interpretation, the roots जल्प्, भाष् with आ and लप with वि, must be included in the rule; जल्पति-विलपति-आभाषते-देवदत्तः, जल्पयति-विलापयति-आभाषयति-देवदत्तं.

There are several exceptions and counter-exceptions to the preceding rule, which are important.

Vart:—The causals of नी 'to lead' and वह् 'to carry,' do not govern the Accusative, but the Instrumental; e. g. भृत्यो भारं नयति वहति वा A servant carries a load. भृत्येन भारं नाययति वाहयति वा (S. K.) (He) causes a servant to carry a load.

Vart.—But वह्, when it has for its subject in the causal a word signifying a 'driver,' obeys the general rule; as, वाहा रथं वहन्ति. Horses draw the chariot. वहंति बलाद् बलीवर्दाः.

Vart.—(b). The causals of the roots अद् and खाद्, 'to eat,' govern the Instrumental case; e. g. बटुरन्नमत्ति खादति वा. The boy eats his food. बटुनान्नमादयति खादयति वा. (He) causes the boy to eat his food.

Vart.—(c). भक्ष्, when it has not the sense of हिंसा 'injury to a sentient thing,' governs the Instrumental; as, भक्षयति पिंडीं देवदत्तः, भक्षयति पिंडीं देवदत्तेन; but भक्षयति यवान् बलीवर्दाः, भक्षयति बली वर्दान् यवान्.

By 'intransitive' roots mentioned above is meant such roots as are not by their nature capable of governing an object other than that of 'time,' 'place' &c., and not those roots which, though transitive, may sometimes be used intransitively according to the speaker's volition, or when their meaning is, quite evident; as, किंकरः पचरः पचति. Here पचति, though transitive, is used without an object, because it can be easily understood; hence किंकरेण पाचयति and not किंकरं; but मासमासयति देवदत्तं.

In forming the passive construction of causal verbs, the principal object in the causal, which is the subject (agent) of the verb in its primitive sense, is put in the Nominative case, and the other object remains unchanged; e. g.

PRIMITIVE.	CAUSAL ACTIVE.	CAUSAL PASSIVE.
रामो ग्रामं गच्छति.	रामं ग्रामं गमयति.	रामो ग्रामं गम्यते.
Râma goes to a village.	(He) causes Râma to go to a village.	Rama is caused to go &c.
भृत्यः कटं करोति.	भृत्येन भृत्यं वा कटं कारयति.	भृत्यः कटं कार्यते.
The servant prepares a mat.	(He) causes the servant to prepare a mat.	The servant is made to prepare &c.
गोविंदो मासमास्ते.	गोविंदं मासमासयति.	गोविंदो मासमास्यते.
Govind sits for one month.	(He makes Govind sit &c.)	Govind is made to sit &c.

(*a*). But in the case of roots that imply 'knowledge' 'eating,' and those that have a literary work for their object, the principal object is put in the Nominative case, and the secondary in the Accusative, or vice versa e. g. माणवकं धर्मं बोधयति 'he make Mananaka know his duty'; माणवको धर्मं बोध्यते or माणवकं धर्मो बोध्यते 'M, is made known his duty' or duty is made known to M.'; बटुमोदनं भोजयति 'he makes the boy eat food: 'बटुरोदनं भोजयते or बटुमोदनो भोज्यते (S. K.)

With regards to roots that govern two accusatives, the rules mentioned above hold good in their case also; *i.e.*, those roots that imply motion &c., govern the Accusative of the subject of the primitive Case, and others, the Instrumental case, sometimes; as, वामनेन बलिं वसुधां याचयते; (ईश्वरो) वामनेन बलिं

वसुधां याचयति '(God) makes Vâmana ask Bali for Earth.' गोपोऽजां नगरं हरति; (स्वामी) गोपं गोपेन वाजां नगरं हारयति. '(The master) makes the cowherd take the sheep to the town.'

हृक्रोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृ-क्रोः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (का० अणि कर्त्ता स णौ कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतेः करोतेश्चाण्यन्तयोर्यः कर्त्ता स ण्यन्तयो रन्यतरस्यां कर्मसंज्ञो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अभिवादि दृशोरात्मनेपद उपसंख्यानम् ॥

53. The agent of the verb in its non-ṇi (primitive) form in the case of hṛi to lose and kṛi to make, is optionally called karma or object when these verbs take the affix.

ṇi (CAUSAL).

PRIMITIV.	CAUSAL.
As हरति. भारं माणवकः	हारयति भारं माणवकं or माणवकेन.
The boy takes the load.	He causes the servant to take the load.
करोतिकटं देवदत्तः	कारयति कटं देवदत्तं or देवदत्तेन.
Devadatta makes the mat.	He causes Devadatta to make the mat.

Vart.—The subject of the primitive verbs अभिवद् and दृश् when used in the Atmanepada, is either put in the Accusative or instrumental case in the causal; as,

PRIMITIVE.	CAUSAL.
अभिवदति गुरुं वदत्तः	अभिवादयते गुरुं or देवदत्तेन
Devadatta bows down to the Guru.	He makes Devadatta bow down to the Guru.
पश्यन्ति भृत्या राजानम्.	दर्शयते भृत्यान् राजानं or दर्शयते भृत्यैः.
The servants see the king.	He makes the servants see the king

KARTRI.

स्वतन्त्रः कर्त्ता ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वतन्त्रः कर्त्ता । (का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रिया प्रसिद्धौ स्वातन्त्र्येण विवक्ष्यते तत्कारकं कर्तृसंज्ञं भवति ॥

54. Whatever the speaker chooses as the independent, principal and absolute source of action is called kartâ or agent.

The agent is absolute and unconditioned, as देवदत्तः पचति Devadatta cooks. स्थाली पचति the pot cooks

तत् प्रयोजको हेतुश्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्, प्रयोजकः, हेतुः, च, (का० स्वतन्त्रः कर्त्ता) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वतन्त्रस्य प्रयोजको योऽर्थः तत्कारकं हेतुसंज्ञं भवति चकारात् कर्तृसंज्ञं च ॥

55. That which is the mover thereof, i. e., of the independent source of action, is called Hetu or cause, as well as kartâ or agent.

Thus कारयति he causes to be made, हारयति he causes to be taken. When hetu is employed as agent the verb is put in the causative form (III. 1. 26).

The force of the word च is to give both names to the mover of an agent, *viz.*, Hetu and kartâ; otherwise by sûtra 1 of this Chapter only one name would have been given.

Nipâta.

THE PARTICLES.

प्राग्रीश्वरान्निपाताः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राग्, रीश्वरात्, निपाताः॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिरीश्वर इति वक्ष्यति प्रागेतस्मादवधेर्यानित ऊर्द्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः निपात संज्ञा स्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

56. From this point forward upto the aphorism Adhirîśvaro (I. 4. 97), all that we shall say is to be understood to have the name of Nipâta or Particles.

The word प्राक् of this sûtra serves the same purpose as the word cha of the last; namely, it makes the words Gati, upasarga and karmapravachnîya take two names, *i.e.*, their one name as well as the name Nipâta. The letter र in प्राग्रीश्वरात् is to remove doubt, *i.e.*, aphorism I. 4. 97 should be taken as limit and not sûtra III. 4. 13 which has the word iswari also.

चादयो ऽसत्वे ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ च-आदयः असत्वे, (निपता) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चादयो निपातसंज्ञा भवन्ति न चेत्सत्वे वर्त्तन्ते ॥

57. The word cha 'and,' &c., are called Nipâta or Particles, when they do not signify substances.

The following are particles (nipâta) च 'and' वा 'or' ह 'an expletive' अह 'vocative particle' एव 'only' exactly.' एवम् 'so thus,' नूनम् 'certainly,' शश्वत् 'continually,' युगपत् 'at once,' भूयस् 'repeatedly,' सूपत् कूपत् 'excellently,' कुवित् 'abundantly,' नेत् चेत् 'if' चण 'if,' [the ṇ is indicatory], यत्र where,' तत्र 'there,' कच्चित् 'what if ?,' नह 'no,' हन्त 'ah,' ! माकिम् [माकीम्] नकिम् 'do not,' आकीम् 'indeed !' माङ् 'do not,' नञ् 'not,' यावत् 'as much as,' तावत् 'so much,' त्वै न्वै है 'perhaps,' रै(disrespectful interjection) श्रौषट् वौषट्

स्वाहा (interj.) 'oblation to the gods,' स्वधा 'oblation to the manes,' forefathers वषट् 'oblation to the gods,' ओम् (mystical ejaculation typical of the three great deities of the Hindu mythology), तुम 'thouing,' तथाहि 'thus,' introducing an exposition, (खलु 'certainly,' किल 'indeed,' अथ 'now' auspicious inceptive), सुष्ठु 'excellent,' स्म (attached to the present tense gives it a past signification), अहह 'fie' अ इ उ ऋ लृ ए ऐ ओ औ. The vowels a, â, i, î, u, û, e, ai, o, au, when, as interjections, they indicate various emotions, differ from the ordinary vowels.

उञ्, उकञ्, वेलायाम्, मात्रायाम्, यथा, यत्, तत्, किम्, पुरा, वधा, (वध्वा), धिक्, हाहा, हेहै, (हहे), पाट्, प्याट्, आहो, उताहो, हो, अहो, नो, (नौ), अथो, ननु, मन्ये, मिथ्या, असि, ब्रूहि, तु, नु, इति, इव, वत्, वात्, बन, वत, [सम्, वशम्, शिकम्, दिकम्,] सनुकम्, छम्बट्, (छंबट), शंके, शुकम्, खम्, सनात्, सनुतर्, नहिकम्, सत्यम्, ऋतम्, अद्धा, इद्धा, नोचेत्, नचेत्, नहि, जातु, कथम्, कुतः, कुत्र, अव, अनु, हा, हे, (है), आहोस्वित्, शम्, कम्, खम्, दिष्ट्या, पशु, वट्, सह, (अनुषट्), आनुषक्, अङ्ग, फट्, ताजक्, (भाजक), अये, अरे, वाट्, (चाटु), कुम्, खुम्, घुम्, अम्, ईम्, सीम्, सिम्, सिः, वै.

To the list of indeclinables belong also what have, without the reality, the appearance of an upasarga (No.59), of a word with one of the terminations of case or persons and of the vowels. In the example अवदत्तम् avadattam 'given away,' the अव is not really an upasarga, for if it were, the word (by VII. 4. 47) would be अवत्तम् avattam. In the example ahanyuh अहंयुः 'egotistic,' the ahañ is not identical with the aham 'I,' terminating in a case affix—because a pronoun, really regarded as being in the nominative case, could not be the first member, in such a compound. In the example अस्तिक्षीरा astikshîrâ, a cow or the like 'in which there is milk,' the asti अस्ति must be regarded as differing from the word asti, 'is,' which ends with the affix of the third person singular, otherwise it could not have appeared as the first member in a compound.

प्रादयः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र-आदयः, (निपाता असत्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रादयो ऽसत्वे निपातसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

58. The words pra &c, are called Nipâta when not signifying substances.

The following is the list of प्रादयः or 'prepositions:' प्र, परा, अप, सम्, अनु, अव, निस्, दुस्, वि, आङ्, नि, अधि, अपि, अति, सु, उत्, अभि, प्रति, परि, उप ॥

The making of this a distinct aphorism, when it could well have been included in the last, is for the sake of giving the Pra &c., words two names, namely, those of Nipâtas, as well as upasargas under certain circumstances, *i. e.*, when they are in composition with verbs. Not so however the châ &c., words. They never get the designation of upasargas.

When these words signifying substances they are not Nipâtas. As परा जयति सेना the excellent army conquers. Here the word परा is not a Nipâta.

उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गाः, क्रिया-योगे (प्रादयः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रादयः क्रिया योगे उपसर्ग संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मरुच्छब्दस्य चोपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ श्रच्छब्दस्योप संख्यानम् ॥

59. The words pra &c., get the designation of upasarga or prepositions, when in composition with a verb.

As प्र+नयति=प्रणयति. Here the dental न is changed into cerebral ण, because of the प्र getting the designation of upasarga (See sûtra VIII. 4. 14). Similarly परिणयति, प्रणायकः, परिणायकः.

Why do we say when in composition with a verb? When in composition with a noun they are not called upasargas. As प्रगतो नायकोऽस्माद् देशात् = प्रनायको देशः a country destitute of a leader. Here न is not changed into ण. Thus while प्रणायकः means 'a leader' the term प्रनायकः means destitute of a leader; though both have the same radical elements:—pra in one is an upasarga, in the other a Nipâta pure and simple.

Vart:—The word मरुत् should be included in the list of upasargas. As मरुद्भिर्दत्तः=मरुत्तः given by Marut. मरुत्+दा+क्त=मरुत्+त्+त (VII. 4. 47.) Here Marut being treated as an upasarga, though it does not end with a vowel, the दा is replaced by त by rule VII. 4. 47 which declares 'त the substitute of दा which is called ghu when it is preceded by an upasarga that ends in a vowel, and is followed by an affix beginning with त which has an indicatory k.'

It might be objected, that as मरुत् does not end with a vowel, sûtra VII. 4. 47 does not apply. To this we say that otherwise the giving the designation of upasarga to मरुत् is superfluous; and in order that this should not be so, the fact of its not ending with a vowel, is overlooked.

Vart:—The particle श्रत् should be included in the list of upasargas. Thus श्रत्+धा+अङ्=श्रद्धा (III. 3. 106). Here because श्रत् is treated as an upasarga, that sûtra III. 3. 106 is made applicable.

गतिश्च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ गतिः, च, (प्रादयः क्रियायोगे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिसंज्ञकाश्च प्रादयो भवन्ति क्रियायोगे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कारिका शब्दोप संख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुनश्चनसौ छन्दसि गतिसंज्ञौ भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

60. The words pra &c., are called also Gati, when in composition with a verb.

As प्रकृत्य, Now the gerund of the simple root कृ would have been कृत्वा, but as it is compounded with a gati word (II. 2. 18) the क्त्वा is replaced by ल्यप् see II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37. प्र+कृ+ल्यप्=प्रकृत्वा (VI. 1. 71). Here pra being called gati we have compounding by rule II. 2. 18; and then we apply VII. 1. 37. Similarly प्रकृतम्. Here pra being a gati word retains its own accent by rule VI. 2. 49. 'a gati retains in a compound its own accent when it immediately precedes a second member that ends in kta, provided the latter denotes the object of the action which is expressed by the root to which kta is added.'

Similarly प्रकरोति, here pra being treated as gati gets annudâtta accent by rule VIII. 2. 71,

The yoga-vibhâga or the separation of one aphorism into two, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms. The annuvritti of gati only runs through the latter sûtras and not of upasarga. So that while pra &c., have two names upasarga and gati; uri &c., have only one name, namely, gati.

Thus in प्रणीतम् and अभिषिक्तम्, by treating the words प्र and अभि as upasargas we change the न and स into ण and ष by rule VIII. 4. 14 and VIII. 3. 87; and again treating them as gati we regulate the accent.

Vart.—The words कारिका should be included in the list of Gati. As (1) कारिकाकृत्य (2) कारिकाकृतम् (3) यत्कारिका करोति. In the first by taking it as gati we have samasa (II. 2. 18) and ल्यप् (VII. 1. 37) The other two cases illustrate accent.

Vart:—The words पुनर् and चनस् are treated as Gati in the Vedas. As पुनरुत्स्यूतं वासो देयम्. Here the word पुनर् being gati, causes स्यूतं to take annudâtta accent (VIII. 1. 70) चनोहितः. Here also the accent is regulated by VIII. 2. 71.

ऊर्यादि च्विडाचश्च ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊरी-आदि च्वि-डाचः, च, (क्रियायोगे गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्यादयः शब्दाः च्व्यन्ता डाजन्ताश्च क्रियायोगे गतिसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

61. The words uri, assent, &c., and those that end with chvi (V. 4. 50), and those that end with ḍâch (V. 4. 57), (when in composition with the verb bhû, kṛi or as) are called Gati.

The affixes chvi and ḍâch are ordained when the verb in composition is either कृ, भू or अस् (V. 4. 50 and 57) ûri &c., being read along with chvi and ḍâch, shows that the verb in composition with them must also be any one of the above three verbs, and none else; in order to entitle ऊरी to the name of gati.

The words ऊरी and उररी mean to assent and spread. As ऊरीकृत्य (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37) ऊरीकृतम् (VI. 2. 49), ऊरीकरोति (VIII. 2. 71). So with the word उररी. The following is a list of these words :—

पापी.	धूसी.	ध्वंसकला.	फली.
ताली.	शकला.	गुलुगुधा.	विक्ली.
आताली.	संशकला.	सजूः	आक्ली.
वेताली.	ध्वंसकला.	फलू.	

The words ending in chvi are also gati. As शुक्लीकृत्य having made white what was not white.

So also words ending in डाच् as पटपटाकृत्य having made the sound pat.

अनुकरणं चानितिपरम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुकरणम्, च; अनिति-परम्, (क्रियायोगे गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुकरणमनितिपरम् क्रियायोगे गतिसंज्ञं भवति ॥

62. A word imitative of sounds is also called Gati, when it is not followed by the word iti.

The phrase अनितिपरम् is a Bahuvrihi compound; अन्-इति-परम्=' that which has not the word इति after it '

As खाट्कृत्य having made the sound khât. खाट्कृतम् (VI. 2. 49), यत्खाट्-करोति (VIII. 2. 71).

Why do we say 'when it has not the word इति after it?' Observe खाडितिकृत्वा निरष्ठीवत्

आदरानादरयोः सदसती ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदर-अनादरयोः, सद्-असती, (क्रियायोगे गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदरानादरयोर्यथाक्रमं सदसच्छब्दौ गतिसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

63. The words sat and asat when in composition with a verb are called gati, when used in the sense of 'respect or love,' and 'disrespect or indifference.'

As सत्कृत्य having honored (II. 2. 18 and VII 1. 37) असत्कृत्य, सत्कृतम् or असत्कृतम् (VI. 2. 49) यत् सत् करोति or यदसत् करोति (VIII. 2. 71).

Why do we say when meaning 'respect or disrespect'? Observe सत्कृत्वा काण्डं गतः.

भूषणेऽलम् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूषणे, अलम्, (क्रि० गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूषणे योऽलम् शब्दः स गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

64. The word alam when in composition with a verb is called gati, when used in the sense of 'ornament.'

The word अलम् is an indeclinable and has four meanings:—'prohibition, competent, enough and ornament.' The term अलम् is gati when it means ornament. As अलंकृत्य (II. 2. 18, VII. 1. 37); अलंकृतं (VI. 2. 49) यदलंकरोति (VIII. 2. 71) when it does not mean ornament we have अलं भुक्त्वा व्रजति he goes having eaten enough.

अन्तरपरिग्रहे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्-अपरि-ग्रहे, (क्रि०) गतिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तः शब्दोऽपरिग्रहे ऽर्थे गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अन्तः शब्दस्याङ्किविधि णत्वेषूपसर्गसंज्ञा वक्तव्या ॥

65. The word antar is called gati, when used in the sense of 'non-accepting,' in composition with a verb.

The word परिग्रह means 'taking' or 'accepting,' अपरिग्रह means therefore the opposite of this namely 'rejecting,' abandoning. As अन्तर्हत्य गृहं गतः he went away having abandoned home; अन्तर्हतमनृतम् falsehood being abandoned. यदन्त र्हन्ति.

Why do we say 'when meaning to abandon'? Observe अन्तर्हत्वा मूषिकां श्येनोगतः the hawk went away taking hold of the mouse.

Vart.—The word अन्तर् is treated as an upsarga for the purpose of the application of the following rules; III. 3. 106 by which अङ् is added; rule III. 3. 92 by which कि is added; the rule VIII. 4. 14 by which न is changed into ण. As अन्तर्द्धा, अन्तर्द्धिः and अन्तर्णयति.

कणेमनसी श्रद्धाप्रतीघाते ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कणे-मनसी, श्रद्धा-प्रती-घाते, (गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कणेशब्दो मनस्शब्दश्च श्रद्धा प्रतीघाते गतिसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

66. The words kaṇe and manas are gati when in composition with a verb and used in the sense of reaction by satiation.'

The word श्रद्धा-प्रतीघात means 'satisfaction of desire.' As कणेहत्य पयः पिबति he drinks milk to his heart's content or till he is satisfied ? So also मनोहत्य पयः पिबति. That is to say, he drinks so much till his desire (श्रद्धा) is satisfied by revulsion of feeling. When not having this sense we have कणे or मनोहत्यागतः he went away satisfied

पुरो ऽव्ययम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरः, अव्ययम्, (गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असिप्रत्ययान्तः पुरः शब्दोऽव्ययं गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

67. The word purah in front of, when indeclinable, and in composition with a verb, is called gati.

The pronoun पूर्व 'front' with the affix असि forms पुरस्, and by I. 1. 38 it becomes an Avyaya. (See V. 3. 39 pur being snbstituted for pûrva). The object by making it gati is threefold (1) compounding by II. 2. 18 (2) accent by VI. 2. 49 (3) to change the : ḥ into स् by VIII. 3. 40. As पुरस्कृत्य, पुरस्कृतम् and यत् पुरस्करोति, when not an indeclinable we have पूः, पुरौ, पुरः कृत्वा काण्डं गतः.

अस्तं च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्तम्, च, (गतिः अव्ययम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तं शब्दो मकारान्तोऽव्ययमनुपलब्धौ वर्तते स गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

68. And the indeclinable word astam 'at home,' is called gati, when in composition with a verb.

The word अस्तम् is an indeclinable as it ends in म् (I, 1. 39); and means 'not visible.' As अस्तंगत्य सविता पुनरुदेति the sun having set, rises again अस्तंगतानि धनानि riches that have vanished. यदस्तं गच्छति, when not an indeclinable it is not gati as अस्तं काण्डम् the arrow has been thrown.

अच्छ गत्यर्थवदेषु ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्छ, गति-अर्थ-वदेषु, (गतिः अव्ययम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच्छशब्दोऽव्ययमभिशब्दस्यार्थे वर्तते, स गत्यर्थेषु धातुषु वदतौ च गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

69. The indeclinable word achchha, meaning 'before in the presence of,' is called gati, when used in composition with verbs denoting 'motion' or with the verb 'vad' to speak.

The word अच्छ is an indeclinable and has the force of the word अभि. As अच्छगत्य, अच्छगतम्, and यदच्छगच्छति. So also अच्छोद्य अच्छोदितम् and यदच्छवदति when not an Avyaya, we have उदकमच्छं गच्छति.

अदो ऽनुपदेशे ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदस्, अनुपदेशे, (गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदः शब्दो ऽनुपदेशे गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

70. The word adas 'that' is called gati when in composition with a verb and not implying a direction to another.

The word upadeśa means a direction to another. When a person cogitates within himself and does not address another, that is anupadeśa. That is when it is not a demonstrative pronoun. As अदः कृत्य, अदः कृतम् and यददः करोति when used as a demonstrative pronoun we have अदः कृत्वा काण्डं गतः

तिरो ऽन्तर्द्धौ ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिरः, अन्तर्द्धौ, (गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तर्द्धिर्व्यवधानम्, तत्रतिरः शब्दो गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

71. The word tiras when used in the sense of 'disappearance,' is called gati when in composition with a verb.

As तिरोभूय. तिरोभूतम् and यत् तिरोभवति why do we say when meaning disappearance? Observe तिरो भूत्वास्थितः *i.e.*, standing apart.

विभाषाकृञि ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कृञि, (गतिः अन्तर्द्धौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिरः शब्दः करोतौ परतो विभाषा गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

72. The word tiras meaning 'disappearance' is optionally called gati, when the verb kṛi follows.

This is an example of प्राप्त-विभाषा. As तिरः कृत्य or तिरस्कृत्य (VIII. 3. 42): तिरः कृत्वा or तिरस्कृत्वा (VIII. 3. 42). The change of visarga into स् is optional VIII. 3. 42. When not meaning disappearance we have तिरः कृत्वा काष्ठं तिष्ठति he stands having laid aside the stick.

उपाजेऽन्वाजे ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपाजे-अन्वाजे, (विभाषा कृञि गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपाजेऽन्वाजेशब्दौ विभक्ति प्रतिरूपकौ निपातौ दुर्बलस्य सामर्थ्याधाने वर्तेते तौ कृञि विभाषा गतिसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

73. The words upâje and anvâje both meaning 'supporting or assisting the weak,' are optionally called gati when used along with the verb kṛi.

As उपाजे कृत्य or उपाजे कृत्वा having given support. अन्वाजे कृत्य or अन्वाजे कृत्वा.

साक्षात्प्रभृतीनिच ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ साक्षात्, प्रभृतीनि, च, (गतिः विभाषा कृञि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साक्षात्प्रभृतीनि शब्दरूपाणि कृञि विभाषा गतिसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ साक्षात्प्रभृतिषु च्व्यर्थ वचनम् ॥

74. The words sâkshât, 'in the presence of' &c., are optionally called gati, when used along with the verb kṛi.

Vart :—In the words साक्षात् &c. the force of the affix च्वि is understood, namely making a thing what it was not before, As साक्षात् कृत्य or कृत्वा मिथ्याकृत्य मिथ्याकृत्वा making evident what was concealed before.

अनत्याधान उरसिमनसी ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनत्याधाने, उरसि-मनसी, (विभाषा कृञि गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनत्याधान मुपश्लेषणं तदभावे अनत्याधाने उरसिमनसी शब्दौ विभाषा कृञि-गतिसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

75. The word urasi, 'in the breast,' and manasi 'in the mind' are optionally gati when the verb kṛi follows, provided that they are not used in the sense of 'placing.'

As उरसिकृत्य or उरसिकृत्वा; मनसिकृत्य or मनसिकृत्वा. When it has the sense of placing we have उरसिकृत्वा पाणिं शेते he lies down having clasped the hand on the breast, मनसिकृत्वा वचनं ध्यायति he ponders having placed the word in his mind.

मध्ये पदे निवचने च ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्ये पदे, निवचने, च, (विभाषा कृञि गतिः अनत्याधाने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मध्ये पदे निवचने इत्येते शब्दा, अनत्याधाने विभाषा कृञि गतिसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

76. And the words madhye 'in the middle,' pade 'in the foot' and nivachane 'speechless' are optionally gati, when kṛi follows, the sense not being of 'placing.'

As मध्ये कृत्य or कृत्वा. पदे कृत्य or कृत्वा; निवचने कृत्य or कृत्वा.

But when it has the meaning of placing we have हस्तिनः पदे कृत्वा शिरः शेते he lies down having put his head under the foot of the elephant.

नित्यं हस्ते पाणावुपयमने ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, हस्ते-पाणौ, उपयमने (गतिः कृञि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्ते पाणौ इत्येतौ शब्दौ कृञि नित्यं गतिसंज्ञौ भवत उपयमने ॥

77. The word haste 'in the hand,' pâṇau 'in the hand' are always and necessarily called gati when used with the verb kṛi in the sense of 'marriage.'

As पाणौ कृत्य or हस्ते कृत्य having married. But हस्ते कृत्वा कार्षापणं गतः he went out having taken in his hand a kârshâpana (a coin).

प्राध्वं बन्धने ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राध्वम्, बन्धने, (गतिः कृञि नित्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राध्वमिति मकारान्तमव्ययमानुकूल्ये वर्त्तते, तदानुकूल्यं बन्धनहेतुकं यदा भवति तदाप्राध्वंशब्दः कृञि नित्यं गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

78. The indeclinable word prâdhvam followed by the verb kṛi, is always called gati when used in the sense of 'binding.'

The word प्राध्वम् ends in म् and means 'favourably suitably.' When however it means 'bound' it is a gati: as, प्राध्वंकृत्य having bound. But when not meaning to bind, we have:—प्राध्वं कृत्वा शकटं गतः having made the carriage agreeable, he is gone.

जीविकोपनिषदावौपम्ये ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ जीविका-उपनिषदौ, औपम्ये, (गतिः कृञि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीविका उपनिषदित्येतौ शब्दौ औपम्ये विषये कृञि गतिसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

79. The words Jîvikâ and upanishad followed by the verb kṛi are called gati when used in the sense of likeness or resemblance.'

As जीविकाकृत्य having made it as if it was a means of living; उपनिषत्कृत्य—having made it like an upanishad. But जीविका कृत्वा गतः having made his livelihood he is gone.

ते प्राग्धातोः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ ते, प्राग्, धातोः, (गतिः उपसर्गः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ते गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञकाः धातोः प्राक् प्रयोक्तव्याः ॥

80. The particles called gati and upasarga are to be employed before the verbal root: (that is to say, they are prefixes).

The word ते has been employed to include the term उपसर्ग also. The preceding examples all illustrate the application of this rule.

छन्दसि परेऽपि ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, परे, अपि, (गतिः उपसर्ग प्रा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये गत्युपसर्ग संज्ञका; परेऽपि पूर्वेऽपि प्रयोक्तव्याः ॥

81. In the chhandas (veda) these gati and upasarga are employed indifferently after the verbal root as well as before it.

As.—वायविन्द्रश्च सुन्वत आयातमुपनिष्कृतम् ॥ मक्षिवत्या धिया नरा (Rig. I. 2. 6).

In this we have आयातमुप instead of उपायतम् 'vayu and thou Indra, ye heroes, come ye both quickly to the soma of the worshipper by this sincere prayer.'

व्यवहिताश्च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यवहिताः, च, (गo उo छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवहिताश्च गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञकाः छन्दसि दृश्यन्ते ॥

82. In the chhandas (veda) these gati and upasarga are also seen separated from the verb by intervening words.

As:— इन्द्र वायू इमे सुता उप प्रयोभिरागतम् ॥ इन्दवो वा मुशन्तिहि (Rig. I. 2. 4). "Indra and vâyu, here are soma—libations for you. Approach, ye with pleasures for us. For the libations are desiring you." Here उप is separated from the word आगत by the intervening word प्रयोभिः.

KARMA PRAVACHANIYA.

कर्मप्रवचनीयाः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मप्रवचनीयाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यानित ऊर्द्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः कर्मप्रवचनीय संज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

83. From this point as far as aphorism I. 4. 97 the particles treated of, are to be understood as having the name of karma-pravachanîya.

These particles govern a substantive and qualify a verb and differ from other particles termed upasarga and gati. As सुस्तुतं भवता well praised by you. सु सिक्तं भवता you have sprinkled. Here सु is a karma pravachanîya and qualifies the sense of the verb, *i. e.* it is an adverb It is not an upasarga, for had it been so, it would have changed the स into ष (VIII. 3. 65). The term karma pravachanîya is a big term compared with other technical terms such as, टि, घि, घु &c., which generally do not exceed more than two syllables. The word karmapravachanîya is not however merely a technical term; it contains within itself a definition of itself. It means that which qualifies or speaks about (प्रोक्तवन्त) an action (कर्म) is so called.

अनुर्लक्षणे ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुः लक्षणे, (कर्मप्रवचनीयाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुशब्दो लक्षणे द्योत्ये कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

84. The word anu when it denotes a sign, is called karma-pravachanîya.

The word lakshaṇa means a sign; an attendant circumstance an invariable concomitant or accident in its logical sense and not merely an occasional concurrence. The force of अनु in this case is that of 'after,' 'in consequence of,' 'because of, or being indicated by.' As जपमनु प्रावर्षत् it rained

after or in consequence of the muttering of prayers. To put it in other words, anu is a karmapravachnîya when it governs the word which indicates the cause or the attendant circumstance of an action

So also शाकलस्य संहितामनु प्रावर्षत्=शाकल्येन सुकृतां संहितामनुनिशम्य देवः प्रावर्षत्. The God (clouds) rained having listened to the well performed reading, by Śâkalya. The force of a karmapravachanîya, therefore, when fully analysed will be found to be that of an upasarga whose verb is not expressed in the sentence but is understood; and because of its being so understood, the particle itself seems to govern the noun which in fact was governed by the unexpressed verb. Thus in the above example संहितां is in the accusative case, apparently governed by the preposition अनु, but really governed by the verb अनुनिशम्य understood.

So also अनडुह्ं यज्ञमन्वसिंचत्. The Taurus sprikled water after the sacrifice, अगस्त्यमन्वसिंचन् प्रजाः the people began sprinkling water after the rising of the canopus.

Why make unnecessarily this sûtra, when अनु would have been called karma pravachanîya even by force of sûtra 90 following, where also the word lakshaṇa occurs? This is for the sake of indicating that the karmapravachanîyas should always govern the accusative case (II. 3. 8) even in expressing हेतु (II. 3. 23). Otherwise Rule 23rd of the third chapter of Book II would have set aside Rule 8. of the same by the maxim of परत्व I. 3. 2: and would have caused a karama pravachanîya to govern an Instrumental case where the sense was that of hetu.

तृतीयार्थे ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-अर्थे, (अनुः कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुशब्द स्तृतीयार्थे द्योत्ये कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

85. The word anu is karma-pravachanîya when it has the force of the third case.

The meaning of अनु in this case will be that of 'with' or along with. As नदीमनु अवसिता सेना the army lying along side the river. पर्वतमनु अवसिता सेना lying along the slopes of the mountain.

हीने ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हीने, (अनुः कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हीने द्योत्येऽयमनुः कर्म प्रवचनीय संज्ञो भवति ॥

86. The word anu is karma-pravachanîya when it is used in the sense of inferior or subordinate to.

The word हीन means 'inferior,' and being a comparative term requires the other term with which comparison is made and which is superior; to complete the sense. In other words अनु governs the person to which others are inferior, in the accusative case. As अनुशाकटायनं वैयाकरणाः 'all grammarians are inferior to Śâkaṭâyana.'

उपोधिके च ॥ ८७ ॥ उप, अधिके, च, (हीने कर्म प्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपशब्दः अधिके हीने च द्योत्ये कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

87. The word upa when it means 'superior' or 'inferior to' is karma-pravachanîya.

That is when the sense is that of 'over, above,' or 'inferior' as उप खार्यां द्रोणः a Drona is above a khâri. उप निष्के कार्षापणः a karshapaṇa is more than a Nishka. In this sense उप governs the Locative of the thing which is inferior (II. 3. 9). So also उप शाकटायनं वैयाकरणाः 'all grammarians are inferior to Śâkatâyana.' In this sense उप governs the accusative case.'

अप परी वर्जने ॥ ८८ ॥ अप-परी, वर्जने, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप परी शब्दौ वर्जनेद्योत्ये कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

88. The words apa and pari are karma-pravachanîya when meaning 'exclusion.'

The force of अप and परि is in this case that of 'with the exception of.' As अपत्रिगर्तेभ्यो वृष्टो देवः it rained outside of or with the exception of Trigarta. So also परि त्रिगर्तेभ्यो वृष्टोदेवः. In this sense they govern the noun excluded in the ablative case (II. 3. 10). When not having these senses, they are not karma-pravachanîya. As ओदनं परिषिञ्चति. He waters the rice. Here it is an upasarga, and hence changes the स into ष.

आङ् मर्यादा वचने ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्, मर्यादा-वचः, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् इत्येषशब्दः मर्यादावचने कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

89. The word âṅ as far as, is karma-pravachanîya when it expresses limit (e. g. when it means 'as far as inclusive of' or, 'as far as exclusive of.')

The word वचन in the text shows that both sorts of limits are here meant. As आपाटलिपुत्राद् वृष्टो देवः it rained as far as (but excluding) Pâtaliputra आपाटलिपुत्रं वृष्टो देवः it rained as far as (including) Pâtaliputra आकुमारं यशः पाणिनेः आसांकाश्यात्, आमथुरायाः when it means 'little' or is a verbal prefix it does not get this name.

लक्षणेत्थम्भूताख्यानभागवीप्सासुप्रति पर्यनवः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षण-इत्थभूताख्यान-भाग-वीप्सासु, प्रति-परि-अनवः, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणे इत्थंभूताख्याने भागे वीप्सायां च विषयभूतायां प्रति परि अनु इत्येते कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

90. The words prati, pari and anu are karma pravachaniya when used in the sense of 'sign' (in the direction of) 'mere statement of circumstance' ('as regards') 'division' 'share of' and 'pervasion' severally.

As (1) वृक्षं प्रति-परि or अनु विद्योतते विद्युत् 'the lightening is flashing in the direction of the tree.' (2) साधुर्देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति—परि=अनु 'Devadatta is a good man as regards his mother.' (3) हरं प्रति हलाहलं 'the poison fell to the share of Hara.' यदत्र मां प्रति स्यात् that it may fall to my share. So with परि and अनु. (4) वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रति सिञ्चति he sprinkles one tree after another. So with परि and अनु.

अभिरभागे ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिः, अभागे (लक्षण इत्थंभूताख्या० कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणादिष्वेव भागवर्जितेऽष्वभिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

91. The word abhi is karma-pravachaniya, in the above senses of 'in the direction of,' 'as regards,' and 'each severally' but not when it means division, 'share of.'

The illustrations given under the last sûtra mutus mûtandi apply here also, with the exception of those given under head (4). As वृक्षमभि विद्योतते ; मातरमभि &c. But it is not karma-pravachaniya when भाग is meant. भाग means the share which is allotted to one as his own. As यदत्र ममाभि ष्यात् तद् दीयताम् give that which falls here to my share. Here abhi is an upasarga, and therefore स of स्य is changed into ष.

प्रतिः प्रतिनिधि प्रतिदानयोः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिः, प्रतिःनिधि-प्रतिदानयोः, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिनिधिविषये प्रातिदाने विषये च प्रतिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

92. The word prati is karma-pravachaniya when used in the sense of representative ('representative of') or exchange ('in exchange for.')

That which is like to the principal is called प्रतिनिधि. Giving in return for what is obtained, is प्रतिदान. As अभिमन्युरर्जुनतः प्रति Abhi-manyu is the representative of Arjuna. माषानस्मै तिलेभ्यः प्रतियच्छति he exchanges Mâshâs for these sesamum. In these senses prati governs the Ablative (II. 3. 11.)

अधिपरी अनर्थकौ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधि-परी, अनर्थकौ, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधि परी शब्दौ अनर्थकौ अनर्थान्तरवाचिनौ कर्मप्रवचनीय संज्ञौ भवतः ॥

93. The words adhi and pari are karma-pravachaníya when used as mere expletives.

As कुतोऽध्यागच्छति whence has he come? or कुतः पर्य्यागच्छति. These worc though mere surplusages, have been called karmapravachaníya so that they may not get the designation of upasarga or gati and thus produce results peculiar to those words.

सुः पूजायाम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुः, पूजायाम्, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु शब्दः पूजायामर्थे कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

94. The word su is karma-pravachaníya in the sense of respect, (when it means 'excellently').

As सुसिक्तं भवता, सु स्तुतं भवता excellently sprinkled by your honor. Well praised by your honor. By not being an upasarga, it does not change the स into ष (VIII. 3. 65).

Why do we say 'when respect is meant'? Observe सुषिक्तं किं तवात्र has this your place been well sprinkled to-day.

अतिरतिक्रमणेच ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतिः, अति क्रमणे, च, (कर्मप्र० पूजायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अति शब्दः अतिक्रमणे चकारात् पूजायांच कर्म प्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

95. The word ati in the sense of super-abundance ('excessively') and 'excellently' is karma-pravachaníya.

The word अतिक्रमण means to do more than what is necessary for the accomplishment of an object. The force of च in the aphorism is to draw in the word पूजायाम् from the last. As अतिसिक्तमेवा भवता. It has abundantly been sprinkled by your honor, अतिस्तुतमिव भवता so also अतिस्तुतं भवता excellently praised by your honor. अति सिक्तं भवता.

अपिः पदार्थ संभावनाऽन्ववसर्गगर्हासमुच्चयेषु ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपिः, पदार्थ-संभावन-अन्ववसर्ग-गर्हा-समुच्चयेषु (कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदार्थे संभावने अन्ववसर्गे गर्हायां समुच्चये च वर्तमानः अपिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

96. The word api is karma-pravachaníya, when it implies, the sense of word understood ('somewhat') or possibility (e. g., 'even' in the sense of such a great person), or permission to do as one likes, ('if you like'), or censure ('even' in the sense of what is disgraceful); or collection ('and').

The word पदार्थ means the sense of another word which is not expressed but has to be supplied. As सर्पिषोऽपि स्यात् there may be perhaps a drop of ghee मधुनोऽपि स्यात्. Here some word like vindu 'a drop,' stoka 'a little' mâtrâ 'a measure &c., has to be understood. The word संभावन means possibility, a supposition. As, अपि सिंचेत् मूलकसहस्रं क्षणेनैकेन possibly may sprinkle a thousand trees in one moment; अपि स्तुयाद् राजानं he may praise possibly, a king. In the above cases it is used with the potential mood. अन्ववसर्ग means indifference on the part of the speaker where he permits another to do as he likes. It is used with the Imperative mood. As अपि सिंच you may sprinkle if you like. अपि स्तुहि you may praise if you like. The word गर्हा means censure, contempt or reproof. As धिग्जाल्मं देवदत्तमपि सिंचेत् पलाण्डुम्. The word समुच्चय means cumulative. As अपि स्तुहि—अपि सिंच praise as well as sprinkle.

In all the above instances, the word not being an upasarga, does not change the स into ष.

अधिरीश्वरे ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिः, ईश्वरे । (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईश्वरः स्वामी स च स्वमपेक्षते । तदयं स्वस्वामि संबन्धः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

97. The word adhi is karmapravachanîya when used in the sense of "lord" ("being as a lord" or "having as a lord").

The word ईश्वर means 'master,' and it therefore requires another correlative word denoting 'property' of which one is master. The word adhi governs a Locative case. Sometimes locative of the person possessing, sometime locative of the property possessed: as अधि ब्रह्मदत्ते पंचालाः or अधि पंचालेषु ब्रह्मदत्तः. Brahmadatta rules over Panchâlas.

विभाषा कृञि ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कृञि कर्मप्र० अधिः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिः करोतौ विभाषा कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

98. The word adhi is optionally karma pravachanîya when the verb kṛi follows.

As यदत्र मामधि करिष्यति. Here the word अधि may be treated either as a गति or a कर्मप्रवचनीय. When it is a गति the accent will be regulated by S. VIII. 1. 71; otherwise not.

लः परस्मैपदम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लः, परस्मैपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लादेशाः परस्मैपदसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

99. The substitutes of ल are called parasmaipada.

The word लः is in the genitive case, and means 'of ल.' The word आदेश 'substitutes' must be supplied to complete the sense. The term ल is a generic word for verb in general, *viz.*, लट्, लिट्, लुट्, लृट्, लेट्, लोट्, लङ्, लिङ्, लुङ्, लृङ्. The substitutes of ल are the well known personal terminations by which the verbs are conjugated in those tenses. Namely the following.

PARASMAIPADA.

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st Pers.	मिप्	वस्	मस्
2nd Pers.	सिप्	थस्	थ
3rd Pers.	तिप्	तस्	झि

And the affixes शतृ and क्वसु (III. 2. 107, and 124, and III. 4. 78).

तङानावात्मनेपदम् ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ तङ्-आनौ आत्मनेपदम्, (लः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेण परस्मैपदसंज्ञायां प्राप्तायां तङानयोरात्मनेपदसंज्ञा विधीयते ॥

100. The nine affixes comprised under the Pratyâhâra tañ and the two ending in âna (Sânach and Kânach), which are substitutes of ल are called Atmanepada.

The following are the Atmanepada affixes :—

	Sing.	Dual	Plural.
1st	इट्	वहि	महिङ्
2nd	थास्	आथाम्	ध्वम्
3rd	त	आताम्	झ

And the affixes शानच् and कानच् (III. 2. 106)

तिङस्त्रीणि त्रीणि प्रथम मध्यमोत्तमाः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङः, त्रीणि, त्रीणि, प्रथम, मध्यम, उत्तमाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङोऽष्टादश प्रत्ययाः नव परस्मैपद संज्ञकाः नवात्मनेपदसंज्ञकाः तत्रपरस्मैपदेषु त्रयस्त्रिकाः यथाक्रमम् प्रथममध्यमोत्तमसंज्ञा भवन्ति । आत्मने पदेष्वपि नवास्त्रिकाः प्रथममध्यमोत्तमसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

101. The three triads in both the sets Parasmaipada and Atmanepada, of conjugational affixes (comprised under the general name tiñ, a pratyâhâra formed of the first and last of them, *viz*., tip and mahiñ) are called, in order, Lowest (3rd person of European Grammar,) the middle (2nd person), and the highest (1st person).

Of the 19 conjugational affixes, above given ; 9 are Parasmaipadi and 9 are Atmanepadi. Each of these two classes is subdivided into three classes, according to person, as shown in the above list.

तान्येकवचन द्विवचन वहुवचनान्येकशः ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तानि, एकवचन-द्विवचन-वहुवचनानि एकशः, (त्रीणि २) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तान्येकवचन द्विवचन वहुवचन संज्ञानि भवन्ति एकशः एकैकं पदम् ॥

102. These three triads of conjugational affixes, which have received the names of Lowest &c, are called (as regard the three expressions in each triad) severally "the expression for one" (singular) "the expression for two" (dual), and "the expression for many" (plural).

Of the six triads thus formed, each is divided according to number into three classes, *viz.*, singular, dual, and plural.

सुपः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपः, (त्रीणि २ एकवचन द्विवचन वहुवचनानि एकशः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुपश्च त्रीणि त्रीणि पदानि एकशः एकवचन द्विवचन वहुवचन संज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

103. Of sup (which is a Pratyâhâra formed of su the first of the case affixes and the final p of the last of them) the three expressions in each successive set of the three, are also severally called singular, dual and plural.

The sup or the case-affixes by which nouns are declined are 21 in number corresponding to the seven cases, see sûtra IV. 1. 2. They also have three numbers singular, dual and plural.

विभक्तिश्च ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभक्तिः, च, (त्रीणि २ सुपः तिङ;) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रीणि त्रीणि विभक्ति संज्ञाश्च भवन्ति सुपस्तिङश्च ॥

104. The traids of conjugational affixes and case affixes are also called vibhakti or Inflective affixes.

The word विभक्ति means a complete triad. Thus सप्तमी विभक्ति means the three affixes of the seventh case, *i.e.*, the locative singular, dual, and plural. So प्रथमा विभक्ति means the third person, singular, dual, and plural.

युष्मद्युपपदे समानाधिकरणे स्थानिन्यपि मध्यमः ॥१०५॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मदि, उपपदे, समान-अधिकरणे, स्थानिनि, अपि, मध्यमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मद्युपपदे सति व्यवहिते चाव्यवहिते सति समानाधिकरणे समानाभिधेये तुल्यकारके स्थानिनि प्रयुज्यमानेऽप्यप्रयुज्यमानेऽपि मध्यम पुरुषो भवति ॥

105. When the pronoun yushmad, "thou" understood, and also when the same expressed, is the attendant word in agreement with the verb, then there is the verbal termination called the middle (2nd person).

This defines the 2nd person of conjugational affixes. As त्वं पचसि thou cookest or पचसि; युवां पचथः or पचथः you two are cooking; यूयं पचथ or पचथ you cook.

प्रहासे च मन्योपपदे मन्यतेरुत्तम एकवच्च ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रहासे, च, मन्य-उपपदे, मन्यतेः, उत्तमः, एकवत्, च, (मध्यमः) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रहासे गम्यमाने मन्योपपदे धातो र्मध्यमपुरुषो भवति, मन्यतेश्चोत्तमः स चैकवद्भवति ॥

106. When joke is implied with reference to an action, the verb denoting it is used in the 2nd person; provided that the word manya 'to think' is the attendant word (upapada) of such verb, and of the verb manya itself, the affix must be of the 1st person and singular number.

The word प्रहास means joke, sport. As एवं मन्ये ओदनं भोक्ष्यसे इति; नहि भोक्ष्यसे, भुक्तः सोऽतिथिभिः. Thus thou thinkest 'I shall eat rice,' thou shalt not eat, that has been eaten by a guest. एहि मन्ये रथेन यास्यसि नहि यास्यसि, यातस्तेन ते पिता. I think thou wilt go by the chariot, no, thou wilt not, thy father has gone before thee on it. When joke is not intended, the proper persons should be used: as, एहि मन्यसे ओदनं भोक्ष्ये. Thus thou thinkest 'I shall eat rice.'

अस्मद्युत्तमः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्मदि, उत्तमः, (उपपदे समानाधिकरणे स्थानिन्यपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मद्युपपदे समानाभिधेये प्रयुज्यमाने ऽप्यप्रयुज्यमाने ऽपि उत्तमपुरुषो भवति ॥

107. When the pronoun asmad "I," understood and also when expressed, is the attendant word in agreement with the verb, then there is the verbal termination called the Highest or the 1st person.

This is clear. As अहं पचामि I cook, or merely पचामि-आवां पचावः or merely पचावः.

शेषे प्रथमः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे प्रथमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यत्र युष्मदस्मदी समानाधिकरणे उपपदे न स्तः तत्रशेषे प्रथमपुरुषो भवति ॥

108. In the other cases, namely where, "thou" or "I" are not the attendant words in agreement with the verb, there is the verbal termination called the Lowest (or 3rd person).

As पचति he cooks, पचतः they two cook. पचन्ति they cook.

परः संनिकर्षः संहिता, ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ परः संनिकर्षः संहिता ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परो यः संनिकर्षः वर्णानां अर्द्धमात्राकालव्यवधानं स संहितासंज्ञो भवति ॥

109. The closest proximity of letters, there being the intervention of half a mâtrâ or prosodial length between them, is called contact or sanhitâ.

When words are in sanhita, they are glued together by the rules of sandhi. As दध्यत्र = दधि + अत्र.

विरामोऽवसानम् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ विरामः अवसानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विरतिर्विरामः । विरम्यतेऽनेनेति वा विरामः । सोऽवसानसंज्ञो भवति ॥

110. The cessation or the absence of succeeding letters is called pause or avasâna.

The word avasâna occurs in sûtra VIII. 3. 15 &c.



ओ३म्

॥ अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER FIRST.

समर्थः पदविधिः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ समर्थः, पद-विधिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिभाषेयम्, यः कश्चिदिह शास्त्रे पदविधिः श्रूयते स समर्थो वेदितव्यः ॥

1. A rule which relates to complete words (and not to the roots and affixes out of which the words are constructed) is to be understood to apply only to those words the senses of which are connected.

1. This is a paribhâshâ or interpreting aphorism. Whereever in this Grammar a पदविधि is found, that must be understood to apply to समर्थ words. A rule relating to पद or complete words is called पदविधि. The word विधि is formed by adding वि to the root धाञ्; that which is ordained (विधीयते) is called विधि. What are those rules which are ordained with regard to complete words? They are as follows.—(1) Rules relating to समास or compounding of words; (2) Rules relating to विभक्ति or the application of declensional and conjugational affixes; (3) and the rule by which one word is considered as if it had become a constituent member of another word (पराङ्गवद् भाव).

The word समर्थ means capable; that is to say, that which is capable of expressing the sense of a sentence on analysis, is called समर्थ; or the word समर्थ may mean that which depends upon words as connected in sense; that is to say, a rule relating to words whose senses are connected together.

Thus it will be taught in sûtra 24 'a word ending with the second case-affix is optionally compounded with the words श्रित, अतीत &c. and forms tatpurusha compound;' as, कष्टं श्रितः = कष्टश्रितः 'who has had recourse to pain.' But when these words are not समर्थ or connected in sense there can be no compounding; as, पश्य देवदत्त कष्टं, श्रितो विष्णुमित्रो गुरुकुलम् 'see O Devadatta, the pain, Vishnumitra has taken recourse to his teacher's house.' Here the words कष्टं and श्रितं though read in juxtaposition are not compounded, as they are not समर्थ.

Similarly, it will be taught in sûtra 30 'a word ending with the 3rd case-affix is optionally compounded with what denotes that the quality of which is instrumentally caused by the thing signified by what ends with the 3rd case-affix and with the word अर्थ 'wealth;' as, शंकुलया + खण्ड: = शंकुलाखण्ड: 'a piece cut by nippers.' Here also when the words are not connected in sense there is no composition; as, करिष्यसि शंकुलया, खण्डो देवदत्त उपलेन 'thou shalt do it with the nippers, Devadatta is cut by the stones.'

Similarly, sûtra 36 declares, 'a word ending with the 4th case-affix, is compounded optionally with what denotes that which is for the purpose of what ends with the 4th case-affix, and so too with the words अर्थ, बलि &c.'

Thus यूपाय + दारु = यूपदारु 'wood for a stake.' But when these words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, गच्छ त्वं यूपाय, दारु देवदत्तस्य गेहे 'go thou for the stake, the wood is in Devadatta's house.'

Similarly, sûtra 37 declares 'a word ending with the 5th case-affix may be compounded with the word भय; as, वृकेभ्यो + भयं = वृकभयं 'fear by reason of a wolf.' But when these words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, गच्छ त्वं मां वृकेभ्यो, भयं देवदत्तस्य यज्ञदत्तात् 'come thou to me from the wolves, there is fear to Devadatta from Yajñadatta.

Similarly, sûtra II. 2. 8 declares 'a word ending with the 6th case-affix is optionally compounded with what ends with a case-affix;' as, राज्ञ: पुरुषो = राजपुरुष: 'the king's man.' But when the words are not समर्थ, there is no composition: as भार्य्या राज्ञ:, पुरुषो देवदत्तस्य 'the wife of the king, the man of Devadatta.'

Similarly, sûtra 40 declares. 'A word ending with the 7th case-affix is optionally compounded with the word शौण्ड 'skilled;' as, अक्षेषु शौण्ड: = अक्षशौण्ड: 'skilled in dice.' But when the words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, शक्तस्त्वमक्षेषु, शौण्ड: पिबति पानागारे 'thou art skilled in dice, the gambler drinks in the tavern.'

Why have we used the word पद 'a complete word' in the sûtra? So that this समर्थ परिभाषा may not apply to वर्णविधि *i. e.* rules relating to letters.

Thus rules of सन्धि 'conjunction of letters' are वर्णविधि and not पदविधि; and therefore the condition of being connected in sense, does not apply here. Two words however disconnected in sense, must be glued together by the rules of sandhi, if those rules are applicable. Thus sûtra VI. 1. 77 declares: 'instead of a letter denoted by the pratyâhâra इक् there is one denoted by the pratyâhâra यण्, in each instance, where one denoted by the pratyâhâra अच् immediately follows;' as, दधि + अशान = दध्यशान. This substitution of य for इ will take place, whether the words are in construction or not, as

तिष्ठतु दध्यशान त्वं शाकेन 'let the curd remain, eat thou with the vegetable curry.' So also तिष्ठतु कुमारीच्छत्रं हर देवदत्तात् 'let the girl be, take the umbrella from Devadatta.' Here the augment तुक् (त subsequently changed into च) comes between कुमारी and छत्र, though the two words are not connected in sense (VI. 1. 76).

सुबामन्त्रिते पराङ्गवत्स्वरे ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुप्, आमन्त्रिते, पर-अङ्गवत्, स्वरे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्तमामन्त्रिते परतः परस्याङ्गवद् भवति, स्वरे, स्वरलक्षणे कर्त्तव्ये ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुबन्तस्य पराङ्गवद्भावे समानाधिकरणस्योपसंख्यानमननन्तरत्वात् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अव्ययानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

2. A word ending in sup or a case affix, when followed by a word in the vocative case, is regarded as if it was the aṅga or component part of such subsequent vocative word, when a rule relating to accent is to be applied.

In other words, the word ending in a case-affix enters, as if, into the body of the vocative (âmantrita) word; as it will be taught in sûtra VI. 1. 198 which declares 'a word ending in a vocative case-affix, gets the udâtta accent on the beginning *i.e.*, first syllable.' Now, this rule will apply even when a word ending with a case-affix precedes such word in the vocative case. Thus the word पती 'O two lords!' has udâtta on the first syllable. Now, when this word is preceded by another inflected noun as शुभस् 'of prosperity,' the accent will fall on शु, the two words being considered as a single word; as:—अश्विना यज्वरीरिषो द्रवत् पाणी शुभस्पती ॥ पुरुभुजा चनस्यतम् ॥ Rig. I. 3. 1. 'O Asvins, riding on quick horses, lords of prosperity, and bestowers of plenty of food, eat the sacrificial offerings to your satisfaction.' So also in the following:—कुण्डे' नाटन् 'O thou wandering with a bowl. परशुना वृश्चन् 'O thou cutting with an axe.' मद्राणां राजन् 'O thou king of Madras.' कश्मीराणाम् राजन् 'O thou king of Kashmir.'

Why do we say 'a word ending with a case-affix?' If the preceding word ends with any other affix than a case-affix, this rule will not apply. As पीड्ये पीड्यमान 'O thou who art pained, I am pained because of this thy pain.'

Here पीड्ये 'being a तिङन्त (a verb)' is not considered as an aṅga of the vocative word.

Why do we say 'when followed by a word in the vocative case?' This rule will not apply when the subsequent word is not a vocative. As गेहे गार्ग्यः 'Gârga is at home.'

Why do we say 'of the subsequent?' It will not be a part of the vocative word which precedes. As देवदत्त कुण्डेनाटन् 'O Devadatta wandering with a bowl.' Here कुण्डेन has not become part of Devadatta, but of the subsequent word अटन्.

Why do we say 'an aṅga or component part?' Both must be considered as one word for the application of the rule of accent, so that the first syllable of each word separately may not get the udâtta.

Why do we say 'as if or वत्.' It is not altogether the body of the subsequent word; rules depending upon its own separate independent existence also take effect.

Thus rule VIII. 1. 55 declares 'a word ending in the vocative case is not anudâtta when it follows the word आम् there intervening a word between itself and आम्; as, आम् कुण्डेनाटन्! Here kuṇdena is considered a separate word for the purposes of Rule VIII. 1. 55 and is said to intervene between आम् and the vocative word अटन्.

Why do we say 'for the purposes of the application of rule of accent?' For the purposes of the application of any other rule, it will not be the aṅga of the subsequent word; as, कूपे सिंचन् 'O thou sprinkling in the well.' चर्म नमन्. Here had कूपे and चर्म been the aṅgas of the subsequent words for all purposes, their स and न would have been changed into ष and ण respectively by Rules VII. 4. 2 &c.

Vart:—When a word ending in a case-affix becomes, as if, the component part of the subsequent word, it becomes so even when there are several words in apposition with it which intervene between it and the vocative word; because that, of itself, does not constitute want of immediateness. Thus तीक्ष्णया सूच्या सीव्यन् 'O thou sewing with a sharp needle' तीक्ष्णेन परशुना वृश्चन्.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of indeclinable words. As उच्चैरधीयान 'O thou reading loudly.' नीचैरधीयान.

प्राक्कडारात्समासः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्, कडारात्, समासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कडारसंशब्दनात् प्राग् यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम स्ते समाससंज्ञा वेदितव्याः ॥

3. From this point up to the aphorism kaḍarakarmadhâraye (II. 2. 38), all the terms that we shall say describe will get the designation of samâsa or compound.

Thus it will be stated. 'The indeclinable word यथा when not meaning like unto.' Here the word समास must be read into the sûtra to complete the sense. In fact this chapter and the second chapter treat of compounds and therefore the word compound must be read in all those aphorisms.

The word prâk is employed for the same purpose as it was used in I. 4. 56 that is to give the designation of समास to various technical terms like अव्ययीभाव &c. which otherwise would not have got the name of समास.

सह सुपा ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सह, सुपा (सुप् समासः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबिति सहेति सुपेति च त्रयमप्यधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् यदित ऊर्ध्व मनुक्रमिष्याम स्तत्रैव मुपस्थितं द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

4. The words 'saha supâ' meaning 'with a word ending in a case-affix,' are to be understood in each of the succeeding aphorisms.

In this aphorism the word सुप् is understood from sûtra 2, so that it consists of three words *viz.*, सुप्, सह, सुपा. All these three words jointly and severally, one at a time or two at a time, should be understood as governing the succeeding aphorisms, as the contingency of each sûtra may require. This aphorism will constantly be applied in translating the sûtras that follow.

Why have we used the word सह? Well, without it the sûtra would have stood thus: सुप् सुपा 'a noun may be compounded with another noun.' But this overlooks the case of a compounding with a verb. The word सह is therefore used so that we may be able to break this composite sûtra into two separate and simple sûtras, namely:—

(1). सह, सुप्, समस्यते समर्थेन 'a case-inflected word may be compounded with a word with which it is connected in sense.' Here the word सह with the help of the three words सुप् taken from sûtra 2, समस्यते from sûtra 3, and समर्थेन from sûtra 1, forms one complete aphorism, and applies to compounds like अनुव्यचलन् अनुप्रावर्षत. The accent will depend upon these being considered as samâsa.

(2). सुपा सह सुप् समस्यते a sup-inflected word is compounded with another sup-inflected word. The compound which does not fall within any of the various sorts of compounds to be treated of hereafter, will fall under this general head of compounds; as, पुनरुत्स्यूतं वासो देयं पुनर्निष्कृतो रथः This also is for the sake of accents.

अव्ययी भावश्च ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यानित ऊर्द्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामो ऽव्ययीभावसंज्ञा स्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

5. From this forward whatever we shall describe will get the name of Avyayîbhâva samâsa or adverbial compound.

This is also an adhikâra aphorism like the last. As far as sûtra 21, the compounds treated of, will get the designation of Avyayîbhâva. The word अव्ययीभाव like the word कर्मप्रवचनीय is a self-descriptive term, and not an arbitrary term like हि, घि &c. When that which was not an indeclinable becomes an indeclinable, it is called अव्ययीभाव or 'becoming an indeclinable.' In the Avyayîbhâva compound the sense of the first of its elements is the main one or the independent one on which the other depends.

अव्ययं विभक्तिसमीपसमृद्धिव्यृद्ध्यर्थाभावात्ययासम्प्रतिशब्दप्रादुर्भाव पश्चाद्यथानुपूर्व्ययौगपद्यसादृश्यसंपत्तिसाकल्यान्तवचनेषु ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययम्, विभक्ति-समीप-समृद्धि-व्यृद्धि-अर्थाभाव-अत्यय-असंप्रति-शब्दप्रादुर्भाव-पश्चाद्-यथा-आनुपूर्व-यौगपद्य-सादृश्य-सम्पत्ति-साकल्य-अन्त-वचनेषु, (सुप सुपा अव्ययीभावः समासः) (समर्थः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभक्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु यदव्ययं वर्त्तते तत् समर्थेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

6. An indeclinable (avaya) employed with the sense of an inflective-affix (vibhakti) or of near to, or prosperity, or adversity, or absence of the thing, or departure, or not now, or the production of some sound, or after, or according to, or order of arrangement, or simultaneousness, or likeness, or possession, or totality, or termination, is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is connected with it in sense, and the compound so formed is called Avyayîbhâva.

The words सुप् and सुपा are understood in this sûtra. The word वचन should be read as connected with every one of the above phrases.

1. विभक्तिवचन;—As अधिस्त्रि कथा वर्त्तते 'a story relating to women.' अधिकुमारि 'relating to a girl.'

2. समीपवचन;—As उपकुम्भम् 'near to the jar.' उपमणिकं 'near to the gem.'

3. समृद्धिवचन;—As सुमद्रं 'well or prosperous with the Madras'; सुमगधं 'well with the Magadh.'

4. व्यृद्धिवचन;—As दुर्गवादिकं 'ill with the Gavadikas;' दुर्यवनं 'ill with the Yavanas.'

5. अभाववचन;—As निर्मक्षिकम् 'free from ffies;' निर्मशकं 'free from mosquitoes.'

6. अत्ययवचन;—As निर्हिमम् 'on the departure of the cold weather'; निःशीतं.

7. असम्प्रतिवचन;—As अतितैसृकम् 'past (not now) the time of wearing quilts.'

8. शब्दप्रादुर्भाववचन;—As इति हरि 'the exclamation Hari' (thus वैष्णवगृहे इति हरि वर्त्तते 'in the house of the Vaishnava there is the cry of Hari Hari').

9. पश्चाद्वचन;—As अनुरथं पादातम् 'the infantry after the chariots.'

10. यथार्थवचन;—The meaning of the word यथा is four-fold, viz. correspondence, severality or succession, the not passing beyond something, and likeness; thus (1) अनुरूपम् 'in a corresponding manner.' (2) प्रत्यर्थम् 'according to each or several object or signification.' (3) यथाशक्ति 'according to one's ability.'

11. आनुपूर्व्यवचन;—As अनुज्येष्ठं प्रविशन्तु भवन्तः 'let your honors enter in the order of seniority.'

12. यौगपद्यवचन;—As सचक्रं धेहि 'simultaneously with the wheel.'

13. सादृश्यवचन;—As ससखि 'like a friend.'

14. संपत्तिवचन;—As सक्षत्रम् 'as warriors ought.'

15. साकल्यवचन;—As सतृणम् 'even to the grass' *i.e.* the whole, not leaving even a scrap.

16. अन्तवचन;—As साग्नि as far as the chapter of fire (*i.e.* the whole Veda).

यथा ऽसादृश्ये ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा, असादृश्ये, (समर्थः सुप् सुपा अव्य०भा०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथेत्येतदव्ययमसादृश्ये वर्त्तमानं सुपा सह समस्यते, अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति॥

7. The indeclinable word yathâ when it does not signify 'likeness' is invariably compounded with a

word ending in a case-affix which is in construction with it and the compound is called an Avyayîbhâva Samâsa.

Thus यथावृद्धम् ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रयस्व invite every old Brahmana. So also यथाऽध्यापकम् .

Why do we say 'when not signifying likeness?' For there is no composition when likeness is indicated. As यथादेवदत्तस्तथा यज्ञदत्तः As is Devadatta so is Yajñadatta.

This samâsa could have been included in the last sûtra clause 10, but making a separate sûtra shows that the word यथार्थवचन there, must be limited by the present sûtra, to first three meanings of the word यथा given there and not to its fourth meaning. *viz.* there is no compounding when it means likeness.

यावदवधारणे ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावद्, अवधारणे, (सह सुपा अव्य० भा० समास) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावदित्येतदव्ययमवधारणे वर्त्तमानं सुपा सह समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

8. The indeclinable word yâvat when it signifies limitation, is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is in construction with it, and the compound so formed is called Avyayîbhâva.

The word अवधारण means accurate ascertainment, restriction or limitation. As, यावद् मत्रं ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रयस्व 'invite so many Brâhmanas only and not more as there are pots': *i.e.*, if there are five pots then invite five Brâhmans ;if six pots, then invite six Brâhmans.

Why do we say 'when meaning limitation'? Observe यावद्दत्तं तावद् भुक्तम् 'I ate so long as it was given to me,' *i.e.* I donot know for certainty how much I have eaten.

सुप्प्रतिनामात्रार्थे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुप्, प्रतिना, मात्रा-अर्थे, (अव्य० भा० समा० सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मात्रार्थे वर्त्तमानेन प्रतिना सह सुबन्तं समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

9. A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with the indeclinable word prati, when meaning 'a little' and the compound is called Avyayîbhâva.

The word मात्रा means 'a drop,' 'a little,' 'a wee bit;' as, शाकप्रति 'a little of vegetable,' सूपप्रति 'a little of soup.'

Why do we say 'when meaning a little'? Observe वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते विद्युत् 'it lightens in the direction of the tree.' Here it is not compounded.

Though the word sup was, by anuvritti from sûtra 2, understood in this sûtra, its repetition in the text is for the purpose of indicating that the anuvritti of the word अव्यय which began with sûtra 6 does not extend further into the subsequent sûtras.

The word प्रतिना being exhibited in the 3rd case-affix is not an upasarjana (I. 2. 43) and therefore, it comes as the last member of the compound (II. 2. 30).

अक्षशलाकासंख्याः परिणा ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ अक्ष-शलाका-संख्याः, परिणा, (अ०स०सह) ॥

अक्षशब्दः शलाकाशब्दः संख्याशब्दश्च परिणा सह समस्यन्ते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

10. The words aksha, 'a die for playing with,' salâkâ 'an ivory piece used in gambling,' and sankshyâ 'numerals' are compounded with the word pari, and the compound formed is called Avyayîbhâva.

This समास is restricted to terms applicable to gambling. Thus there is a game called panchikâ which is played with five dice or five ivory pieces. When all these five pieces fall with faces turned upward, or all with faces turned down, then the thrower wins the game. But when the fall is otherwise, he loses. Thus अक्षपरि 'an unlucky throw of dice.' शलाकापरि, 'an unlucky throw of ivory pieces'; so also एकपरि 'an unlucky throw by one over' द्विपरि, त्रिपरि and lastly चतुष्परि.' This is the maximum. But when five are of one form, then of course, he wins.

विभाषा ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तद्विभाषा भवति ॥

11. The word vibhâshâ or option governs all succeeding sûtras.

This is an adhikâra sûtra. All the rules of compounding given hereafter, are optional. The same sense can be expressed by the uncompounded words as by them when compounded. But not so are the compounds which have been treated of, before. Compounds like सुमद्रं, यथावृद्धं, अक्षपरि &c. mentioned above are invariable compounds (नित्य समास), the sense conveyed by the compound term, not being capable of analysis, by taking the senses of

the separate members of the compounds, or at least not capable of expressing any sense without inserting extraneous words on analysis.

अपपरिबहिरञ्चवः पञ्चम्या ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अप-परि-बहिः-अञ्चवः, पञ्चम्या (स० अ० सह० वि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप परि बहिस् अञ्चु इत्येते सुबन्ताः पञ्चम्यन्तेन सह विभाषा समस्यन्ते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

12. The words apa, pari, bahiḥ and indeclinables ending in añchu may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix, and the compound so formed will be Avyayîbhâva.

As अपत्रिगर्त्तम् वृष्टो देवः or अपत्रिगर्त्तेभ्यो वृष्टो देवः 'it rained away from Trigarta. So also, परित्रिगर्त्तम् or परित्रिगर्त्तेभ्यः 'round about Trigarta,' बहिर्ग्रामम् or बहिर्ग्रामात् 'outside the village' प्राग् ग्रामम् or प्राग् ग्रामात् 'east of the village.'

Words formed from the verb अंचु 'to go,' are उदंच् 'north' प्रांच् 'east,' &c.

From this sûtra we learn by inference (jñâpak) that the word बहिः also governs the ablative case (see II. 3. 29).

आङ् मर्य्यादाभिविध्योः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्, मर्य्यादा-अभिविध्योः, (स० अ० वि० पञ्चम्या सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङित्येतन्मर्य्यादायामभिविधौ च वर्त्तमानं पञ्चम्यन्तेन सह विभाषा समस्यते, अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

13. The word âṅ when signifying limit exclusive or limit inclusive, may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix and the compound so formed is called Avyayîbhâva.

As, आपाटलिपुत्रं or आपाटलिपुत्रात् वृष्टो देवः 'it rained up to Pâtaliputra.' आकुमारं or आकुमारेभ्यो यशः पाणिनेः 'the fame of Pâṇini extends even to the boys.'

लक्षणेनाभिप्रती आभिमुख्ये ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षणेन, अभि-प्रती, आभिमुख्ये, (स० अ० वि० सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणं चिन्हं तद्वाचिना सुबन्तेन सहाभिप्रतीशब्दावाभिमुख्ये वर्त्तमानौ विभाषा समस्येते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

14. The words abhi and prati when implying direction (towards), are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix denoting the limit, or the

goal which regulates or marks the direction; and the resulting compound is Avyayîbhâva.

The word lakshaṇa means a sign goal. See also I. 4. 84 and 90 for a further explanation of this word. As अभ्यग्नि or अग्निमभि शलभाः पतन्ति 'the moths fall in the direction of fire.' So also प्रत्यग्नि or अग्निं प्रति, the sense being, that making the fire their aims (लक्ष्य) they fall towards it.

Why do we say 'when meaning lakshaṇa'? Observe स्रुघ्नं प्रति गतः 'he turned back and went towards Srughna *i.e.*, having turned back he went only towards the direction of Srughna but not to that place itself.

Why do we say the words abhi and prati? Observe येनाग्निस्तेन गतः 'he went in the direction of the fire.'

Why do we say 'when meaning direction towards'? Observe अभ्यङ्का गावः or प्रत्यङ्कागावः 'the recently marked cows.'

अनुर्यत्समया ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुः, यत्-समया, (स० वि० अ० स० लक्षणेन) ३

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुर्यस्य समीपवाची तेन लक्षणभूतेन सह विभाषा समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

15. The word anu 'near to' is optionally compounded with that word, nearness to which is indicated by the particle, and the resulting compound is Avyayîbhâva.

As, अनुवनमशनिर्गतः 'the thunder bolt fell near the forest.'

Why do we say अनु? Observe वनं समया 'near the forest.'

Why do we say 'when compounded with the word, nearness to which is indicated'? Observe वृक्षमनु विद्योतते विद्युत् 'it lightens towards the tree.'

Though this compounding was valid even by sûtra 6, because nearness is mentioned there also; it is repeated here in order to show that an Avyayîbhâva compound mentioned here is an optional compound after all, and not an invariable compound like others.

यस्य चायामः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, च, आयामः, (स० अ० वि० स० लक्षणेन अनुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुर्यस्यायामवाची तेन लक्षणभूतेन सह विभाषा समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

16. The word anu 'alongside of' is optionally compounded with the word indicative of that whose length the particle expresses, and the compound so formed is called Avyayîbhâva.

As, अनुगंगं वाराणसी 'the city of Benares extends alongside the river Ganges' अनुयमुनं मथुरा 'Mathura, alongside of the Yamuna, the length of Mathura being measured by that of the Yamuna.'

Why do we say 'length'? Observe वृक्षमनु विद्योतते विद्युत् .

तिष्ठद्गु प्रभृतीनि च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिष्ठद्गु प्रभृतीनि ; च (अव्ययीभावस०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिष्ठद्ग्वादयः समुदाया एव निपात्यन्ते, तिष्ठद्गुप्रभृतीनि शब्दरूपाणि अव्ययीभावसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

17. And the words tishṭhadgu, 'at the time when the cows stand to be milked,' &c. are Avyayîbhâva compounds.

The words तिष्ठद्गु &c. are all irregularly formed Avyayîbhâva compounds. Most of these words are epithets of various times. The force of च in the sûtra is restrictive, that is to say these words always form the Avyayîbhâva compound and nothing else. They are as follow :—

तिष्ठद्गु , वहद्गु , आयतीगवम् , खलेयवम् , खलेबुसम् , लूनयवम् , लूयमानयवम् , पूतयवम् , पूयमानयवम् , संहृतयवम् , संह्रियमाणयवम् , संहृतबुसम् , संह्रियमाणबुसम् , समभूमि , समपदाति , सुषमम् , विषमम् , दुष्षमम् , निष्षमम् , अपरसमम् , आयतीसमम् , प्राह्णम् , प्ररथम् , प्रमृगम् , प्रदक्षिणम् , अपरदक्षिणम् , संप्रति , असंप्रति , पापसमम् , पुण्यसमम् , इच् कर्मव्यतिहारे V. 4. 127. *e. g.* कचाकचि ॥

पारे मध्ये षष्ठ्या वा ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पारे, मध्यं , षष्ठ्या, वा (स०अ०वि०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पारमध्यशब्दौ षष्ठ्यन्तेन सह विभाषा समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

18. The words pâra 'across,' and madhya 'middle' may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the sixth case-affix, when they take the forms pâre and madhye, and the compound so formed is Avyayîbhâva.

Ordinarily these words would have formed Possessive Tatpurusha compounds. The present sûtra ordains Avyayîbhâva instead. The force of

वा in the text is that the Genitive Tatpurusha compounding also takes place in the alternative. As, पारेगंगम् or गंगापारम् 'across the Ganges.' मध्येगंगम् or गंगमध्यम् 'middle of the Ganges'

Of course according to the option allowed by sûtra II. 1. 11., this compounding need not take place at all, the same sense being expressed by a phrase; as पारं गंगायाः or मध्यं गंगायाः .

संख्या वंश्येन ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या, वंश्येन, (स०वि०अ०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वंशे भवः वंश्यः, तद्वाचिना सुबन्तेन सह संख्या समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

19. A numeral may be compounded with a word denoting 'one belonging to a family' and the resulting compound is Avyayîbhâva.

The word वंश means uninterrupted descent of persons from a common source whether through birth or knowledge. A succession of teachers and pupils, of ancestors and descendants &c., would constitute a वंश 'family.' One born in or belonging to such a वंश is called a वंश्य or descendant.

As, द्विमुनि व्याकरणस्य 'of the Vyâkarana which has two sages as its principal expounders *viz.*, Pâṇini and Patanjali. So, त्रिमुनि व्याकरणस्य 'having three representatives *viz.* Pâṇini, Patanjali and Sakatâyana or Kâtyâyana.'

When we desire to express their equality as regards knowledge, then both the words are put in the same case: as द्विमुनि or त्रिमुनि व्याकरणम्

So also when the relationship is by birth: as, एकविंशति भारद्वाजम् Twenty-one Bhâradwâjas. These a subsequent compounds are like Dvigu.

नदीभिश्च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ नदीभिः , च , (स०अ०वि०संख्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नदीवचनैः शब्दैः सह संख्या समस्यते, अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

20. A numeral (saṅkhyâ) may be compounded with names of 'rivers' and the resulting compound is Avyayîbhâva denoting an aggregate.

According to Patanjali this refers to their Aggregate (समाहार); as सप्तगङ्गम् 'at the meeting of the seven Ganges,' द्वियमुनं 'at the meeting of the two Yamunâs, पंचनदं 'where the five rivers meet,' सप्तगोदावरम् 'where seven Godavaris' meet. See II. 4. 1, 17.

अन्यपदार्थे च संज्ञायाम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्यपदार्थे, च , संज्ञा-याम् , (स०अ०वि०नदीभिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नदीभिः सह सुबन्तमन्यपदार्थे वर्त्तमानं संज्ञायां विषये समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

21. A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with words denoting the names of rivers, when the compound word denotes a thing other than that expressed by the terms of the compound, and is an appellative; the compound so formed being an Avyayîbhâva.

The anuvritti of the word saṅkhyâ does not extend to this sûtra. Though this rule is given in the subdivision relating to optional compounds, it is, however, a Nitya-samâsa rule: for no Name (संज्ञा) can ever be expressed by a sentence, and that being so, these compounds can never be analysed. As, उन्मत्तगङ्गः 'the country called Unmatta Ganges.' So also लोहितगंगम्, कृष्णगंगम्; शनैर्गंगम् II. 4. 18.

Why do we say 'when it denotes a thing other than that expressed by the component parts of the compound'? Observe कृष्णवेणा the 'river Krishnaveṇa.'

Why do we say 'when it expresses an Appellative'? Observe शीघ्रगंगो देशः 'the country where the Ganges moves rapidly.'

तत्पुरुषः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुष इति संज्ञाऽधिक्रियते प्राग्बहुव्रीहेः, यानित ऊर्द्धमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

22. From this aphorism as far as aphorism II. 2. 23, the word Tat-purusha is the governing word, and is understood in all the following sûtras.

From this sûtra as far as the sûtra II. 2. 23 relating to Bahuvrîhi compounds, the word Tat-purusha should be read into each sûtra. This big term is of older coinage than that of Pâṇini, being, in fact, made by older grammarians. In the Tat-purusha compound, the sense of the last of its elements is the main one, and governs the preceding one. The Karmadhâraya (Appositional Determinative Compound) and Dwigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) are also subdivisions of this class of compounds. The rest of this chapter and 22 sûtras of the second, deal with this.

द्विगुश्च ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगुः, च, (तत्पुरुषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगुश्च समासस्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञो भवति ॥

23. And the kind of compound called Dwigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) is also called Tat-

The object of making Dwigu a subdivision of Tat-purusha Compound is that the समासान्त affixes and rules given in V. 4. 68-160 should apply to Dwigu also. Otherwise we could well have dispensed with this sûtra; as sûtra 52 of this chapter already defines Dwigu. Thus पंचराज V. 4. 91 fem. पंचराजी (IV. I. 15, 21), 'an aggregate of 5 princes' द्व्यह: 'V. 4. 89, पंचगवम् 'an aggregate of 5 cows.' दशगवम् 'an aggregate of ten cows.' V. 4. 92.

द्वितीया श्रितातीतपतितगतात्यस्तप्राप्तापन्नैः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीया श्रित-अतीत-पतित-गत-अत्यस्त-प्राप्त-आपन्नैः, (सु०सुपा०स०वि०सह-तत्पुरुष) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्तं सुबन्तं श्रितादिभिः सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ श्रितादिषुगमिगाम्यादीना मुपसंख्यानम् ॥

24. A word ending with the second case-affix is compounded with the words śrita 'who has had recourse to,' atîta 'gone by' patita 'who has fallen upon,' gata 'who has gone to' atyasta 'who has passed,' prâpta 'who has obtaiued,' and âpanna 'who has reached,' and the resulting componnd is called Tat-purusha.

As कष्ट + श्रित: = कष्टश्रित: 'who has had recourse to trouble.' नरकश्रित:, So also :—कान्तारातीत: 'who has passed over the dreary forest.' नरकपतित: 'fallen into hell.' ग्रामगत: 'gone to village.' तरंगात्यस्त: 'passed the waves.' सुखप्राप्त: 'who has reached pleasure.' सुखापन्न: 'who has obtained happiness.'

Vart:—The words गमी, गामी &c. should also be included. As ग्रामगमी, ग्रामगामी; ओदन बुभुक्षुः

स्वयं क्तेन ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वयम्, क्तेन, (स०वि०त०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वयमित्येतत्सुबन्तं क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

25. The indeclinable word swayam 'oneself, is compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

The anuvritti of the wcrd द्वितीया from the last aphorism into this, cannot take place; though, however, it is understood in the next sûtra. The word स्वयम् being an Indeclinable, cannot take any case-affix. As स्वयं धौतौ पादौ 'feet washed by himself' स्वयं विलीनमाज्यम्.

In this compounding, the two words do not appear to have undergone any change after their composition. They are the same as they were fbeore the composition. But by calling their juxtaposition, 'a compound,'

two indirect advantages are gained. Namely these two words are regarded as one word, and their accent is also similarly regulated. See Rule VI. I. 223.

The words ending in kta which is a Nishṭhâ affix, are past participles.

खट्वा क्षेपे ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ खट्वा, क्षेपे, (सं०वि०त०क्तेनस०) (द्वितीयया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खट्वाशब्दो द्वितीयान्तः क्तान्तेन सह क्षेपे गम्यमाने समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

26. The word khatwâ in the accusative case is compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, when censure is implied, and the compound so formed is Tat-purusha.

The word क्षेप means 'censure,' 'blame' and this sense can be connoted only by the compound word as a whole and not by any of its constituent elements. This compound is also, therefore, a Nitya Compound, though it occurs in the subdivision relating to Optional Compounds :—because it is impossible to analyse such a compound and express, by means of a sentence, the sense conveyed by the function of the compound word.

As खट्वारूढः or खट्वाप्लुतः (literally lying on a bed); silly, stupid, going wrong or astray.

There is no compounding when 'censure is not meant. As खट्वामारूढः 'lying on a bed.'

Why this word should have this opprobrious meaning, will be understood from the consideration of the following facts :—a person under the Aryan social polity, could only then enter the married state or the life of a house-holder, as it was called, when he had completed his Brahmachârya *i.e.* the prescribed period of bachelor studentship. All Brahmacharis were bound to sleep on ground and not on खट्वा or cots, so long as they were Brahmachâris. A person who without completing his studies, and without obtaining the permission of his teacher, entered into matrimony, was originally called, in reproach, खट्वारूढः 'who had ascended the couch in an improper way.' Then the term was extended to all persons guilty of vile action.

सामि ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सामि, (स०वि०त०सह क्तेन) (द्वितीयया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सामीत्येतदव्ययमर्द्धशब्दपर्यायस्तस्य सन्त्वसाधित्वाद् द्वितीयया नास्ति संबन्धः तत् सुबन्तं क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुष श्च समासो भवति ॥

27. The indeclinable word sâmi meaning 'half' is compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

The word सामि being an avyaya, and not denoting any substance, cannot take the affixes of the second or any case. Therefore the anuvṛitti of the word द्वितीया would be inapposite in this aphorism.

As सामिकृतम् 'half-done.' सामिपीतम् 'half-drunk' सामिभुक्तम् 'half-eaten.'

The object attained by this samâsa is the same as in II. 1. 25, namely making them one word and taking one accent.

कालाः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालाः, (स० वि० त० स० द्वितीया क्तेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालवाचिनः शब्दा द्वितीयान्ताः क्तान्तेन सह समस्यन्ते विभाषा तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

28. The words denoting time, being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

This rule applies when duration of time is not connoted by the compound, which is provided for, in the next aphorism. The word कालाः does not mean here, as it would otherwise mean by Sûtra I. 1. 68, the word-form काल but special words denoting काल.

As मासप्रमितश्चन्द्रमाः 'the new moon,' (literally, the moon that has begun to measure the month). Similarly अहस्संक्रान्ताः, रात्रिसंक्रान्ताः applied to six Muhurtas (of 48 minutes each) which are called चर and अचर which sometimes occur in day time (in the summer month) and sometimes in the night (in the winter).

अत्यन्तसंयोगे च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्यन्त-संयोगे, च, (स० वि० त० स० कालाः सुपा द्वि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालवाचिनः शब्दा द्वितीयान्ता अत्यन्तसंयोगे गम्यमाने सुपा सह समस्यन्ते विभाषा तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

29. Words denoting time being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when used in the sense of complete connection throughout with the time (i.e., duration of time) and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

The word काल is understood in this aphorism; but not so the phrase 'ending with the affix क्त.'

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग means 'uninterrupted connection.' For accent of these words see VI. 2. 2.

As मुहूर्तसुखम् 'a momentary pleasure.' सर्वरात्रकल्याणी, सर्वरात्रशोभना.

तृतीया तत्कृतार्थेन गुणवचनेन ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया, तत्-कृत-अर्थेन, गुण-वचनेन, (स०वि०त०सु०सुपा सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयान्तं सुबन्तं गुणवचनेन अर्थशब्देन च सह समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

30. A word ending with the 3rd case-affix is optionally compounded with what denotes quality, the quality being that which is instrumentally caused by the thing signified by what ends with the third case-affix and with the word artha 'wealth,' and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

The words सुप, सुपा are understood here: and the whole of this sûtra is an epithet of those words. A noun in the instrumental case is compounded with a word expressing quality, and with the word अर्थ: provided that the word expressing quality is itself the result produced by the sense of the word in the instrumental case. As शंकुलयाखण्डः शंकुलाखण्डः 'cut by nipper' किरिकाणः 'made blind of one eye by a hog' धान्यार्थः 'wealth acquired by grain.' For accent of these words see VI. 2. 2.

Why do we say 'when caused by the word in the instrumental case'? Observe अक्ष्णा काणः 'blind of one eye.' Here अक्ष्णा in the 3rd case is not the instrumental cause that produced blindness and hence no compounding.

Why do we say 'a word expressing quality?' Observe :—गोभिर्वपावान् 'sowing with the cows.' Here though 'sowing' is instrumentally caused by the cows, yet it does not qualify cows but the sower, and hence no compounding.

Guṇa-vachanas are those words which, not being words formed by primary or secondary affixes, or other words entitled to the name of saṅkhyâ, or sarvanâma, or jâti, or compound words, are words denoting qualities and capable of being used as adjectives qualifying substantives.

पूर्वसदृशसमोनार्थकलहनिपुणमिश्रश्लक्ष्णैः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व-सदृश-सम-ऊनार्थ-कलह-निपुण-मिश्र-श्लक्ष्णैः, (स०वि०त०तृतीयास०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्व सदृश सम ऊनार्थ कलह निपुण मिश्र श्लक्ष्ण एतैः सह तृतीयान्तं समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पूर्वादिष्ववरस्योपसंख्यानम् ॥

31. A word ending in the third case-affix is compounded with the words pûrva 'prior,' sadriśa 'like,' sama 'similar,' ûnârtha 'words having the sense of less,' kalaha 'quarrel,' nipuṇa 'proficient,' miśra 'mixed,' and slakshṇa 'polished sleek' and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

From this sûtra, we learn incidentally that the words पूर्व &c., govern the instrumental case.

As, मासेन पूर्वः = मासपूर्व 'prior by a month,' संवत्सरपूर्वः 'prior by a year,' मातृसदृशः 'like the mother,' पितृसदृशः 'like the father,' मातृसमः 'similar to the mother,' पितृसमः 'similar to the father,' माषोनम्, माषविकलं 'less by a mâshâ,' असिकलहः 'a fight with the swords,' वाक्कलहः 'bandying words.' वाङ्निपुणः 'proficient in speech,' आचार निपुणः 'proficient in the observances of sacred duties,' तिलमिश्रः—गुड़मिश्रः 'mixed with sesamum or juggery' आचारश्लक्ष्णः 'polished in behaviour.'

Vart :—The word अवर should be enumerated in the list, as मासावरः 'later than a month.'

कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-करणे ; कृता बहुलम्, (स० वि० त० तृती० स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि करणे च या तृतीया तदन्तं कृदन्तेन सह समस्यते बहुलं, तत्पुरुष श्च समासो भवति ॥

32. A word ending with the third case-affix, when it denotes the agent or the instrument (II. 3. 18) is compounded diversely with what ends with a krit affix; and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

The word बहुलं shows that there is a general relaxation of all the rules and conditions. As अहिनाहतः = अहिहतः 'killed by the snake' नखनिर्भिन्नः 'divided by the nails.' परशुच्छिन्नः 'cut by the axe.'

Why do we say 'when denoting the agent or the instrument'? Observe भिक्षाभिरुषितः 'dwelt with alms.' Here the force of the 3rd case is that mentioned in sûtra II. 3. 21 and not that of II. 3. 18.'

Why do we say 'diversely'? Observe दात्रेण लूनवान् 'cutting with the sickle.' परशुनाछिन्नवान् 'cutting with the axe.' Here there is no compounding. But there is compounding where otherwise there ought not to be, because of the word बहुलः—as पादहारकः and गले चोपकः.

कृत्यैरधिकार्थवचने ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्यैः , अधिक-अर्थ-वचने , (स॰वि॰तृ॰कर्तृकरणे तृ॰) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृकरणयोर्या तृतीया तदन्तं सुबन्तं कृत्यैः सह समस्यते अधिकार्थवचने गम्यमाने विभाषा, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कृत्यग्रहणे यत्ण्यतोर्ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ॥

33. A word ending with the third case-affix when it denotes the agent or the instrument, is compounded optionally with a word ending in a kṛitya affix, when an exaggerated statement (whether of praise or of censure) is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As काकपेयानदी 'a shallow river' (so shallow that a crow may dip his beak into it and touch the bottom and drink). श्वलेह्यः कूपः 'a shallow well' (so that a dog can lick water from the brink of it). बाष्पच्छेद्यानि तृणानि 'thin grass' (so fragile that it can be cut by vapour) कण्टकसंचेय ओदनः .

This sûtra is in a way a prolongation of the last.

Vart:—The phrase 'words ending in a kṛitya affix' must not be taken universally, only the kṛitya affixes यत् and ण्यत् are meant in the above sûtras. The following are the kṛitya affixes:—तव्य , अनीय , यत् , क्यप् , ण्यत् , (see sûtra III. I. 95-132). Therefore there is no compounding when the word ends in तव्य as in काकैः पातव्या .

अन्नेन व्यञ्जनम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्नेन, व्यञ्जनम् , (स॰वि॰त॰-तृ॰सु॰स॰) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यञ्जनवाचि तृतीयान्तमन्नवाचिना सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते विभाषा, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

34. A word ending with the third case-affix and denoting a condiment, is optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, signifying food, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

That which is to be prepared is called अन्न, and that which prepares is व्यंजन ; as दध्योदनः = दध्ना उपसिक्त ओदनः 'rice prepared or made relishable with curd.' So also क्षीरौदनः . The words 'food' and 'condiment' as represented in the above compounds, are connected in sense by a verb understood.

भक्ष्येण मिश्रीकरणम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्ष्येण, मिश्री-करणम् (स०वि०त०तृ०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मिश्रीकरणवाचि तृतीयान्तं भक्ष्यवाचिना सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुष श्च समासो भवति ॥

35. A word, ending with the 3rd case-affix and denoting a relish giving or refining ingredient, is compounded with a word meaning, victuals, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Anything eatable, whether hard or soft, is called भक्ष्य; its refinement is called मिश्रीकरणं. As गुडधानाः 'barley prepared with juggery;' गुडपृथुकाः 'flattened parched rice prepared with juggery.'

The connection here also between the two words is established by a verb understood.

चतुर्थी तदर्थार्थबलिहितसुखरक्षितैः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी, तदर्थ-अर्थ-बलि-हित-सुख-रक्षितैः (स०वि०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदर्थ अर्थ बलि हित सुख रक्षित इत्येतैः सह चतुर्थ्यन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुष श्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अर्थेन नित्यसमासवचनं सर्वलिङ्गता च वक्तव्या ॥

36. A word ending with the 4th case-affix is compounded with what denotes that which is for the purpose of what ends with the 4th case-affix and so too with the words artha 'on account of,' bali 'a sacrifice,' hita 'salutary,' sukha 'pleasure' and rakshita 'kept,' and the compound is called Tat-purusha

The words सुप्, सुपा are understood in this sûtra: and the whole sûtra qualifies these words.

By the expression तदर्थ 'for the purpose thereof,' the special relation of a material and its modification alone is by Patanjali here held to be intended. As यूपाय दारु = यूपदारु 'wood for stake' (that is wood which by modification will be changed into a stake). कुण्डलहिरण्यं 'gold for ear-ring.' But not so here. रन्धनाय स्थाली 'pot for cooking.' अवहननायोलूखलम् 'the wood mortar for threshing. From this sûtra we may also infer that the Dative case conveys also the sense of 'for the purpose thereof.' The word तदर्थार्थ is taken as one word by some, meaning 'a thing serviceable thereto.' See VI. 2. 44. For accent see VI. 2. 45.

Vart:—With the word अर्थ the compound so formed is a Nitya compound (an invariable compound) and agrees in gender with the word which it qualifies; as, ब्राह्मणार्थम् पयः 'milk for the sake of Brahmans;' and ब्राह्मणार्था यवागूः 'gruel for the Brahmanas.' So also कुबेरबलिः 'a sacrifice for Kuvera' महाराजबलिः 'a sacrifice for the great Raja.' गोहितं 'what is good for cows.' अश्वहितं 'what is good for horses' गोसुखं 'what is pleasant for cows' गोरक्षितं 'what is kept for cows,' (as grass).

पञ्चमी भयेन ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चमी, भयेन, (स०त०वि०सु० सुपा सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्यन्तं सुबन्तं भयशब्देन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते विभाषा तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भय भीत भीति भीभि रिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

37. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is optionally compounded with the word bhaya 'fear,' and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The phrase सुप् सुपा is understood here, and the sûtra qualifies it.

As वृकेभ्योभयं = वृकभयं 'fear from wolves' चौरभयं 'fear from thieves' दस्युभयं 'fear from robbers.'

Vart:—So also with the words भीत, भीति and भी: as वृकभीतः, वृकभीतिः, वृकभीः.

This sûtra is an expansion of sûtra 32 and an exposition of the word बहुल there. So that we may have the following compounds also: ग्रामनिर्गतः 'gone out of the village.' अधर्म जुगुप्सुः.

अपेतापोढमुक्तपतितापत्रस्तैरल्पशः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपेत-अपोढ-मुक्त-पतित-अपत्रस्तैः, अल्पशः, (स०वि०त०सु०पञ्चमीस०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपेत अपोढ मुक्त पतित अपत्रस्त इत्येतैः सह पञ्चम्यन्तं समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥ अल्पश इति समासस्याल्पविषयतामाचष्टे ॥

38. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is compounded with the words apeta 'gone away,' apoḍha 'carried away,' mukta 'freed,' patita 'fallen,' apatrasta, 'afraid of,' when the event takes place in a gradual manner, and the compound is called Tatpurusha.

As, सुखापेतः 'gone away from pleasure' कल्पनापोढः 'carried away by imagination' चक्रमुक्तः 'freed from the wheel.' स्वर्गपतितः 'fallen from heaven.' तरङ्गापत्रस्तः 'afraid of the waves.' This is an expansion of II. 1. 32.

By using the word अल्पशः 'in a gradual degree,' is shown the limited range of this kind of compounds. Not every ablative word can be so compounded. Hence there is no compounding at all in the following cases:— प्रासादात् पतितः, 'fallen from the mansion. भोजनादपत्रस्तः 'afraid of eating.' For here the fall &c. is violent and sudden, and not gradual and slight.

स्तोकान्तिकदूरार्थकृच्छ्राणि क्तेन, ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तोक-अन्तिक-दूर-अर्थ-कृच्छ्राणि, क्तेन, (स॰त॰वि॰सु॰पञ्चमीसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तोक अन्तिक दूर इत्येवमर्थाः शब्दाः कृच्छ्र शब्दश्च पञ्चम्यन्ताः क्तान्तेन सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शतसहस्रौ परेणेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

39. Words with the sense of stoka 'a little,' antika 'near,' dûra 'far,' and also the word kṛichchhra 'penance,' ending in the 5th case-affix are compounded with what ends in kta, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As स्तोकात् मुक्तः 'loosed from a little distance.'

So also अन्तिकादागतः 'come from near' अभ्याशादागतः 'come from near' दूरादागतः 'come from far,' विप्रकृष्टादागतः 'come from a distance.' कृच्छ्रान्मुक्तः saved with difficulty.' कृच्छ्रात् लब्धः 'obtained with difficulty.'

By rule VI. 3. 2 the case-affix is not elided in compounds of this kind.

Vart:—The words शत 'a hundred' and सहस्र 'a thousand' are similarly compounded with the word पर. As, शतात्परे=परश्शताः 'beyond a hundred.' So also परस्सहस्राः 'beyond a thousand.' In these examples the word शत and सहस्र being exhibited in the 1st case and thus being upasarjana ought to have stood as the first member of the compound (II. 2. 30); But these compounds are supposed to fall under the class of राजदन्त &c., (II. 2. 31) and hence the upasarjana stands as the second member of the compound. Irregularly is also the augment स (सुट्) interposed between these two words.

सप्तमी शौण्डैः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, शौण्डैः (स॰त॰-वि॰स॰सु॰)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं शौण्डादिभिः सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

40. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the words śauṇḍa 'skilled' &c. and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word शौण्डैः in the sûtra being in the plural number indicates a class of words beginning with saunḍa.

As, अक्षेषु शौण्डः = अक्षशौण्डः 'skilled in dice' अक्षधूर्त्तः 'cunning in dice' अक्षकितवः 'a gamester in dice.'

The following is the list of शौण्डादि words:—1 शौण्ड, 2 धूर्त, 3 कितव, 4 व्याड, 5 प्रवीण, 6 संवीत, 7 अन्तर् when meaning place, 8 अधि, 9 पटु, (or अधिपटु), 10 पण्डित, 11 कुशल, 12 चपल, 13 निपुण, 14 संव्याड' 15 अन्थ, and 16 समीर.

सिद्धशुष्कपक्वबन्धैश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिद्ध-शुष्क-पक्व-बन्धैः, च, (स०त०वि०सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिद्ध-शुष्क- पक्व बन्धै इत्येतैः सह सप्तम्यंतं समस्यते, तत्पुरुष श्च समासो भवति ॥

41. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the words siddha 'perfected,' śushka 'dried,' pakva 'cooked' and bandha 'bound,' and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, सांकाश्यसिद्धः 'perfect in sânkâsya.' काम्पिल्यसिद्धः 'perfect in Kâmpilya.' आतपशुष्कः 'dried in the sun.' छायाशुष्कः 'dried in the shade.' स्थालीपक्वः 'cooked in pot.' कुम्भी पक्वः 'cooked in an earthen jar.' चक्रबन्धः 'bound on the wheel. For their accent see VI. 2. 32.

These are also further illustrations of the word बहुल in sûtra 32.

ध्वाङ्क्षेण क्षेपे ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ध्वाङ्क्षेण क्षेपे, (स०त०वि०सु०सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ध्वाङ्क्षवाचिना सह सप्तम्यन्तं सुबन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति, क्षेपे गम्यमाने ॥

42. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the word dhvâṅksha, 'a crow,' (and with synonyms of crow) when contempt is implied; and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, तीर्थध्वांक्षः 'a crow at the sacred bathing place' *i.e.*, a very greedy person; as a crow in a bathing place does not remain long, any where, so a person who goes to his teacher's house and does not tarry there long, is called a तीर्थकाकः or a तीर्थवायसः.

When it has not this meaning, there is no compounding: as, तीर्थेध्वांक्ष-स्तिष्ठति 'There is a crow in the sacred bathing place.'

कृत्यैर्ऋणे ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्यैः, ऋणे, (स०त०सु०स०सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्य प्रत्ययान्तैः सह सप्तम्यन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

43. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with words ending with a kṛitya-affix (a fut. pass. Participle) and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha, when 'debt' is implied.

This compound is confined to the words formed by the kṛitya affix यत् and not to every kṛitya-formed word.

As, मासदेयं 'a debt repayable within a month.' So संवत्सरदेयं 'payable within a year.' त्र्यहदेयम् 'repayable within three days.'

By using the word ऋण we indicate by implication any appointed time in general, and not merely a time for the payment of a debt. Therefore we get compounds in the following cases also:—पूर्वाह्णे गेयं साम 'the Sâma that should be sung in the morning.' प्रातरध्येयोऽनुवाकः 'the chapter that should be studied in the morning.'

Why do we say 'debt'? Observe मासे देया भिक्षा 'the aims that should be given each month.'

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (स०त०वि०सप्तमी सुपा सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये सप्तम्यन्तं सुपा सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

44. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when the compound thus formed is used as an appellative, and is called Tat-purusha samâsa.

A sanjñâ is expressed by the complete word, hence it is an invariable (nitya) compound; for we cannot express an appellative by a sentence.

As, अरण्येतिलकाः 'wild sesamum' yielding no oil; anything which does not answer to one's expectation. So also अरण्येमाषाः, वनेकिंशुकाः 'anything found unexpectedly.' So also वनेबिल्वकाः, कूपेपिशाचकाः.

The case-affix is not elided, in this case, in accordance to sûtra VI. 3. 9. (The 7th case-affix is not elided after words ending in consonants or in short अ when the compound denotes appellative.)

क्तेनाहोरात्रावयवाः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तेन, अहः-रात्र-अवयवाः, (स०वि०त०सप्त०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहरवयवा रात्र्यवयवाश्च सप्तम्यन्ताः क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

45. The names of divisions of day or night ending with a 7th case-affix are compounded with words ending with the affix kta; and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, पूर्वाह्णकृतम् 'done in the morning.' अपराह्णकृतम् 'done in the afternoon.' पूर्वरात्रकृतम् 'done in the first part of the night.' अपररात्रकृतं 'done in the last part of the night.'

Why do we say 'members or divisions of day and night?' Observe अहनि भुक्तम् 'eaten in the day' रात्रौ वृत्तम् 'occurring in the night.'

This being a continuation of sûtra II. 1. 32, we have diversely रात्रिवृत्तं and संध्यागर्जितं.

तत्र ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, (स०वि०त०सप्त०सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येतत् सप्तम्यन्तं क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

46. The word tatra 'there,' which is a word ending with the 7th case-affix, (V. 3. 10) is compounded with a word ending in kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus तत्रभुक्तम् 'eaten there.' तत्रकृतं 'done there.' तत्रपीतं 'drunk there.' By making this a compound, the same purpose is served as in sûtra II. 1. 25 namely, these two words form one word and get one accent.

क्षेपे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षेपे, (स०वि०तसप्त०सह क्तेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेपे गम्यमाने सप्तम्यन्तं क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

47. A word ending with a 7th case-affix is compounded with a word ending with the affix kta, when 'censure' is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, अवतप्तेनकुलस्थितं त एतत 'they are as if an ichneumon standing on hot ground (metaphorically said of the inconstancy of man) चापलम् ॥

So also उदके विशीर्णम् 'dried in water,' (figuratively used for any thing unheard of or impossible.)

So also प्रवाहे मूत्रितम् (lit.) 'making water in a stream,' (fig.) 'doing a useless action.' भस्मनि हुतम् 'offered oblation in ashes,, (fig.) 'a fruitless action.'

The 7th case-affix is not elided in the case of this sûtra also. See sûtra VI. 3. 14.

पात्रेसंमितादयश्च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पात्रे, संमित-आदयः, च, (स० त० क्षेपे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुदाया एव निपात्यन्ते, पात्रेसंमितादयः शब्दास्तत्पुरुष संज्ञा भवन्ति क्षेपे गम्यमाने॥

48. The words like pâtre-sammita 'a dish-companion' (a parasite), &c., are Tat-purusha compounds, when contempt is implied.

All these are irregular compounds. Some of the words contained in this list are compounds formed with the past-participle (क्त); they could have been formed by previous aphorism also. Their inclusion in this list is for the purpose that their first member should have udâtta on the beginning; because all the words belonging to this class, are a subdivision of a larger class called 'युक्तारोह्यादि Class' treated of in sûtra VI. 2. 81.

The following is the list of the words:—1 पात्रेसमिताः, 2 पात्रेबहुलाः 'a parasite' (constant at meals or dinner time). 3 उदुम्बरमशकः, 4 उदुम्बरकृमिः, 5 उदरकृमिः, 6 कूपकच्छपः, 7 अवटकच्छपः, 8 कूपमण्डूकः, 9 कुम्भमण्डूकः, 10 उदपानमण्डूकः, 11 नगरकाकः, 12 नगरवायसः, 13 मातरिपुरुषः, 14 पिण्डीशूरः, 15 पितरिशूरः, 16 गेहेशूरः, 17 गेहेनर्दी, 18 गेहेक्ष्वेडी, 19 गेहेविजिती, 20 गेहेव्याडः, 21 गेहेमेही, 22 गेहेदाही, 23 गेहेदृप्तः, 24 गेहेधृष्टः, 25 गर्भेतृप्तः, 26 आखनिकबकः, 27 गोष्ठेशूरः, 28 गोष्ठेविजिती, 29 गोष्ठेक्ष्वेडी, 30 गोष्ठेपटुः, 31 गोष्ठेपण्डितः, 32 गोष्ठेप्रगल्भः, 33 कर्णेटिरिटिरा, 34 कर्णेचुरचुरा ॥

पूर्वकालैकसर्वजरत्पुराणनवकेवलाः समानाधिकरणेन ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वकाल-एक-सर्व-जरत्-पुराण-नव-केवलाः समानाधिकरणेन, (स० वि० त० सु० सु० स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वकाल एक सर्व जरत् पुराण नव केवल इत्येते सुबन्ताः समानाधिकरणेन सुपा सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

49. A case-inflected word denoting an action which naturally precedes in time (pûrvakâla), and the words eka 'one,' sarva 'all,' jarat 'old,' purâṇa 'ancient,' nava 'new,' and kevala 'only,' are compounded with their co-relative case-inflected words which are in the same case with them; and the compound so formed is Tat-purusha.

The phrase सुप् सुपा is understood here, the whole sûtra qualifying it.

Words which separately can be applied to many distinct and different objects, when they apply to one common object, are said to be in apposition (समानाधिकरणं) or abiding in a common substratum.

In the present sûtra the word-form pûrva-kâla is not to be taken

(I. 1. 68) but its significates; while of the rest एक &c., the very word-form is to be taken. A word denoting action which naturally precedes in time, is compounded with a word denoting action which naturally succeeds it. As, स्नातानुलिप्तः 'bathed and perfumed.' कृष्टसमीकृतम् 'ploughed and levelled.' दग्धप्ररूढम् 'burnt and healed.' एकशाटी 'having one petticoat.' एकभिक्षा 'begging once in a day.' सर्वदेवाः 'All gods.' सर्वमनुष्याः 'all men.' जरद्धस्ती 'old elephant.' जरद्गृष्टिः 'an old cow.' जरद्वृत्तिः 'old occupation.' पुराणान्नम् 'old rice.' पुराणावसथम् 'an old habitation.' So नवान्नम्; नवावसथम्; केवलान्नम् 'only rice.'

Why do we say 'when they are in the same case?' Observe एकस्याः शाटी 'one s petticoat.'

These and the subsequent compounds are Karmadhâraya Compounds (I. 2. 42).

दिक्संख्ये संज्ञायाम् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-संख्ये, संज्ञायाम्, (स०त०वि०सुपा०समानाधिकरणेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिग्वाचिनः शब्दाः संख्या च समानाधिकरणेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

50. The words expressing a point of the compass, or a number (saṅkhyâ) enter into composition with the word correlated to them by being in the same case, when the sense of the compound is that of an appellative; and it is a Tat-purusha.

The phrase 'being in apposition,' is understood in every one of these sûtras up to the end of the chapter.

As पूर्वेषुकामशमी 'the town of Ishukâmaśamî-in-the-east.' अपरेषुकामशमी 'the town of Ishukâmaśamî-in-the-west.' पंचाम्राः 'the five mangoes' सप्तर्षयः 'the seven-sages' (the constellation of the Great Bear).

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of an appellative?' Observe उत्तरा वृक्षाः 'northern trees.' पंच ब्राह्मणाः 'five Brahmanas.' See IV. 2. 107.

तद्धितार्थोत्तरपद समाहारे च ॥५१॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धित-अर्थ-उत्तरपद समाहारे, च (स०त०वि०दिक्संख्ये स०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितार्थे विषये उत्तरपदे च परतः समाहारे चाभिधेये दिक्संख्ये समानाधिकरणेन सुपा सह समस्येते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

51. In a case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound, or when an aggregate is to be ex-

pressed, then a word signifying a point of the compass or a number, enters into composition with a case-inflected word which is in agreement with it by being in the same case, and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

First let us take the case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix. Thus when a compound is formed out of the words पूर्वस्यां शालायां भव: 'that which is in the eastern hall' (in which analytical exposition of the compound in question, the word भव (IV. 2. 107) serves to represent the force of a Taddhita-affix) the compound having reached the form of पूर्वा + शाला, the feminine termination of the पूर्वा is rejected, because Patañjali declares that the masculine state belongs to a pronominal when exercising any of the five functions belonging to a word; we have:—पूर्व + शाला + अ (IV. 2. 107) = पौर्वशाल. (VII. 2. 117 and VI. 4. 143) 'who is in the eastern hall.'

So also when an additional member comes after the compound (uttarpade). As, पूर्व शालाप्रिय: or अपरशालाप्रिय: 'loving the eastern or western hall.' These Uttarpada Compounds are invariable (Nitya) compounds, so that they can not be resolved into their component elements.

When a समाहार 'aggregate' is to be expressed, it is of course impossible to use a word expressing points of the compass (दिक् words). The following compounds are formed with numbers (संख्या), when employed with the force of a Taddhita affix; as, पांचनापित: 'relating to five barbers.' पांचकपाल: 'relating to an oblation offered in five cups' (कपाल) (IV. 1. 88). So also पंचगवधन (V. 4. 92) 'whose wealth consists of five cows,' दशगवधन:

The following are examples of aggregates:—पंचफली 'the collection of five fruits' (IV. 1. 21) दशपूली 'an aggregate of ten bundles,' त्रिलोकी 'the aggregate of the three worlds.' पंचकुमारि 'an aggregate of five virgins;' this word is neuter by II. 4 17. and the long ई is shortened by I. 2. 47.

संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या-पूर्वः, द्विगुः, (स० वि० तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे चेरयत्र यः संख्यापूर्वः समासः स द्विगुसंज्ञो भवति ॥

52. In a case where the sense is that of a taddhita affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound or when an aggregate is to be expressed, the compound, the first member of which is numeral, is called Dvigu or Numeral Determinative compound.

First to take an example of Taddhitârtha:—as, पंचेषु कपालेषु संस्कृतः = पंचकपालः 'an offering prepared or offered in five cups.' So also दशकपालः 'prepared in ten cups.' These are names of Purodâsa offerings; and are formed by adding the affix अण् in the sense of 'refining an object of food' by sûtra IV. 2. 16; then this affix is elided (लुक्) by IV. 1, 88.

To take an example when an additional member comes after the compound. As पंचनावप्रियः 'loving five ships.' द्विनावरुप्यम् 'money which has come by two ships' (द्वि + नौ + टच् V. 4. 99 = द्विनाव)

Of an aggregate we have पंचपूली. The feminine is formed by IV. 1. 21.

कुत्सितानि कुत्सनैः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुत्सितानि कुत्सनैः, (स॰ वि॰ त॰ सु॰ सह॰ स॰) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुत्सितवाचीनि सुबन्तानि कुत्सनवचनैः सुबन्तैः सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

53. Case-inflected words expressing vileness are compounded with case-inflected words, expressing contempt, and the resulting eompound is Tat-purusha.

As वैयाकरणखसूचिः 'a bad or dull grammarian.' Here it might be asked is the word व्याकरणं 'grammar' a word of contempt, or the word वैयाकरण 'grammarian'? Neither 'Grammar' (it being a part of Vedanga,) nor the person who studies it *i. e.*, the grammarian, can be an object of contempt ordinarily.

The word 'grammarian' is, however, the expression of contempt in an indirect way, thus:—The person studying grammar but not studying it well, becomes an object of contempt and such a despicable person becomes also contaminated. The word खसूचि is a term of contempt *per se.* It literally means, a person who on being asked a question, and not possessing ready wit and intelligence to answer it, scratches his head and contemplates vacancy (खंसूचयति) and tries to divert the questioner's attention by exclaiming 'how beautifully clear is the sky,' such a person is called खसूचिः.

Such compounds are confined to cases where the reason for the use of any particular term is to express contempt with regard to the signification of that term. So we can not form a compound of the sentence वैयाकरणश्चौरः 'the thief grammarian;' for, contempt is not expressed with regard to the signification of the word 'grammarian.' But when the term 'grammarian' itself is used in a contemptuous signification, then a compound will be formed.

This aphorism is commenced in order to introduce an exception to sûtra 57, by which an adjective stands as the first member in a compound. By the present sûtra, however, the attributive word will stand as the second member.

Other examples of such compounds are: याज्ञिककितव: 'one who hankers after performing sacrifices for persons for whom one ought not to perform sacrifices' मीमांसक-दुर्दुरूढ: 'an unbelieving logician,' 'an athiest.'

No compound can be formed under this aphorism, if both the words are not used in an opprobatory signification as such. Therefore it is not in the following case. कुत्सितोब्राह्मण: 'the bad Brâhmaṇa' &c.

पापाणके कुत्सितैः ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाप-अणके , कुत्सितैः , (स०त०वि०सु०सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाप अणक एते सुबन्ते कुत्सितवचनैः सह समस्येते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

54. The case inflected words pâpa 'sin,' and aṇaka 'insignificant,' are compounded with words expressive of vileness, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Both the words पाप and अनक are words of contempt (कुत्सन) ; by the last sûtra, they would have stood as second members in the compound; the present sûtra, however, is so framed with regard to sûtras I. 2. 43 and II. 2. 30, that they will stand as first As पापनापित: or अणकनापित: 'a contemptible barber' पाप or अणक-कुलाल: 'a contemptible potter.'

उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमानानि , सामान्य-वचनैः , (स०त०वि०सु०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानवाचीनि सुबन्तानि सामान्यवचनैः सुबन्तैः सह समस्यन्ते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

55. Case-inflected words denoting objects of comparison, are compounded with words denoting what is likened to them, by reason of the latter possessing qualities in common with the former, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

That by or to which a thing is compared is 'upamâna' and the 'upameya' (the thing compared) is called समान्य or 'common.' Thus घनश्याम कृष्ण: 'cloud-black Krishna' (Krishna black as a cloud). Here श्याम is a quality common to Krishna and cloud: therefore 'cloud' which is the उपमान is compounded with it. So also कुमुदश्येनी 'lily-white.' हंसगद्गदा 'Swan-sounding' न्यग्रोध-परिमंडला 'globular as Nyagrodha tree.' For accent see VI. 2. 2.

But not so in देवदत्ता श्यामा 'black Devadatta' or फला इव तन्दुला: 'the rice are like fruits' पर्वता इव बलाहका: 'clouds like mountains.'

उपमितं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामान्याप्रयोगे ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमितम्, व्याघ्र-आदिभिः, सामान्य-अप्रयोगे, (स० त० वि० सु० स० उपमानानि स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमेयमुपमितं तद्वाचि सुबन्तं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामर्थ्याद् उपमानवचनैः सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति, न चेत्सामान्यवाचि शब्दः प्रयुज्यते ॥

56. A case-inflected word denoting subject of comparison is compounded with the words vyâghra 'tiger,' &c., the latter being the standard of comparison, and in construction with the former; and the compound is Tat-purusha; provided that any word expressing the common characteristic (सामान्य) as explained above, is not employed.

This is a modification of sûtra 57, by which the objective would have stood first; by the present, the attribute stands second. As पुरुषोऽयं व्याघ्रइव = पुरुषव्याघ्रः 'a person-tiger' (in strength) पुरुषसिंहः

In the last sûtra, the compounding was between the उपमान and the common quality. In the present, the compounding is between the उपमित and certain उपमान but never with सामान्य वचन. Therefore we can not form this kind of compound from the following sentence:— पुरुषो व्याघ्र इव शूरः 'a man strong as a tiger.' Similarly मुखपद्मम्, मुखकमलं, करकिसलयम्, पार्थिवचन्द्रम् ॥

The words व्याघ्र &c. are आकृतिगणः *i. e.*, this is a class of compound words, the fact of a word belonging to which, is known by its form, a posteriori and is not discoverable by any consideration of its constituent parts a priori.

The following is the list of such words:—

1. व्याघ्र = A tiger. 2. सिंह = A lion. 3. ऋक्ष = A bear. 4. ऋषभ = A bull. 5. चन्दन = Sandal. 6. वृक = A wolf. 7. वृष = A bull. 8. वराह = A boar, hog. 9. हस्तिन् = An elephant. 10. तरु = A tree. 11. कुञ्जर = An elephant. 12. रुरु = A kind of deer. 13. पृषत = The spotted antelope. 14. पुण्डरीक = A lotus flower. 15. पलाश = A tree Butea Frondosa. 16. कितव = A rogue, cheat.

आकृतिगणोऽयम्

1. मुखपद्मम्
2. मुखकमलम्

} A lotus-like face.

3. करकिसलयम् = Sprout-like hand, a tender hand. 4. पार्थिवचन्द्रः

विशेषणं विशेष्येण बहुलम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशेषणम् , विशेष्येण , बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विशेषणवाचि सुबन्तं विशेष्यवाचिना समानाधिकरणेन सुबन्तेन सह बहुलं समस्यते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

57. A case-inflected word denoting the qualifier (the Adjective), is compounded diversely with a case-inflected word denoting the thing thereby qualified, (the Substantive) the latter being in agreement (same case) with the former; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The 'discriminator' is called विशेषण and the 'discriminated' is called विशेष्य as नीलोत्पलं 'a blue lotus,' रक्तोत्पलं 'a red lotus.'

By using in the rule the expression बहुल 'diversely' it is meant that in some cases it is imperative to make a compound (नित्यसमास) as कृष्णसर्पः 'a black snake.' लोहितशालिः 'red rice':—and sometimes it is forbidden; as, रामो जामदग्न्यः 'Rama called also Jâmadagnya' (as being the son of Jamadagni): अर्जुनः कार्त्तवीर्यः—and in some cases it is optional, नीलमुत्पलं or नीलोत्पलं.

Why do we say 'qualifier?' Observe तक्षकः सर्पः 'the Takshaka snake.'

Why do we say 'qualified.' Observe लोहितस्तक्षकः 'the red Takshaka.'

पूर्वापरप्रथमचरमजघन्यसमानमध्यमध्यमवीराश्च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व-अपर-प्रथम-चरम-जघन्य-समान-मध्य-मध्यम-वीराः , च (स०त०वि०सु०स० समानाधिकरणेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्व अपर प्रथम चरम जघन्य समान मध्य मध्यम वीर इत्येते सुबन्ताः समानाधिकरणेन सुपा सह समस्यन्ते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

58. The case-inflected words pûrva 'prior,' apara 'other,' prathama 'first,' charama 'last,' jaghanya 'hindmost,' samâna 'equal,' madhya 'middle,' madhyama 'middle,' and vîra 'hero,' are compounded with words ending with a case-affix and which are in agreement (same case) with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As पूर्वपुरुषः 'ancestor,' (any one of the three, father, grandfather and great-grandfather), अपरपुरुषः 'successor,' चरमपुरुषः 'last person,' जघन्यपुरुषः 'hindermost person,' समानपुरुषः 'equal person,' मध्य or मध्यमपुरुषः 'middle person,' वीरपुरुषः 'heroic person.'

श्रेण्यादयः कृतादिभिः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रेणि-आदयः, कृत-आदिभिः, (स०त०वि०सु०स०समास) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रेण्यादयः सुबन्ताः कृतादिभिः समानाधिकरणैः समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ श्रेण्यादिषु च्व्यर्थवचनम् ॥

59. The case-inflected words śreṇî 'class' &c., are compounded with words kṛita 'made' &c., which are in agreement (same case), with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Vart:—The words श्रेणि &c., for the purposes of this sûtra, are supposed to have the force of the affix च्वि (chvi). Thus अश्रेणयः श्रेणयः कृताः = श्रेणिकृताः 'made into classes' (those who were not classified before).

The class of words called कृतादि are âkriti-gaṇa and cannot be known a priori. This Samâsa is also an invariable Samâsa by reason of sûtra II. 2. 18, since all words that end in chvi (च्वि) are called gati (I. 4. 61.)

1. श्रेणि = A line, a series. 2. एक = One or ऊक. 3. पूग = A heap, collection, multitude. 4. मुकुन्द = Name of Krishna or कुन्द. 5. राशि = A heap, mass, collection. 6. निचय = A collection, heap. 7. विषय = An object or विशेष. 8. निधन = Poor, indigent or विधान, निधान. 9. पर = Distant. 10. इन्द्र = The god of rain. 11. देव = Divine, celestial. 12. मुण्ड = Shaved, bald. 13. भूत = Become, being. 14. श्रमण = Sraman or श्रवण. 15. वदान्य = Liberal minded. 16. अध्यापक = A teacher. 17. अभिरूपक = Handsome. 18. ब्राह्मण = Brâhman. 19. क्षत्रिय = Kshatriya. 20. विशिष्ट = Distinguished, distinct. 21. पटु = Clever, skillful, dexterous. 22. पण्डित = Learned, wise. 23. कुशल = Right, proper, good. 24. चपल = Shaking, trembling, tremulous. 25. निपुण = Skillful, dexterous. 26. कृपण = Wretched, helpless.

आकृतिगणोऽयम्

1. कृत = Done, performed, made. 2. मित = Measured. 3. मत = Thought, believed, supposed. 4. भूत = Produced, formed. 5. उक्त = Said, spoken, uttered. 6. युक्त = Joined, united. 7. समाज्ञात = Known or understood thoroughly. 8. समाम्नात = Repeated, recited. 9. समाख्यात = Reckoned up, counted, summed up. 10. संभावित = Considered, supposed, imagined 11. संसेवित = Served. 12. अवधारित = Ascertained, known. 13. अवकल्पित = Corresponded with, answered. 14. निराकृत = expelled, banished. 15. उपकृत = Assisted, benefited, served &c. 16. उपाकृत = Invited. 17. दृष्ट = Seen, looked, perceived. 18. कलित = Counted. 19. दलित =

Broken, torn, rent, burst. 20. उदाहृत = Said, uttered. 21. विश्रुत = Well-known, renowned. 22. उदित = Risen.

क्तेन नञ्विशिष्टेनानञ् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तेन, नञ्-विशिष्टेन, अनञ्, (स०त०वि०स०समानधि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञैव विशेषो यस्य सर्वमन्यत् प्रकृत्यादिकं तुल्यं तन्नञ्विशिष्टं तेन नञ्विशिष्टेन क्तान्तेन समानाधिकरणेन सह अनञ् क्तान्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कृतापकृतादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥ १ ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ समानाधिकरणाधिकारे शाकपार्थिवादीनामुपसंख्यानम्, उत्तरपदलोपश्च ॥ २ ॥

60. A word ending with the affix kta, and not having the negative augment nañ is compounded with the same word ending with the affix kta but which is distinguished from the former, by having the augment nañ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus कृताकृतम् 'done and not done,' भुक्ताभुक्तं 'eaten and not eaten,' पीतापीतं 'drunk and not drunk,' उदितानुदितं 'spoken and not spoken.'

The intermediate augment न or the इ, as in the following two examples, do not make the forms dissimilar. अशितानशितेन जीवति, क्लिष्टाक्लिशितेन वर्त्तते ॥

Vart:—The compounds कृतापकृत &c. should also be included.

आकृतिगणोऽयम्

1. कृतापकृत. 2. भुक्तविभुक्त. 3. पीतविपीत. 4. गतप्रत्यागत. 5. यातानुयात. 6. क्रयाक्रयिका. 7. पुटापुटिका. 8. फलाफलिका. 9. मानोन्मानिका.

Vart:—The compounds like शाकपार्थिव should also be enumerated, and there is elision of the second member in these compounds. As शाकप्रियः पार्थिवः = शाकपार्थिवः 'the king beloved by the people of his era.' *i.e.* an era making king.

1. शाकपार्थिव. 2. कुतपसौश्रुत. 3. अजातौल्वलि.

सन्महत्परमोत्तमोत्कृष्टाः पूज्यमानैः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्-महत्-परम-उत्तम-उत्कृष्टाः, पूज्यमानैः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत् महत् परम उत्तम उत्कृष्ट इत्येते पूज्यमानैः सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

61. The words sat 'good,' mahat 'great,' parama 'highest,' uttama 'best,' and utkṛishṭa 'excellent,' are compounded with the words denoting the person deserving of respect; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As सत्पुरुषः 'a good person,' महापुरुषः 'a great man;' परमपुरुषः 'the highest person;' उत्तमपुरुषः 'the best person;' उत्कृष्टपुरुषः 'the excellent person.'

Why do we say 'with words denoting the person deserving of respect?' Observe उत्कृष्टः गौः कर्दमात् 'the ox was pulled out of the mud.'

वृन्दारकनागकुञ्जरैः पूज्यमानम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृन्दारक-नाग-कुञ्जरैः , पूज्यमानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृन्दारक नाग कुञ्जर इत्येतैः सह पूज्यमानवाचि सुबन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

62. A case-inflected word denoting object deserving of respect is compounded with the words vṛindâraka 'eminent,' nâga 'serpent or elephant,' kuñjara 'elephant'; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As गोवृन्दारकः 'an excellent bull or cow.' अश्ववृन्दारकः 'an excellent horse'. So also गोनागः, गोकुंजरः &c. Why do we say 'when meaning the object deserving of respect?' Observe सुसीमोनागः 'the serpent Susîma.'

कतरकतमौ जातिपरिप्रश्ने ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कतर-कतमौ , जातिपरिप्रश्ने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कतर-कतमौ जाति-परिप्रश्ने वर्तमानौ समर्थेन सुपा सह समस्येते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

63. The words katara 'which or who of two' and katama 'which or who of many', when used in asking questions about the genus or class, are compounded with other case-inflected words with which they are in construction, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As कतरकठः and कतरकालापः 'which of the two is kaṭha. and which kâlâpa?' कतमकठः and कतमकालापः 'which of these is kaṭha &c.'

It might be objected, 'what is the use of employing the word जातिपरिप्रश्न in the aphorism; since the word कतम is especially employed in asking such questions; (see V. 3. 93) and the word कतर will get the same signification by being read along with it?' The very use of this phrase

in the aphorism shows that the word कतम has other meanings besides that of an interrogative pronoun, of determining jâti; as कतरो भवतोर्देवदत्तः 'which of you two, Sirs, is Devadatta,' and कतमो भवतां देवदत्तः 'which of you, Sirs, is Devadatta.' Here there is no questioning about jâti, all belonging to the same genus, hence there is no compounding. (Accent VI. 2. 57.)

किं क्षेपे ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्, क्षेपे, (स०त०स०समानाधिकरणेनवि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमित्येतत् क्षेपे गम्यमाने सुपा सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

64. The word kim 'what,' when implying 'contempt,' is compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As किं राजा यो न रक्षति 'he is a bad king who does not protect his subjects.' किं सखा योऽभिद्रुह्यति 'he is a bad friend who hates.' किं गौः यो न वहति 'it is a bad ox that does not carry.'

The affix टच् (V. 4. 91) does not come after this compound as in महाराजः, मद्रराजः &c., by force of Rule V. 4. 70. Otherwise the form would have been किंराज and not किंराजा.

Why do we say 'when censure is implied?' Observe कस्य राजा = किं राजः 'whose king;' किंसखः

पोटायुवतिस्तोककतिपयगृष्टिधेनुवशावेहद्बष्कयणीप्रवक्तृश्रोत्रियाध्यापकधूर्तैर्जातिः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पोटा-युवति-स्तोक-कतिपय-गृष्टि-धेनु-वशा-वेहद्-बष्कयणी-प्रवक्तृ-श्रोत्रिय-अध्यापक-धूर्तैः, जातिः, (स०सह०, वि०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पोटादिभिः सह जातिवाचि सुबन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

65. A case-inflected word denoting a genus (jâti) is compounded with the words poṭâ 'a hermaphrodite,' yuvati, 'a young female,' stoka 'a little,' katipaya 'a few,' grishṭi 'a cow which has had only one calf,' dhenu 'milch-cow,' vaśâ 'a barren female,' vehad, 'a cow that miscarries,' bashkayaṇî 'a cow that has a full-grown calf,' pravaktṛi 'an expounder,' śrotriya 'a learned Brâhmana,' adhyâpaka 'a teacher,' and dhûrta 'a cunning fellow; and' the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

As इभपोटा 'a young female elephant' इभयुवति 'a female elephant.' So also अग्निस्तोकः 'a little fire' उदश्वित् कतिपयम् 'a little butter milk,' गोगृष्टिः, गोधेनुः, गोवशाः, गोवेहत्, गोवष्कयणी, कठप्रवक्ता 'an expounder of Katha', कठश्रोत्रिय, 'a Brâhmana who has mastered the Katha branch of the Yajur Veda' कठाध्यापकः 'a teacher of the Katha branch of the Yajur Veda.'

Why do we say 'when denoting a genus or a common noun?' Observe देवदत्तः प्रवक्ता 'Devadatta expounder.'

The word धूर्त has not a bad signification here. Hence कठधूर्त means 'a Brâhmana well versed in the Katha branch of the Yajur Veda'

प्रशंसावचनैश्च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि प्रशंसा-वचनैः, च, (स०त०वि०-जातिसह समानार्थे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचि सुबन्तं प्रशंसावचनैः सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

66. A case-inflected word denoting a genus (jâti) is compounded with a word denoting praise and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The words denoting praise should be rûḍhi (रूढि) words like मतल्लिका &c., which retain their specific gender though used along with words of other genders, in apposition with them, as, गोप्रकाण्डम् 'an excellent cow,' अश्वमतल्लिका 'an excellent horse' गोमचर्चिका 'an excellent cow.' These words are generally used at the end of a compound to denote 'excellence' or 'the best of its kind.'

Why do we say 'when denoting genus?' Observe कुमारी मतल्लिका 'an excellent virgin.'

युवा खलतिपलितवलिनजरतीभिः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ युवा, खलति-पलित-वलिन- जरतीभिः, (स०वि०त०स०सह समानाधिकरणेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खलत्यादिभिः समानाधिकरणैः सह युवशब्दः समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

67. The word yuvâ 'young,' is compounded with the words khalati, 'bald headed,' palita 'grey-haired' valina 'wrinkled,' jarati 'decayed,' when they are in agreement (same case); and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word जरतीभि is exhibited in the feminine gender, in the aphorism, with the object of indicating the existence of the following maxim of interpretation प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् ॥

'A Prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.'

As, युवा + खलतिः = युवाखलतिः. So also युवतिः खलती = युवखलती in the feminine: 'bald in youth.' So युवपलितः fem. युवपलिता, 'grey-haired in youth' युववलिनः fem. युववलिना 'wrinkled in youth' युवजरन् fem. युवजरती 'appearing old in youth,' (prematurely old.)

कृत्यतुल्याख्या अजात्या ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य-तुल्य-आख्या, अजात्या, (स० वि० त० स० सु०)

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्य-प्रत्ययान्तास्तुल्यपर्यायाश्च सुबन्ता अजातिवचनेन समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

68. Words ending with a kṛitya affix, and the word tulya 'equal,' and its synonyms, are compounded with words which do not denote genus (jâti) being in the same case with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, भोज्योष्णम् 'hot food,' भोज्यलवणं 'salt food' पानीयशीतलं 'cool drink, तुल्यश्वेतः 'equally white,' सदृशश्वेतः 'equally white.' सदृशमहान् 'equally great.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting a genus'? Observe भोज्य ओदनः 'eatable rice.' Here the word भोज्य is used as an Adjective and not as a common noun. Hence there is no compounding even under II. 1. 57.

वर्णो वर्णेन ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णः, वर्णेन, (स० त० वि० सह समानाधि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्णविशेषवाचि सुबन्तं वर्णविशेषवाचिना सुबन्तेन समानाधिकरणेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

69. A case-inflected word denoting 'colour' is compounded with another case-inflected word which is in agreement with the former, and also denotes colour, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As कृष्णसारङ्गः 'spotted antelope,' लोहितसारङ्गः 'antelope dappled with red.' कृष्णशबलः 'dappled with black spots' &c. For accent VI. 2. 3.

कुमारः श्रमणादिभिः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमारः, श्रमण-आदिभिः, (स०वि०त०स०समा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमारशब्दः श्रमणादिभिः सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

70. The word kumâra 'a boy' is compounded with co-ordinate words śramanâ 'an ascetic,' &c., and the compound is Tat-purusha.

In this list of श्रमणा and the rest, with the words which are feminine such as श्रमणा, प्रव्रजिता, कुलटा, the word कुमार must also be in the feminine gender; with the words which appear as masculine, e.g. अध्यापक, अभिरूपक, पंडित the word कुमार must also be masculine, because 'a Prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.

As, कुमारीश्रमणा and कुमारश्रमणा 'a virgin ascetic or a bachelor ascetic.'

श्रमणादिः ॥

1. श्रमणा = Labouring, toiling. 2. प्रव्रजिता = Gone abroad or into exile. 3. कुलटा = An unchaste woman. 4. गर्भिणी = A pregnant female. 5. तापसी = A hermit, devotee. 6. दासी = A female servant. 7. बन्धकी = An unchaste woman. 8. अध्यापक = A teacher. 9. अभिरूपक = Handsome. 10. पण्डित = Learned, wise. 11. मृदु = Soft. 12. कुशल = Right, proper, good. 13. चपल = Shaking, trembling. 14. निपुण = Clever, sharp, skillful.

चतुष्पादो गर्भिण्या ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुष्पादः, गर्भिण्या, (स०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुष्पाद्वाचिनः सुबन्ता गर्भिणी शब्देन समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चतुष्पाज्जातिरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

71. A case-inflected word denoting a quadruped is compounded with the co-ordinate word garbhiṇí, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

गोगर्भिणी 'a pregnant cow.' अजागर्भिणी 'a pregnant she-goat.'

Vart:—It should be stated that the rule is confined to the words denoting genus of quadrupeds. So not here:—कालाक्षी गर्भिणी or स्वस्तिमती गर्भिणी 'the pregnant cow called Kâlâkshî or Svastimatî.'

Why do we say 'quadrupeds?' Observe ब्राह्मणी गर्भिणी

मयूरव्यंसकादयश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयूर-व्यंसक-आदयः, च, स०त०वि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुदाया एव निपात्यन्ते मयूरव्यंसकादयः शब्दास्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञाश्च भवंति ॥

72. And the words mayûra-vyamsakâ 'cunning like a peacock,' &c., are Tat-purusha compounds.

These are irregularly formed Tat-purusha compounds. The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of restriction. For though the compound like मयूरव्यंसक is allowable, we cannot form a compound like परम मयूरव्यंसक.

The following is the list of such compounds :—

मयूरव्यंसकादयः ॥

1. मयूरव्यंसक. 2. छात्रव्यंसक. 3. कम्बोजमुण्ड. 4. यवनमुण्ड. 5. हस्तेगृह्य or हस्तगृह्य in the Vedas. 6. पादेगृह्य or पादगृह्य. 7. लाङ्गूलेगृह्य or लाङ्गूलगृह्य. 8. पुनर्दाय ॥ एहीडादयो ऽन्यपदार्थे as, 9. एहीडं वर्तते. 10. एहियवं वर्तते ॥ 11. एहिवाणिजा (क्रिया). 12. अपेहिवाणिजा. 13. प्रेहिवाणिजा. 14. एहिस्वागता. 15. अपेहिस्वागता. 16. एहिद्वितीया. 17. अपेहिद्वितीया. 18. प्रेहिद्वितीया. 19. एहिकटा. 20. अपेहिकटा or अपोहिकटा. 21. प्रेहिकटा or प्रोहकटा. 22. आहरकरटा. 23. प्रेहिकर्दमा. 24. प्रोहकर्दमा. 25. विधमचूडा. 26. उद्धमचूडा. 27. उद्धरचूडा. 28. आहरचेला. 29. आहर वसना. 30. (आहरसेना). 31. आहरवनिता. 32. (आहरवितना). 33. कृन्तविचक्षणा. 34. उद्धरोत्सृजा. 35. उद्धरावसृजा. 36. उद्धमविधमा. 37. उत्पचनिपचा or विपचा. 38. उत्पतनिपता. 39. उच्चावचम्. 40. उच्चनीचम्. 41. आचोपचम्. 42. आचपराचम्. 43. नखप्रचम्. 44. निश्चप्रचम्. 45. अकिंचन. 46. स्नात्वाकालक. 47. पीत्वास्थिरक. 48. भुक्त्वासुहित. 49. प्रोष्यपापीयान्. 50. उत्पत्यपाकला or व्याकुला. 51. निपत्यरोहिणी. 52. निषण्णश्यामा. 53. अपेहिप्रघसा. 54. एहिविघसा. 55 इहपञ्चमी. 56. इहद्वितीया ॥ जहि कर्मणा बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये कर्तारं चाभिदधाति. 57. जहिजोडः. 58. जहिजोडम्. 59. जहिस्तम्बम्. 60. (जहिस्तम्बः). 61. उज्जहिस्तम्ब or म्ब; आख्यातमाख्यातेन क्रियासातत्ये. 62. अश्नीतपिबता. 63. पचतभृज्जता. 64. खादतमोदता. 65. खादतवमता. 66. खादताचमता. 67. आहरनिवपा. 68. आहरनिष्किरा. 69. आवपनिष्किरा. 70. उत्पचविपचा. 71. भिन्धिलवणा. 72. कृन्धिविचक्षणा. 73. पचलवणा. 74. पचप्रकूटा.

आकृतिगणोऽयम् .

1. अकुतोऽभयः . 2. कान्दिष्कर्णकः . 3. कान्दिशीकः . 4. आहोपुरुषिका . 5. अहमहमिका . 6, यदृच्छा . 7. एहिरेयाहिरा . 8. उन्मृजावमृजा . 9. द्रव्यान्तरम् . 10. अवश्यकार्यम् .

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॥ अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER II.

पूर्वापराधरोत्तरमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व-अपर-अधर-उत्तरम्, एकदेशिना, एकाधिकरणे, (स०त०वि०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकदेशोऽस्यास्तीत्येकदेशी अवयवी तद्वाचिना सुबन्तेन सह पूर्वापराधरोत्तरशब्दाः सामर्थ्यादेकदेशवचनाः समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

1. The words pûrva 'front,' apara 'near,' adhara 'lower,' and uttara 'upper,' are compounded when in construction with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity; and the compound is Tat-purusha

The word 'ekâdhikaraṇa' (the unity of substance) is the attribute of or qualifies the word 'ekadeśin.' This debars the Genitive Tat-purusha compound ordained by sûtra 9; which would have placed the words 'pûrva' &c., last in the compound, whereas being here exhibited in the nominative case (I. 2. 43 and II. 2. 30), they take the precedence.

पूर्वं + कायस्य = पूर्वकायः 'the front of the body'; अपरकायः 'the back of the body'; अधरकायः 'the lower part of the body'; and उत्तरकायः 'the upper part of the body.'

Why do we say 'what signifies a thing that has parts'? Observe पूर्वं नाभेः कायस्य. But not so in पूर्वं छात्राणामामन्त्रय 'invite the fore-most of the pupils': because here the substratum (adhikaraṇa) is not unity (eka). But how do we get the compounds like मध्याह्नः 'noon'; सायाह्नः 'evening'? The word 'ahna' is compounded with every word signifying its parts, because we learn this by inference from sûtra VI. 3. 110.

अर्द्धं नपुंसकम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्द्धम्, नपुंसकम्, (स०वि०त०सु०स०एकदेशिना एकाधिकरणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्द्धमित्येतन्नपुंसकमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणेन समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

2. The word अर्द्ध ardha when it signifies exactly equal parts i. e. halves, is always neuter, and is compounded with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing halved is numerically one; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word अर्द्ध is neuter when it means exactly equal parts or bisection.

The word एकदेशिन् and एकाधिकरण are understood here. This sûtra also debars sutra 9; as अर्द्धंपिप्पल्याः = अर्द्धपिप्पली 'a half of the pepper'; अर्द्धकोशातकी 'a half of the Kośâtakî.'

Why do we say 'when it is neuter'? Otherwise we have ग्रामार्द्धः 'half the village'? नगरार्द्धः 'half the city.'

The word 'ekadeśin' must also be taken here. Thus in the sentence अर्द्धं पशोर्देवदत्तस्य 'a half of the animal is of Devadatta'; we cannot compound the word 'ardha' with 'Devadatta.'

The word 'ekâdhikarana' must also be taken here. So we cannot compound अर्द्धं पिप्पलीनाम् 'the half of the peppers.'

द्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थतुर्याण्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीय-तृतीय-चतुर्थ-तुर्याणि, अन्यतरस्याम्, (स०त०वि०एक-एक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयादीनि शब्दरूपाणि एकदेशिनैकाधिकरणेन सहान्यतरस्यां समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

3. The words dvitîya, 'second,' tṛitîya 'third,' chaturtha 'fourth,' and turya 'fourth,' are optionally compounded with that word which signifies a thing that has parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity. The compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

This also debars sûtra 9. By the force of the word 'optionally' used here, II. 2. 9. also applies. The prohibition contained in II. 2. 11. as to the compounding of a genitive with an ordinal, does not apply here; for that rule can find its scope in other ordinals than those mentioned here.

As द्वितीयं भिक्षायाः = द्वितीयभिक्षा 'second begging.' When we apply sûtra 9, we have भिक्षाद्वितीयं. So also with the words तृतीयभिक्षा, चतुर्थभिक्षा, तुर्यभिक्षा.

Vart:—The word तुरीय 'fourth' should also be included. As भिक्षातुरीयं or तुरीयभिक्षा.

But we cannot form compounds, for reasons given in the last sûtra, of the phrases द्वितीयं भिक्षाया भिक्षुकस्य or द्वितीयं भिक्षाणाम् .

प्राप्तापन्ने च द्वितीयया ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राप्त-आपन्ने, च, द्वितीयया, (स०त०वि०स०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राप्त आपन्न इत्येतौ द्वितीयान्तेन सह समस्येते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

4. The words prâpta 'obtained,' and âpanna 'obtained' are optionally compounded with words ending in a second case-affix and form Tat-purusha compound.

The anuvṛitti of the words 'ekadeśin' and 'ekâdhikaraṇa' does not exist here. This aphorism states an alternative course to rule II. 1. 24. Thus we have प्राप्तजीविकः (प्राप्तो जीविकां) or जीविकाप्राप्तः 'obtained his livelihood.' So also आपन्नजीविकः or जीविकापन्नः .

कालाः परिमाणिना ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालाः, परिमाणिना, (स०वि०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणमस्यास्तीति परिमाणी तद्वाचिना सुबन्तेन सह सामर्थ्यात् परिमाणवचनाः कालशब्दाः समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

5. Words denoting time are compounded when in construction, with words denoting the object whose duration is measured by the time, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

5 This is also a kind of genitive compound. As मासो जातस्य = मासजातः 'a month old' (born a month ago.) So also संवत्सरजातः 'a year old.' द्व्यहजातः 'two-days' old.' &c.

नञ् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञ्, (समर्थः स०वि०त०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ् समर्थेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नञो नलोपस्तिङि क्षेपे ॥

6. The negative word nañ is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As न ब्राह्मणः = अब्राह्मणः 'who is not a Brâhmaṇa,' (though a man). The न् of न is elided by VI. 3. 73:

Vart:—The न् of न is also elided even when the second member is a verb, provided that censure is implied as अपचसि त्वं जाल्म 'thou cookest not O knave.'

The word नञ् has six senses:—(1) सादृश्य 'likeness or resemblance'; as अब्राह्मण: 'one like a Brâhmaṇa and wearing the sacred thread &c., but not a Brâhmaṇa, but a Kshatriya or a Vaisya.' (2) अभाव 'absence,' 'negation,' 'want,' or 'privation,' as अज्ञान 'absence of knowledge.' (3) भेद: 'difference' or 'distinction,' as अपट: 'not a cloth, but something different from or other than a cloth'. (4) अल्पता 'smallness,' 'diminution' used as diminutive particle, as अनुदरा 'having a slender waist.' (5) अप्राशस्त्य 'badness,' 'unfitness,' having a depreciative sense, as अकाल 'wrong or improper time.' (6) विरोध 'opposition,' 'contrariety,' as अनीति: 'opposite of morality,' 'immorality.'

ईषदकृता ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषद् , अकृता , (स०त०वि०सु०स०)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदित्ययं शब्दोऽकृदन्तेन सुपा सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ईषद् गुणवचनेनेतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

7. The word îshat 'a little,' is compounded with a case-inflected word which does not end with a kṛit-affix; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Vart:—It should be stated that the word ईषत् is only compounded with words expressing qualities (adjectives), as ईषत्कडार: 'a somewhat proud.' ईषत्पिङ्गल: 'a little brownish.' ईषद्विकट: 'a little hideous.' ईषदुन्नत: 'a little raised.' ईषत् पीतम् 'a little yellow.' ईषद्रक्तम् 'a little red.'

Why do we say 'with words expressing qualities'? Observe ईषद्गार्ग्य:; there is no compounding here.

षष्ठी ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी , (स०वि०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षष्ठ्यन्तं सुबन्तं समर्थेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कृद्योगा च षष्ठी समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As राज्ञ: पुरुषो = राजपुरुष: 'the king's man' ब्राह्मणकम्बल: 'the Brâhmaṇa's blanket.'

Vart:—When a word takes the genitive case because of its connection with a word ending in a kṛit affix; that word may be compoundedwith such a kṛit word. Rule II. 3. 65., states the conditions when a kṛit-formed

word governs the genitive case. Thus इध्मप्रव्रश्चन: 'a hatchet' (a fuel cutter), पलाशशातन: 'Palâsadestroyer.

Why do we say so? The very fact that a special rule has been made for the compounding of genitive cases governed by kṛit-nouns, shows that other words which take genitive case by some special rule, are not so compounded. Such as the genitive cases ordained by II. 3. 38, 51, 52. In fact the genitive case ordained by any rule of Pâṇini, other than II. 3. 51, is a 'prâtipadavidhâna' genitive; and a word taking genitive case according to those rules, is incapable of composition; see vârtika under II. 2. 10.

याजकादिभिश्च ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ याजक-आदिभिः, च, (स० त० वि० सु० स० षष्ठी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ याजकादिभिः सह षष्ठी समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तत्स्थैश्च गुणैः षष्ठी समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गुणोत्तरेण तरलोपश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

9. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with the word yâjaka 'sacrificer' &c., and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The compound which was ordained by the last aphorism, would have been prohibited by Rule 16 in the case of याजक &c.; hence the necessity of the present aphorism to guard against such a prohibition. As ब्राह्मणयाजक: 'a Brâhmana's sacrificer.' क्षत्रिययाजक: 'one who sacrifices for Kshatriyas.

(याजकादि).

1. याजक. 2. पूजक. 3. परिचारक. 4. परिवेषक. 5. परिवेचक. 6. स्नापक or स्नातक. 7. अध्यापक. 8. उत्साहक or उत्सादक. 9. उद्वर्तक. 10. होतृ. 11. भर्तृ. 12. रथगणक. 13. पत्तिगणक. 14. पोतृ. 15. हतृ. 16. वर्तक.

Vart:—A word in the genitive case is compounded with a word expressing a quality which abides in the former word. As ब्राह्मणवर्ण: 'Brâhmana-caste.' चंदनगन्ध: 'sandal-scent.' कपित्थरस: 'the wood-apple juice.'

Vart:—So also with an adjective in the comparative degree; and the sign of comparison तर is elided. Thus सर्वेषां श्वेततर: = सर्वश्वेत: 'the whitest of all.' सर्वेषां महत्तर: = सर्वमहान् 'the greatest among all.' This 'vârtika' is an exception in anticipation to the next sûtra which prohibits composition, when the genitive has the force of specification. Thus सर्वशुक्ला गौः 'a cow whitest among all.'

न निर्द्धारणे ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, निर्द्धारणे , (स०त०वि०ष०-स०षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्द्धारणे या षष्ठी सा न समस्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रतिपदविधाना च षष्ठी न समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

10. A word in the genitive case is not compounded with another, when the force of the sixth case-affix is that of specification (nirdhâraṇa).

With this sûtra, begins a series of exceptions to the composition of words in the genitive case. The separation of one from the many, on account of its genus, attribute and action, is called 'nirdhârana.' As क्षत्रियो मनुष्याणां शूरतमः 'the Kshatriya is the most powerful amongst men.' कृष्णा गवां संपन्नक्षीरतमः 'the black cow is the most milk-giving amongst cows.' धावन्नध्वगानां शीघ्रतमः 'the runner is the swiftest amongst walkers.' This form of genitive meaning 'amongst,' is ordained by sûtra II. 3. 41.

Vart:—A word taking a genitive-case by force of any rule other than sûtra II. 3. 50, is never compounded. See sûtra 8. Thus the following words are never compounded सर्पिषोज्ञानम्, मधुनोज्ञानम्.

पूरणगुणसुहितार्थसदव्ययतव्यसमानाधिकरणेन ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूरण-गुण-सुहित-अर्थ-सद्-अव्यय-तव्य-समानाधिकरणेन (षष्ठीन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूरण गुण सुहितार्थ सद् अव्यय तव्य समानाधिकरण इत्येतैः सह षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

11. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word having the sense of an ordinal, an attribute, or satisfaction, or with a participle ending in the affix called 'sat' (III. 2. 127) or an indeclinable, or ending with the affix tavya, or with a word denoting the same object (i.-e., when they are in apposition).

The word 'artha' joins with all the first three words, as (1) छात्राणां पंचमः 'fifth amongst the pupils;' छात्राणाम् दशमः (2) काकस्य कार्ष्ण्यम् 'the blackness of the crow,' बलाकायाः शौक्ल्यम्. (3) फलानां सुहितः 'satisfied of fruits;' फलानां तृप्तः. (4) ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वन् 'the doing of a Brâhmana;' ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वाणः 'the doing of a Brâhmana. (5) ब्राह्मणस्य कृत्वा 'being done of Brâhmaṇa,' ब्राह्मणस्य हृत्वा. (6) ब्राह्मणस्य कर्तव्यम्.. When however the affix is तव्यत् having the indicatory त् (III. 1. 96.) there is compounding as ब्राह्मणकर्तव्यं 'the Brâhmaṇa's duty.' (7) राज्ञः पाटलिपुत्रकस्य 'of the king Pataliputraka' पाणिनेः सूत्रकारस्य 'of the sûtra composer

Pâṇini.' We can however form a compound like the following सन्नकारपाणिनिः। By the general rule relating to words in apposition contained in sûtra II. 1. 57, the difference between that sûtra and the present, is as to position of the words. In the genitive compound the genitive word would have stood first if compounded; not so in the other, there the quality stands first.

क्तेन च पूजायाम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तेन, च, पूजायाम्, (स० षष्ठी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तो यः पूजायां विहितस्तेन षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

12. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of 'kta' is to denote 'respect' &c.

The affix क्त is added in the sense of inclination, understanding or respect by sûtra III. 2. 188. The present sûtra alludes to that aphorism when it uses the word पूजा: and pûjâ itself is used only as an illustration and includes the other two significations of 'kta' also, namely mati 'inclination,' and buddhi 'understanding.'

As राज्ञां मतः—बुद्धः—पूजितः 'the king wishes, understands or respects.'

Why do we say 'when meaning respect'? When 'kta' has not this signification there is compounding. As छात्रहसितं 'pupil's laughing.'

अधिकरणवाचिना च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरण-वाचिना, च, (स० षष्ठी न क्तेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणवाचिना क्तेन षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

13. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of the latter is to denote 'locality' in which something has happened.

When the affix क्त is attached to roots denoting 'fixedness, motion or eating', it gives the sense of agent and of location in connection with the action denoted by the roots *i. e.*, that the action is located by the agent in this or that site (III. 4. 76); as इदमेषां यातम् 'here they have gone.' इदमेषां भुक्तम् 'here they have eaten.'

कर्मणि च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, च, (स० षष्ठी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि च या षष्ठी सा न समस्यते ॥

14. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with another, when the force of the genitive case is that of the accusative.

The anuvṛitti of क्त does not extend to this aphorism. The word karma qualifies shashṭhi. Sûtra II. 3. 66 declares the conditions when, instead of the accusative, the genitive may be employed *i. e.*, when the agent and the object of the action denoted by the nouns formed by kṛit affixes, are both used in a sentence, the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent; as आश्चर्यो गवां दोहोऽगोपालकेन 'the milking of cows without a cowherd is a wonder.' रोचते ओदनस्य भोजनं देवदत्तेन 'eating of rice agrees with Devadatta.' साधु खलु पयसः पानं देवदत्तेन 'the drinking of milk by Devadatta is indeed excellent.' विचित्रा सूत्रस्य कृतिः पाणिनिना 'wonderful is the structure of sûtras by Páṇini'

तृजकाभ्यां कर्तरि ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृज्-अकाभ्याम्, कर्तरि, (स॰षष्ठी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि या षष्ठी सा तृचाऽकेन च सह न समस्यते ॥

15. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'trich' or 'aka,' when the force of the genitive case is that of an agent.

The word 'kartari' qualifies the genitive-case. The affix तृच् is taught in sûtra III. 1. 133, and the affix अक is not a single affix; all affixes that have an element वु are अक; such as ण्वुवुल् or वुम् or वुन् (sûtra VII. 1. 1.) Thus भवतः शायिका 'your honor's repose' भवत आसिका 'your eating' भवतोऽग्रगामिका 'your going in front.'

The affix तृच् is employed always in forming nouns of agency; hence there can be no example of a word in a genitive case having the force of an agent, governing another word also having the force of an agent. The तृच् therefore serves no purpose in this aphorism, but applies to the sûtras that follow.

The genitive has the force of an agent under conditions mentioned in II. 3. 65.

Why do we say 'when it denotes agent'? Observe इक्षुभक्षिकां मे धारयसि.

कर्तरि च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, च (स॰षष्ठीनतृजकाभ्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि च यौ तृजकौ ताभ्यां सह षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

16. A word ending with the sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'trich' or 'aka' affix when the force of these latter affixes is that of an agent.

The word 'kartari' qualifies the word 'aka' only and not 'trich,' for the latter always denotes the agent and nothing else.

As अपां स्रष्टा 'the creator of waters' पुरां भेत्ता 'the destroyer of cities' वज्रस्य भर्त्ता 'the holder of thunderbolt.'

It might be suggested that the word भर्तृ being read in the class of याजक (sûtra 9) ought to be compounded. The word भर्तृ there means 'husband,' while in the example we have given, it means 'holder.'

The above are examples of words formed by तृच्. Now we shall give examples of words formed by अक; thus ओदनस्य भोजकः 'the eater of rice,' सक्तूनां पायकः 'the drinker of saktu.'

नित्यं क्रीडाजीविकयोः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, क्रीडाजीविकयोः, (सु॰त॰षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीडायां जीविकायां च नित्यं षष्ठी समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

17. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending with aka, when these affixes denote a sport or a livelihood; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This is a Nitya-samâsa incapable of analysis. This anuvṛitti of the word 'na' which began with sútra 10, does not extend further. The affix तृच् never has the sense of sporting or livelihood; the only examples possible are of 'aka.' Thus उद्दालकपुष्पभञ्जिका 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which uddâlaka flowers are broken or crushed.' So also वारणपुष्पप्रचायिका 'a play of gathering flowers.'

So also दन्तलेखकः 'one who earns his bread by painting or marking the teeth.' नखलेखक 'a nail-painter by profession.'

Why do we say 'when meaning sporting or livelihood.' Observe ओदनस्य भोजकः.

कुगतिप्रादयः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कु-गति-प्र-आदयः, (स॰त॰-नित्यसमर्थःसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कु गति प्रादयः समर्थेन शब्दान्तरेण सह नित्यं समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रादयो गताद्यर्थे प्रथमया ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अत्यादयः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे द्वितीयया ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अवादयः क्रुष्टाद्यर्थे तृतीयया ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पर्यादयो ग्लानाद्यर्थे चतुर्थ्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निरादयः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे पञ्चम्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इवेन सह नित्यसमासो विभक्त्यलोपः पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वं च वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रादिप्रसङ्गे कर्मप्रवचनीयानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

18. The indeclinable word ku 'bad,' the particles called gati, and the prepositions pra, &c., are invariably compounded with other words with which they are in construction; and the resulting compound is Tat purusha.

The word ku means 'badness or sin'; as, कुपुरुष· 'a sinful man'; (2) Gati (I. 4. 60) as, ऊररीकृतं 'having asserted'; (I. 4. 61.) यदूरीकरोति ॥

So also with the words प्र &c., when they are mere particles and not used as 'upasargas,' or 'gati'; as दुर् meaning 'bad,' in दुष्पुरुष: 'a bad man'; so also सु and अति meaning 'respect' in सुपुरुष: 'honorable man'; अतिपुरुष: 'excellent man'; आ means 'a little' as आपिङ्गल: 'brownish.

Generally these are attributive words but they are found elsewhere also, as कोष्णं or कदुष्णम् or कवोष्णन् 'tepid.' So also दुष्कृतम्, अतिस्तुतम् and आवद्धम् ॥

Vart:—The words प्र &c., when the sense is that of 'gone' or the like, combine with what ends with the first case-affix. Thus प्राचार्य: 'a heredetory teacher'; so also प्रान्तेवासी.

Vart:—The words अति &c., when the thing denoted has the sense of 'gone beyond' or the like, combine with what ends with the second case affix. As अतिक्रान्त: खट्वाम् = अतिखट्व: (I. 2. 44 and 48) 'without a bed-stead,' अतिमाल: 'exceeding the necklace in beauty.'

Vart:—The words अव &c., when the thing denoted is 'cried out' &c., are compounded with what ends with third case-affix as अवक्रुष्ट: कोकिलया = अव कोकिल: 'what is announced by the cuckoo' *i. e.*, the Spring.

Vart:—The words परि &c., when the thing denoted is 'weary' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fourth case-affix as परिग्लानोऽध्ययनाय = पर्यध्ययन: 'weary of study.' अलंकुमारि: 'wealth' (sufficient to support a maiden).

Vart:—The words निर् &c., when the thing denoted is 'gone beyond' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fifth case-affix, as निष्कौशाम्बि: 'who has gone beyond Kausâmbi'; so also निर्वाराणसि: .

Vart:—A word enters into composition with इव 'like'; and there is no elision of the case-affix, and the first member of the compound retains its natural accent, as वागर्थाविव 'like a word and its meaning,' वाससीइव 'like two garments.'

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of प्र &c., when they are 'Karma pravachaniya'; as वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते विद्युत् 'the lightening flashes in the direction of the tree.' साधु देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति 'Devadatta is good towards his mother.'

उपपदमतिङ् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपपदम्, अतिङ् (स०त०-नि०समर्थःसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपदमतिङन्तं समर्थेन शब्दान्तरेण सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

19. An upapada or attendant word (III. 1. 92), which does not end with a tense-affix (III. 4. 78) is invariably compounded with that with which it is in construction. The compound thus formed is Tat-purusha.

Thus कुम्भकारः 'one who makes pots,' नगरकारः 'one who makes cities.'

Why do we say 'which does not end with a tense-affix'? Observe एधानाहारको व्रजति 'he goes to bring fuel.

It might be objected, that the question of compounding with a word ending in a tense-affix is irrelevant; since the anuvṛitti of the words सुप् सुपा is understood here, so that तिङ् will find no scope. To this we reply that we should infer that the words सुप् सुपा should not be read into this and the last aphorism. The following Paribhâsha also arises from this sûtra.

गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्भिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेः ॥

"It should be stated that Gatis, Kârakas, and Upapadas, are compounded with bases that end with kṛit-affixes, before a case-termination or feminine-affix has been added to the latter."

The result is that Upapadas and Gatis are not compounded by sûtras 18 and 19 with case-inflected nouns, but they are compounded with primary nouns before a case-termination or feminine affix is added to the latter. The same considerations apply to kârakas also. Thus अश्वक्रीती 'a female brought in exchange for a horse,' is formed correctly. अश्वेन क्रीयते सा = अश्व क्रीत; add ङीष (IV. 1. 50) and we have अश्वक्रीती. If on the other hand, the feminine affix टाप् had been added to क्रीत previous to its composition with अश्व the form would have been अश्वक्रीता, and we should have had no base ending with short अ and in that case ङीष् could not have been added by IV. 1. 50.

अमैवाव्ययेन ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अमा, एव, अव्ययेन (स०त०-नि०स०उपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययेनोपपदस्य यः समासः सोऽमैव भवति नान्येन ॥

20. When an upapada is compounded with an indeclinable, then it is compounded only with those avyayas which end in the affix अम्.

This makes a restriction to the general compounding of upapadas with avyayas as ordained by the last rule. As स्वादुंकारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats having made his food sweet.' So also लवणकारं 'having seasoned.' The avyayas ending in अम् are formed by the affix णमुल् (III. 4. 26) &c.

Why do we say 'with avyayas ending in अम्'? Observe कालो भोक्तुम् 'the time of eating.' Here the avyaya ends in उम् of the affix तुमुन् added by rule III. 3. 167 (the affix tumun may be applied, when the word in construction is not a verb, but काल , समय or वेला 'time.')

The force of the word only is to indicate that this composition takes place in those cases where a rule ordains अम् only, after any root with regard to any upapada; so that no composition will take place where the affix अम् as well as another affix is ordained after a root with certain upapadas. Thus sûtra III. 4. 24, declares: "the affixes क्त्वा and णमुल् come after a verb when the words अग्रे , प्रथम and पूर्व are upapadas." Here the अम् (affix णमुल्) is not the sole affix ordained ; but there is a co-ordinate affix with it namely क्त्वा . Therefore in अग्रेभोजम् 'having first eaten' there is no composition because अग्रेभोजम् is not the onlv form we can have; for, अग्रेभुक्त्वा is also used in the same sense.

तृतीयाप्रभृतीन्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-प्रभृतीनि अन्यतरस्याम् (स०त०उ०अमैवाव्ययेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपदंशस्तृतीयायामित्यतः प्रभृति यान्युपपदानि तान्यमैवाव्ययेन सहान्यतरस्यां समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

21. An upapada ending with a third case-affix (III. 4. 47) &c., is compounded optionally with an indeclinable formed by the affix अम् and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The term अम् is understood here. The upapadas ending with a third case-affix &c., are given in sûtra III. 4. 47 and the sûtras that follow. As मूलकोपदंशं भुङ्क्ते or मूलकेनोपदंशं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats after having relished the food with radish.' So also पार्श्वोपपीडं or पार्श्वयोरुपपीडम् शेते (III. 4. 49) 'he lies pressing on his ribs.' For upapadas ending with other cases, see sûtra III. 4 52 &c. This being an optional rule, it is not necessary that the upapada should be tulya-vidhâna with the अम् ; so that this optional compounding may take place even under rule III. 4. 59 where अम् is not the only affix enjoined, but there is क्त्वा as well. This vibhâshâ may therefore be called both प्राप्त and अप्राप्त vibhâshâ. It is प्राप्त with regard to those rules where अम् is the only affix employed; and it is अप्राप्त with regard to those where अम् is not the only affix.

क्त्वा च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्त्वा , च, (स०त०तृतीयाप्रभृतीन्य-न्यतरस्याम् उप०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्त्वाप्रत्ययेन सह तृतीया प्रभृतीन्युपपदानि अन्यतरस्यां समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

22. An upapada ending with a third case-affix or any other of the remaining four cases, is optionally compounded with a word ending with the affix ktvâ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This rule provides for avyayas ending in क्त्वा which the last two rules did not provide. Thus we have उच्चैः कृत्य or उच्चैः कृत्वा . Here the affix क्त्वा is added by sûtra III. 4. 59, In the case when there is composition, the क्त्वा is replaced by the substitute ल्यप् ; otherwise not. See VII. 1. 37.

The condition of the upapadas being in the 3rd case &c., applies here also. Therefore there is no composition in अलं कृत्वा or खलु कृत्वा .

शेषो बहुव्रीहिः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषः , बहुव्रीहिः (स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषः समासो बहुव्रीहिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

23. The remaining compound is called Bahuvrîhi.

A compound which does not fall within any one of the rules given above, will be Bahuvrîhi. This is a governing aphorism and extends up to sûtra 28. Thus चित्रगुः 'possessed of a brindled cow.'

अनेकमन्यपदार्थे ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनेकम् , अन्य-पद-अर्थे (स०-बहुव्रीहि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनेकं सुबन्तमन्यपदार्थे वर्त्तमानं समस्यते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुव्रीहिः समानाधिकरणानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अव्ययानां च बहुव्रीहिर्वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सप्तम्युपमानपूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदलोपश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ समुदायविकारषष्ठ्याश्च बहुव्रीहिरुत्तरपदलोपश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रादिभ्यो धातुजस्योत्तरपदस्य लोपश्च वा बहुव्रीहिर्वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नञोऽस्त्यर्थानां बहुव्रीहिर्वा चोत्तरपदलोपश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुबधिकारेऽस्तिक्षीरादीनां बहुव्रीहिर्वक्तव्यः ॥

24. Two or more words, ending in any case-affix, form a compound, denoting another new thing, not connoted by those words individually; and the compound is called Bahuvrîhi.

The Bahuvrîhi compound comes with the force of all the affixes but the first; as प्राप्तमुदकं ग्रामं = प्राप्तोदको ग्राम: 'a water-reached village.' ऊढरथोऽनड्वान् 'a bull by whom a cart is drawn.' उपहृतपशुरुद्रः 'Rûdra to whom cattle is offered.' उद्धृतौदना स्थाली 'a vessel in which rice is placed.' चित्रगुर्देवदत्त: 'Devadatta possessed of a brindled cow.' वीरपुरुषको ग्राम: 'a village possessed of heroic men.'

Bahuvrîhi compound is not formed with the sense of the first case. As वृष्टे देवे गत: 'gone when it had rained.'

Why do we say 'more than one'? So that there may be compounding of many words, as in the following verse :—

सुसूक्ष्मजटकेशेन सुलभाजिनवाससा । पुत्री पर्वतराजस्य कुतो हेतोर्विवाहिता ॥ .

'Why was the daughter of the king of the mountains married by Siva possessed of beautifully-delicate-locked-hair, and cheap-deer-skin-dress.'

Vart:—Bahuvrîhi compounds are formed of words having the same case, so that words not being in apposition are not so compounded; as पंचभिर्भुक्तमस्य .

Vart :—The compounds of indeclinables are Bahuvrîhi'; as उच्चैर्मुख: 'possessed of raised mouth.' So also नीचैर्मुख: &c.

Vart:—The second member is elided in a Bahuvrîhi compound of which the first member is a word in the locative case, or a word with which comparison is made (उपमान). As, कण्ठे स्थित: कालोऽस्य = कण्ठे काल: 'in whose throat there is blackness (Siva).' उरसिलोम: 'who has hair on his chest.' उष्ट्रस्य मुखमिव मुखं यस्य स: = उष्ट्रमुख: 'he whose face is like that of a camel.' खरमुख: 'ass-faced.'

Vart:—Bahuvrîhi compound may be formed after eliding the second member with a word in the sixth case denoting 'collection or modification.' As केशानां संघात: = केशसंघात: , केशसंघातश्चूडाऽस्य = केशचूड: 'he who has a collection of hair as crest.' सुवर्णस्य विकारोऽलंकारोऽस्य = सुवर्णालंकार: 'he who has ornaments made of gold.'

Vart :—The optional compounding of what arises from a verbal root coming after प्र &c. should be stated, and the elision of the subsequent term. As प्रपतितं पर्णमस्य = प्रपर्ण: 'a tree of which the leaves are all fallen.' So also प्रपलाश: .

Vart :—The compounding of words signifying what exists, coming after the negative नञ् should be stated, and the optional elision of the second of the terms. As, अविद्यमान पुत्रो यस्य = अपुत्र: 'childless.' So also अभार्य: 'wifeless.'

Vart :—Compounds like अस्तिक्षीरा should be stated as Bahuvrîhi. As अस्तिक्षीरा ब्राह्मणी 'a Brâhmaṇî having milk.' These words are indeclinables. The word 'asti' here is an indeclinable though appearing as a verb.

संख्ययाऽव्ययासन्नादूराधिकसंख्याः संख्येये ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्यया , अव्यय-आसन्न-अदूर-अधिक-संख्याः , संख्येये , (स०बहुव्रीहिः सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्येये या संख्या वर्त्तते तया सहाऽव्ययासन्नादूराधिकसंख्याः समस्यन्ते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

25. Indeclinable words and the words âsanna 'near,' adûra 'near,' adhika 'more' and the words called saṅkhyâ (Numerals) are compounded with another saṅkhyâ word, when the sense is that of a numeral or saṅkhyâ. The compound is Bahuvrîhi.

Thus उपदशाः (V. 4. 73) 'those who are near ten *i.e.* nine or eleven.' Similarly उपविंशाः 'nineteen or twenty-one' (VI. 4. 142). So also आसन्नदशाः 'nine or eleven.' अदूरदशाः 'nine or eleven.' अधिकदशाः 'eleven.'

So also two 'numerals' may be compounded; as, द्वित्राः 'two or three.' द्विदशाः 'twenty.'

Why do we say 'with a numeral'? Observe पंच ब्राह्मणाः 'five Brâhmanas.'

Why do we say "with an Indeclinable &c'? Witness ब्राह्मणाः पंच. Why do we say 'when denoting a numeral'? Observe अधिका विंशतिः गवाम् 'of cows more than twenty.'

दिङ्नामान्यन्तराले ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिङ्-नामानि . अन्तराले (स०बहु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिङ्नामानि सुबन्तानि अन्तराले वाच्ये समस्यन्ते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वनाम्नो वृत्तिमात्रे पुंवद्भावः ॥

26. Words which are the names of the points of the compass are compounded, when the compound signifies the intermediate point, and the compound so formed is Bahuvrîhi.

Thus दक्षिणपूर्वा दिक् dakshina-pûrvâ, 'south-east,' (the direction midway between south and east.) पूर्वोत्तरा 'north-east.'

The word नाम is introduced in the sûtra to indicate that no compounding takes place when the words denoting direction are derivative words whose primary signification is not indicative of direction; as ऐन्द्र्याश्च कौबेर्याश्च दिशोर्यदन्तरालम् 'the point between east and north.' Here the words ऐन्द्री 'east' and कौबेरी 'north' though denoting directions, are derivatively so, and hence no compounding.

Vart:—Whenever a Bahuvrîhi gets the designation of Sarvanâman (I. 1. 28, 29), the first term becomes masculine, by VI. 3. 34; as दक्षिणा + पूर्वा = दक्षिणपूर्वा ॥

तत्र तेनेदमिति सरूपे ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, तेन, इदम्, इति, सरूपे (स०बहुव्रीहिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तम्यन्ते सरूपे पदे तेनेति च तृतीयान्ते इदमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे समस्यते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

27. Two homonymous words (both being in the locative case or both being in the instrumental case) are compounded, the sense being 'this happens therein or with that.' The compound so formed is Bahuvrîhi.

The word तत्र means 'a word in the locative case,' and तेन 'a word in the instrumental case.' The word सरूप or 'similar form' applies to both. The word इति indicates that the meaning of the compound so formed should be learned from popular usage, therefore it means, 'seizing, striking, fighting.' All these senses are implied by इति. The word is exhibited in the locative case, if the sense is that of seizing; and the word is exhibited in the instrumental case, when the sense is that of striking; the word indicated by the word इदमिति is युद्ध; as केशेषु केशेषु च गृहीत्वा इदं युद्धं वृत्तं = केशाकेशि (VI. 3. 137 and V. 4. 127.) 'hair to hair, fighting by pulling each other's hair'; कचाकचि 'hair against hair'; दण्डैश्च दण्डैश्च प्रहृत्य इदं युद्धं वृत्तं = दण्डादण्डि 'stick against stick, fight with stick and stave;' so also मुशलामुशलि. In the above examples the samâsânta âffix इच् is added at the end by rule V. 4. 127; and all such words are Avyaya or indeclinable. The final vowel of the first term is lengthened by Rule VI. 3. 137.

Why do we say 'having the same form'? We cannot form such a compound from the following: हलैश्च मुसलैश्च प्रहृत्य इदं युद्धं वृत्तम्.

तेन सहेति तुल्ययोगे ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन, सह-इति, तुल्य-योगे, (स०बहुव्रीहिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहेत्येतच्छब्दरूपं तुल्ययोगे वर्तमानं तेनेति तृतीयान्तेन सह समस्यते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

28. The word saha 'together' is compounded with a word ending with the third case-affix and the compound is Bahuvrîhi; provided that, the companion and the person accompanied are equally affected by any action or thing, in the same manner.

Thus सह पुत्रेणागतः = सपुत्रः (VI. 3. 82, सह changed to स) 'he has come accompanied by his son'. सच्छात्रः 'accompanied by the pupil.' सकर्मकरः 'accompanied by the servant.'

Why do we say 'tulya-yoga'? Witness सहैव दशभिः पुत्रैर्भारं वहति गर्दभी 'the she-ass carries the whole burden, though there exist her ten sons.'

How do we get the forms like सकर्मकः, सलोमकः, सपक्षकः &c., in which there is no 'tulya-yoga'? It shows that this condition is of limited operation (तुल्य योगवचनं प्रायिकं).

चार्थे द्वन्द्वः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ च-अर्थे, द्वन्द्वः, (स०अनेकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनेकं सुबन्तं चार्थे वर्त्तमानं समस्यते द्वन्द्वश्च समासो भवति ॥

29. When a set of several words ending with case-affixes stands in a relation expressible by 'and' the set is made into a compound; and the compound so formed is called Dvandva.

The meanings that may be indicated by च 'and' are four, (1) समुच्चयः 'community of reference,' (2) अन्वाचय 'collateralness of reference, (3) इतरेतरयोगः 'mutual conjunction' and (4) समाहारः 'aggregate.' In the first two cases *viz.*, community of reference, and collateralness of reference, composition does not take place, because the words are not directly related to one another (II. 1. 1). Composition is enjoined therefore, when the sense of च is that of mutual conjunction and lumping. Thus we cannot compound ईश्वरं गुरुं च भजस्व 'reverence God and thy Guru' or भिक्षामट गां चानय 'go for alms and bring the cow.' But we can compound the following प्लक्षश्च न्यग्रोधश्च = प्लक्षन्यग्रोधौ 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees.' So धव-खदिर-पलाशाः, वाक्त्वचम्, वाग्दृषदम् ॥

उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्जनम्, पूर्वम् (समासः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्जनसंज्ञकं समासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

30. The upasarjana (I. 2. 43) is to be placed first in a compound.

The word समासे is understood here. The upasarjana being the word exhibited in the nominative case in the rules relating to samâsa, must stand first. The constant application of this rule has been illustrated in the previous aphorisms. Without this rule, there would have been no fixity as to the position of words.

राजदन्तादिषु परम् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजदन्त-आदिषु, परम्, (स०उपसर्जनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजदन्तादिषु परमुपसर्जनं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

31. the upasarjana is to be put last in the words Râjadanta &c.

Thus राजदन्तः (दन्तानां राजा) ' a chief of teeth ' (*i.e.*, an eyetooth). It is not merely the upasarjana that is placed last in these examples; but words which by some other rules would have stood first, stand in this list as second.

1. राजदन्तः. 2. अग्रेवणम्. 3. लिप्तवासितम्. 4. नग्नमुषितम्. 5. सिक्तसंमृष्टम्. 6. मृष्टलुञ्चितम्. 7. अवक्लिन्नपक्वम्. 8. अर्पितोतम्. 9. (अर्पितोप्तम्). 10. उप्तगाढम्. 11. उलूखलमुसलम्. 12. तण्डुलकिण्वम्. 13. दृषदुपलम्. 14. आरग्वायनि. 15. (आरग्वायनबन्धकी). 16. चित्ररथवाल्हीकम्. 17. अवन्त्यश्मकम्. 18. शूद्रार्यम्. 19. स्नातकराजानौ. 20. विष्वक्सेनार्जुनौ. 21. अक्षिभ्रुवम्. 22. दारगवम्. 23. शब्दार्थौ. 24. धर्मार्थौ. 25. कामार्थौ. 26. अर्थशब्दौ. 27. अर्थधर्मौ. 28. अर्थकामौ. 29. वैकारिमतम्. 30. गाजवाजम्. 31. (गोजवाजम्. 32. गोपालिधानपूलासम्. 33. (गोपालधानीपूलासम्). 34. पूलासकारण्डम्. 35. (पूलासककुरण्डम्). 36. स्थूलासम्. 37. (स्थूलपूलासम्). 38. उशीरबीजम्. 39. (जिज्ञास्थि). 40. सिञ्जास्थम्. 41. (सिञ्जाश्वत्थम्). 42. चित्रास्वाती. 43. (चित्रस्वाति). 44. भार्यापती. 45. दम्पती. 46. जम्पती. 47. जायापती. 48. पुत्रपती. 49. पुत्रपशू. 50. केशश्मश्रू or श्मश्रुकेशौ. 51. शिरोबिजु. 52. शिरोबीजम्. 53. शिरोजानु. 54. सर्पिर्मधुनी. 55. मधुसर्पिषी. 56. आद्यन्तौ. 57. अन्तादी. 58. गुणवृद्धी. 59. वृद्धिगुणौ.

द्वन्द्वे घि ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वे, घि, (स०उ०पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वे समासे घ्यन्तं पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

32. In a Dvandva compound, let a word called घि (1. 4. 7) stand first.

As हरिहरौ 'Hari and Hara.' So also पटुगुप्तौ and मृदुगुप्तौ. Where there are more than one such घि words in a compound, any one may be fixed upon as first member, and the rest to follow no fixed rule. As पटुमृदुशुक्लाः or पटुशुक्लमृदवः.

Why do we say 'Dvandva'? Observe विस्पष्टपटुः which is Tat-purusha.

अजाद्यदन्तम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अज्-आदि-अदन्तम्, (स०उ०पूर्वम्द्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजाद्यदन्तं शब्दरूपं द्वन्द्वे समासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुष्वनियमः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्वन्द्वेघ्यजाद्यदन्तं विप्रतिषेधेन ॥

33. In a Dvandva compound, let what begins with a vowel and ends with a short अ be placed first.

Thus, उष्ट्रखरम् 'the camel and the ass,' उष्ट्रशशकम् 'the camel and the hare.'

Vart:—When there are may such words there is no fixed rule. As अश्वरथेन्द्राः or इन्द्ररथाश्वाः.

Vart:—In the Dvandva compounds the घि would stand first only then, when the rule of अजाद्यदन्त does not prohibit it. Thus इन्द्राग्नी or इन्द्रवायू. Here अग्नि and वायु though घि, do not stand first, because इन्द्र beginning with a vowel and ending in short अ, by the rule of vipratishedha takes precedence (I. 4. 2).

Why do we say 'अत् with a त्' (I. 1. 70)? This rule does not apply when it is long आ as अश्वा + वृषः = अश्वावृषौ or वृषाश्वे.

अल्पाच्तरम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अल्पाच्तरम्, (सद्वन्द्वेपूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अल्पाच्तरं शब्दरूपं द्वन्द्वे समासे पूर्वंप्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ऋतुनक्षत्राणामानुपूर्व्येण समानाक्षराणां पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लघ्वक्षरं पूर्वं निपततीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अभ्यर्हितं च पूर्वं निपततीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वर्णानामानुपूर्व्येण पूर्वनिपातः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भ्रातुश्च ज्यायसः पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संख्याया अल्पीयस्याः पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः ॥

34. In a Dvandva compound, that word-form which has fewer vowels, is to be placed first.

Thus प्लक्ष + न्यग्रोध = प्लक्षन्यग्रोधौ; and धवखदिरपलाशाः ॥

When there are many words, there is no fixed rule. As शंखदुन्दुभिवीणाः or वीणाशंखदुन्दुभयः.

Vart:—Names of seasons and stars consisting of equal number of syllables should be arranged in the compound according to their natural order of succession. As हेमन्तशिशिरवसन्ताः; चित्रास्वाती; कृत्तिकारोहिण्यौ.

When they do not consist of equal syllables, the shorter should be placed first; as ग्रीष्मवसन्तौ.

Vart:—A word consisting of light (laghu) vowels is placed first. As, कुशकाशं; शरशावम्.

Vart:—The more honorable of the two is placed first; as, मातापितरौ 'mother and father,' श्रद्धामेधे 'faith and intelligence' दीक्षातपसी 'initiation and austerity'.

Vart:—The castes are placed according to their order: as, ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविट्शूद्राः 'Brâhmaṇa Kshatriya Vaiśya and Sudra.' There is no limitation of equality of syllables here.

Vart:—The name of the elder brother is placed first; as युधिष्ठिरार्जुनौ 'Yudhishṭhira and Arjuna.'

Vart:—Among numerals, the less in value is placed first; as द्वित्राः 'two; and three'; त्रिचतुराः 'three and four.'

सप्तमी विशेषणे बहुव्रीहौ ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, विशेषणे, बहुव्रीहौ, (स०पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं विशेषणं च बहुव्रीहिसमासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वनामसंख्ययोरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वा प्रियस्य पूर्वनिपातः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सप्तम्याः पूर्वनिपाते प्राप्ते गड्वादिभ्यः सप्तम्यन्तं परम् ॥

35. A word with the seventh case-affix and an epithet are to be placed first in the Bahuvrîhi compound.

In a Bahuvrîhi, all words are upasarjana, and hence there is no rule for their arrangement. The present aphorism declares that rule; as कण्ठेकालः 'who is black in the throat.' So also उरसिलोमा, चित्रगुः, शबलगुः.

Vart:—The sarvanámas and the numerals stand first; as सर्वश्वेतः, सर्वकृष्णः, द्विशुक्लः, द्विकृष्णः. In a compound formed by the composition of sarvanâma words with a saṅkhyâ word, the latter should stand first; as, द्व्यन्यः, त्र्यन्यः &c.

Vart:—The word प्रिय may optionally stand first; as गुडप्रियः or प्रियगुडः.

Vart:—After the words गडु &c., the word in the 7th case-affix comes as subsequent; as गडुकण्ठः 'a hump-necked'; गडुशिराः &c.

How is then the word वहेगडुः 'hump in the shoulder' to be explained? This is governed by the general rule, and not the exceptional vârtika.

निष्ठा, ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, (स०बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठान्तं च बहुव्रीहिसमासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निष्ठायाः पूर्वनिपाते जातिकालसुखादिभ्यः परवचनम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रहरणार्थेभ्यश्च परे निष्ठासप्तम्यौ भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

36. What ends with a Nishṭhâ (I. 1. 26) shall stand first in a Bahuvrîhi compound.

Thus युक्तयोग: 'one who is devoted to devotion'; कृतकट: 'one who has made the mat'; भिक्षितभिक्ष: 'one who has begged alms.'

Vart:—A word expressing jâti (genus), time, or pleasure, is placed subsequent; as, शार्ङ्गजग्धी, मासजात:, and सुखजात: &c.

Vart:—The words ending in Nishṭha or in the locative case stand subsequent, when coming after words denoting 'striking'; as अस्युद्यत 'ready with sword'; दण्डपाणि: 'holding sceptre in hand.'

वाहिताग्न्यादिषु ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आहित-अग्नि-आदिषु (निष्टा पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहिताग्न्यादिषु निष्ठान्तं पूर्वं वा प्रयोज्यम् ॥

37. In the compounds Ahitâgni and the like, the Nishthâ-formed word may optionally be placed first.

Thus अग्न्याहित: or आहिताग्नि: 'one who has consecrated fire.'

1. आहिताग्नि. 2. जातपुत्र. 3. जातदन्त. 4. जातश्मश्रु. 5. तैलपीत. 6. घृतपीत. 7. मद्यपीत. 8. ऊढभार्य. 9. गतार्थ.

आकृतिगणोऽयम्.

1. गडुकण्ठ. 2. अस्युद्यत्. 3. (अरमुद्यत). 4. दण्डपाणिप्रभृतयोऽपि.

This आहिताग्नि class is âkṛitigaṇa; so that words like गडु &c., must be looked for in this class.

कडाराः कर्मधारये ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कडाराः, कर्मधारये, (समासे पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कडारादय: शब्दा: कर्मधारये समासे वा पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्या: ॥

38. The words kaḍâraḥ and the like, are optionally placed first in the karma-dhâraya.

Thus कडारजैमिनि: or जैमिनिकडार: Kaḍârajaiminiḥ or jaiminikaḍâraḥ. 'The tawny Jaimini.'

1. कडार. 2. गडुल. 3. खञ्ज. 4. खोड. 5. काण. 6. कुण्ठ. 7. खलति. 8. गौर. 9. वृद्ध. 10. भिक्षुक. 11. पिङ्ग. 12. पिङ्गल. 13. (पिङ्गल). 14. तद्ध. 15. तनु. 16. जठर. 17. बधिर. 18. मठर. 19. कुब्ज. 20 बर्बर.

This sûtra enjoins an option where by general rule guṇa words being attributes would have invariably stood first.

Why do we say 'in the karmadhâraya compound'? Observe कडारपुरुषो ग्रामः 'a village of tawny men,' which is Bahuvrîhi. Here ends the force of I. 4. 1 and II. 1. 3.

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॥ अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER III.

अनभिहिते ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्-अभिहिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनभिहित इत्यधिकारोऽयं वेदितव्यः । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामोऽनभिहित इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. The word 'anabhihite' meaning 'not being specified' is to be understood as the governing word.

Whatever will be taught from this point forward, should be understood to apply to those cases which have not been specified otherwise. The case-affixes like those denoting 'object' 'instrument' &c., are applied to a noun, only then, when the force of the case-affix is not otherwise denoted or mentioned or exhibited. The force of a case-affix may be so denoted either by first, the conjugational affixes तिङ्; secondly, by the Primary affixes or कृत, thirdly, by the secondary affixes तद्धित; or lastly by compounds. Thus sûtra 2 declares that the second case-affix is applied in denoting the object, as कटं करोति 'he makes the mat'; ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village.' But the object can otherwise be denoted. Thus by the passive conjugational affix, as क्रियते कटः 'the mat is made.' Here the termination of the verb denotes the object. See sûtra I. 3. 13. and III. 4. 69. So also by the krit affix, as कृतः कटः 'the mat is made,' see Sûtra III. 4. 70. So also by a Taddhita affix as शत्य or शतिकः meaning 'purchased with a hundred' =शतेन क्रीतः. Similarly by samâsa, as प्राप्तमुदकं ग्रामम् =प्राप्तोदको ग्रामः ॥

कर्मणि द्वितीया ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि कारके या संख्या तत्र द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उभसर्वतसोः कार्या धिगुपर्यादिषु त्रिषु ।
द्वितीयाऽम्रेडितान्तेषु ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अभितः-परितः-समया-निकषा-हा-प्रति-योगेषु च दृश्यते ॥

2. When the object is not denoted by the termination of the ver ., *i e.* when the verb does not agree with it, the second case-affix is attached to the word.

The terms dvitiyâ &c., are technical phraseology of older grammarians, and hence not defined by Pâṇini; they apply to the triads of सुप् affixes. कटं करोति 'he makes the mat,' ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village.'

The words उभयतः, सर्वतः, धिक् and the double forms उपर्युपरि, अधोऽधः, अध्यधि, when they have the sense of nearness, govern the accusative. Sometimes other cases also, as उभयतो ग्रामं 'on both sides of the village'; सर्वतो ग्रामं 'on all sides of the village'; धिग्देवदत्तं 'fie to Devadatta'; उपर्युपरि ग्रामम् 'just over the village'; अध्यधि or अधोऽधो ग्रामम् 'just below the village.'

Vart:—The words अभितः, परितः both meaning 'round', समया, निकषा both meaning 'near', and हा 'woe be to,' and प्रति 'to,' govern the accusative case; as, अभितो ग्रामम् 'round the village,' ग्रामं समया 'near the village'; हा देवदत्तं 'woe be to Devadatta'; बुभुक्षितम् न प्रतिभाति किंचित् 'to a hungry person nothing occurs to his mind.' See I. 4. 49 &c.

तृतीया च होश्छन्दसि ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया, च, होः, छन्दसि, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये जुहोतेः कर्मणि कारके तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति द्वितीया च ॥

3. In the chhandas (veda), the object of the verb hu 'to sacrifice' takes the affix of the third case, and of the second as well

This ordains the third case-affix, and by force of the word च 'and' the second case-affix is also employed as यवाग्वाग्निहोत्रं जुहोति 'he satisfies or pleases Agni with barley-powder,' or यवागूमग्निहोत्रं जुहोति 'he throws barleypowder into the fire as oblation.'

Why do we say 'in the vedas?' In the classical Sanskrit, the accusative only must be used and not the instrumental.

अन्तराऽन्तरेणयुक्ते ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तरा, अन्तरेण, युक्ते, (द्वितीया)

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तराऽन्तरेणशब्दौ निपातौ साहचर्याद् गृह्येते । आभ्यां योगे द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ।

4. A word joined with (or governed by) the word antarâ, or antareṇa takes the second case-affix

The anuvṛitti of dvitîyâ is understand here and not that of tṛitîyâ. Both these words antarâ and antareṇa are Nipâtas. They govern the accusative. This debars the genitive case. The word antarâ means 'between' while antareṇa means 'besides that,' 'without,' 'exception,' 'with reference to' 'regarding.' As, अन्तरेण पुरुषकारं न किंचिल्लभ्यते nothing can be

gained without exertion. अन्तरा or अन्तरेण त्वां च मां च कमण्डलुः 'the bowl is between thee and me.' कोऽन्यस्त्वां मां तरेण शक्तः प्रतिकर्तुं च 'who else but thee is able to retaliate.'

Why do we say 'when joined with?' Observe अन्तरा तक्षशिलां च पाटलिपुत्रं च स्रुघ्नस्य प्राकारः.

कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-अध्वनोः, अत्यन्त-संयोगे, (द्वितीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काल शब्देभ्योऽध्वशब्देभ्यश्च द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति अत्यन्त संयोगे गम्यमाने ॥

5. After a word denoting time, or length, the affix of the 2nd case is employed, when denoting full duration.

मासमधीते 'he reads for a month,' 'he studies full one month,' मासं कल्याणी 'prosperous during the month' (uninterruptedly), संवत्सरं पुष्पाः 'flowers during the year continually,' क्रोशं कुटिला नदी 'the river winding for one kos without any break,' क्रोशं पर्वतः 'the hill through one full kos.' सभा वैश्रवणी राजन् शतयोजनमायता 'O ki ng the hall of Visravana is 100 yojanas in length.

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग or 'full continuity' means the complete relation of time or space with its action, attribute or substance.

Why do we say 'atyanta-sanyoga or complete continuity'? Observe मासस्य द्विरधीते or क्रोशस्यैकदेशे पर्वतः ॥

अपवर्गे तृतीया ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपवर्गे, तृतीया, (कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपवर्गे गम्यमाने कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

6. The third case-affix is employed after the words denoting the duration of time or place, when the accomplishment of the desired object is meant to be expressed.

मासेनानुवाकोऽधीतः 'he learnt the Anuvâka in a month,' क्रोशेनानुवाकोऽधीतः 'he learnt the Anuvâka by going over a kos.

The word अपवर्ग means 'the finishing of an action, on the attainment of the object intended by the action, but not before.' Thus संवत्सरेणानुवाकोऽधीतः means 'Anuvâka was perseveringly and effectually read by him in the whole year.'

When the idea of apavarga is not intended, the accusative case is employed, as मासमधीतोऽनुवाकः 'learnt for a month, but not yet completed, the Anuvâka.'

सप्तमीपञ्चम्यौ कारकमध्ये ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी-पञ्चम्यौ, कारक-मध्ये, (कालाध्वनोर०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कारकयोर्मध्ये यौ कालाध्वानौ ताभ्यां सप्तमी पञ्चम्यौ विभक्ती भवतः ॥

7. A noun denoting time or place gets the affix of the seventh or the fifth case, when the sense implied is that the time or space is the interval between one action and another action (or implies an interval of time and space between two kârakas).

Ex. अद्य भुक्त्वा देवदत्तो द्व्यहे द्व्यहाद्वा भोक्ता 'having dined today, Devadatta will dine in or after two days.' Here the 'time' is the interval between the agent and his power of eating. So also इहस्थोऽयमिष्वासः क्रोशात् क्रोशे वा लक्ष्यं विध्येत् 'standing here, he will hit a mark at the distance of one kos. Here kos is the interval between the agent and the object or the object and the ablation, or the object and the location. The rule 1. 3. 10 does not apply here.

कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मप्रवचनीय-युक्ते, द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्युक्ते द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

8. The second case-affix is employed after a word which is joined with a karmapravachaníya (I. 4. 83).

Ex. शाकल्यस्य संहितामनुप्रावर्षत् 'It rained on (hearing) the reading of the Veda by Sâkalya.' So also आगस्त्यमन्वसिंचत् प्रजाः ॥

यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं तत्र सप्तमी ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्माद्-अधिकं, यस्य, च, ईश्व र-वचनं, तत्र, सप्तमी, (कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्युक्ते तत्र सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

9. Where a word is governed by a karmapravachaníya in the sense of 'more than' (I. 4 87) or 'lord of' (I. 4. 97) there the 7th case-affix (locative) is employed.

Ex. उपखार्यां द्रोणः 'A Droṇa is more than a Khâri,' अधिब्रह्मदत्ते पंचालाः 'Brahmadatta is the lord of Panchâlas.' The phrase यस्यचेश्वर वचनं indicate that both the thing owned and the owner may be in the locative. Se I. 4. 97.

This aphorism debars the accusative.

पञ्चम्यपाङ्परिभिः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चमी, अप-आङ्-परिभिः, (कर्मप्रवचनीययु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप आङ् परि इत्येतैः कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्योगे पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

10. The fifth case-affix (Ablative) is employed when a word is governed by the following karmapravachanîyas *i.e.*, apa, âṅ and pari.

Ex. अप or आ or परि पाटलिपुत्राद्वृष्टो देवः 'It rained off or upto or with the exclusion of, Pâtaliputra.

The परि here has the meaning of 'exclusion' (I. 4. 88) being read along with अप, therefore, not here वृक्षं परि विद्योतते विद्युत् (I. 4. 90).

प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदाने च यस्मात् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-निधि-प्रतिदाने, च, यस्मात् (कर्मप्र०) (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मात्प्रतिनिधिर्यतश्च प्रतिदानं तत्र कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

11. The 5th case-affix (ablative) is employed after what soever is governed by a karmapravachanîya in the sense of 'substitute' or 'exchange' (I. 4. 92).

Ex. अभिमन्युरर्जुनतः प्रति 'Abhimanyu is the representative of Arjuna.' माषानस्मै तिलेभ्यः प्रतियच्छति 'he exchanges mâshâs for this sesamum.' See I. 4. 92 for an explanation of प्रतिनिधि and प्रतिदान.

गत्यर्थकर्मणि द्वितीयाचतुर्थ्यौ चेष्टायामनध्वनि ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्यर्थ-कर्मणि, द्वितीया-चतुर्थ्यौ, चेष्टायाम्, अनध्वनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थानां धातूनां चेष्टाक्रियाणां परिस्पन्दक्रियाणां कर्मणि कारकेऽध्ववर्जिते द्वितीयाचतुर्थ्यौ भवतः

12 In the case of roots implying motion, the place to which motion is directed takes the affix of the 2nd (Accusative) or the 4th (Dative) case in denoting the 'object,' when physical motion is meant, and the object is not a word expressing 'road'.

Ex. ग्रामं or ग्रामाय गच्छति 'he goes to the village.' But not so in मनसा हरिं व्रजति (the verb not denoting physical motion) 'he goes mentally to Hari' अध्वानं गच्छति 'he goes over the way' (the object being the 'way'). But not so in ओदनं पचति 'he cooks rice;' (the verb not denoting 'motion') nor in अश्वेन व्रजति (the verb not denoting 'the object.')

Note.—The word adhvan includes the synonyms of road (I. 1. 68) as पन्थानं गच्छति, मार्गं गच्छति.

Note.—The prohibition applies with regard to the going over or occupying the road; so that where a person from a wrong road goes to the right road, there the fourth case-affix will be employed as पथे गच्छति.

चतुर्थी संप्रदाने ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी, संप्रदाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रदाने कारके चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चतुर्थी विधाने तादर्थ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्लृपिसंपद्यमाने चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उत्पातेन ज्ञाप्यमाने चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हितयोगे चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥

13. In denoting the sampradâna-kâraka (I. 4. 32.) the fourth affix or the Dative is employed after the noun.

Ex. उपाध्यायाय गां ददाति 'He gives a cow to the teacher.' देवदत्ताय रोचते 'it pleases Devadatta' (I. 4. 33) पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृहयति (I. 4. 36) 'he desires flowers.

Vart.—The fourth case-affix should be employed when the sense is that of 'for the purpose thereof' as यूपाय दारु 'wood is for making posts.' कुण्डलाय हिरण्यं 'gold used for the purpose of making ear-ring.' रन्धनाय स्थाली 'pot for the sake of cooking.' अवहननायोलूखलं 'mortar for the sake of threshing.'

Vart.—The verb क्लृप and other verbs meaning 'to be fit or adequate for, result in, bring about, accomplish, produce, tend to,' govern the dative case: as, मूत्राय कल्पते यवागूः 'the barley gruel tends to produce urine.' So also मूत्राय संपद्यते जायते वा यवागूः.

Vart.—The fourth case-affix is employed with the force of 'indicating a portent or calamity,' as.

वाताय कपिला विद्युदातपायातिलोहिनी।
पीता वर्षाय विज्ञेया दुर्भिक्षाय सिता भवेत् ॥

'The reddish lightening portends wind, extremely red indicates heat, yellow portends rain and white lightening prognosticates famine.'

Vart.—The fourth case-affix should be employed in connection with the word हितः as गोभ्यो हितं 'good for cows.'

क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च कर्मणि स्थानिनः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रिया-अर्थ-उपपदस्य, च, कर्मणि, स्थानिनः, (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च स्थानिनोऽप्रयुज्यमानस्य धातोः कर्मणि कारके चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

14. The fourth case-affix is employed in denoting the object (karma) of that verb, which is suppressed (sthâni) in a sentence, and which has in construction (upapada) therewith another verb, denotiong an action, performed for the sake of the future action (kriyârthe III. 3. 10.).

In other words, when the sense of an infinitive of purpose formed by 'tumun' and 'nvul' (III. 3. 10,) is suppressed in a sentence, the object of this infinitive is put in the Dative case.

फलेभ्यो व्रजति = फलान्याहर्तुं व्रजति 'he goes for fruits *i. e.*, to bring fruits.' This debars the accusative case. So also we have एधेभ्यः व्रजति 'he goes for fuel.' The words क्रियार्थोपपदस्य and स्थानिनः are in apposition. The first is a Bahuvrîhi compound of क्रियार्थ + उपपद and means 'a verb whose upapada denotes the purpose of the action (kriyârtha).' Thus in एधानाहर्तुम् 'to bring fuel'; the infinitive verb आहर्तुम् is क्रियार्थोपपद, the object of this verb is एधः when this verb is suppressed it becomes स्थानिनः; the object of this verb takes the fourth case-affix.

Why do we say 'of the verb whose upadada denotes the purpose of the action? Observe प्रविश पिण्डीम्.

Why do we say 'in denoting the object.' Witness एधेभ्यो व्रजति शकटेन 'for fnel he goes with a cart.'

Why do we 'when suppressed'? Observe एधानाहर्तुं व्रजति.

तुमर्थाच्च भाववचनात् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुम-अर्थात्, च भाव-वचनात्, (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुमर्थभाववचनप्रत्ययान्तात् प्रातिपदिकाच्चतुर्थी विभक्ति र्भवति ॥

15 The fourth case-affix is employed after a crude-form which ends in an affix denoting 'condition' (abstract noun, III. 3. 11) and having the force of the affix tum (or Infinitive of purpose).

Ex. यागाय व्रजति 'he goes to offer a sacrifice' = यष्टुं व्रजति. So also त्यागाय व्रजति, भूतये व्रजति.

The word तुमर्थ means 'means 'having the same significance as the affix तुम्'.

नमःस्वस्तिस्वाहास्वधालंवषड्योगाच्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नमः-स्वस्ति-स्वाहा-स्वधा-अलम्-वषड्-योगात्, च, (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नमः स्वस्ति स्वाहा स्वधा अलं वषट् इत्येतैर्योगे चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति

16. The fourth case-affix is employed in conjunction with the words namah 'salutation,' savasti 'peace,' svâhâ, svadhâ (terms used in offering oblations to Gods and Pitris respectively), alam 'a match for' 'sufficient for' and vashaṭ a term of oblation.

Ex. नमो देवेभ्यः, स्वस्ति प्रजाभ्यः, स्वाहाऽग्नये, स्वधा पितृभ्यः, अलं मल्लो मल्लाय 'Salutation to Gods'; 'peace to the people'; svâhâ to fire'; 'svadhâ to the Pitris'; 'an athlete is a match for an athlete' &c. The word अलं includes its synonyms also, as प्रभुः, समर्थः &c.; so वषडिन्द्राय, वषडग्नये.

The च indicates that the Dative will debar Genitive, in spite of II. 3. 73, in the case of these words, though used benedictivley; as स्वस्ति गोभ्यो भूयात् ॥

मन्यकर्मण्यनादरे विभाषाऽप्राणिषु ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्य-कर्मणि, अनादरे, विभाषा, अप्राणिषु, (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्यतिकर्मणि प्राणिवर्जिते विभाषा चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति अनादरे गम्यमाने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यदेतदप्राणिष्विति तदनावादिष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

17. In denoting the indirect object, which is not an animal, of the verb manya 'to think,' the dative case is optionally employed, when contempt is to be shown.

Ex. न त्वा तृणं तृणाय वा मन्ये 'I do not consider thee worth a straw.' न त्वा बुसं बुसाय वा मन्ये 'I do not consider thee worth a chaff.' Why do we use the word मन्ये? Observe न त्वा तृणं चिन्तयामि. The optional dative will not be employed with the synonyms of the verb मन्यति. So also the sûtra uses the form मन्य with the vikarana श्यन्, indicating that it is Divâdi that governs a dative, and not the Tanâdi मन्; for the latter governs the accusative only, as न त्वां तृणं मन्वे.

When contempt is not meant, the verb does not govern the Dative, as :—

अश्मानं दृषदं मन्ये, मन्ये काष्ठमुलूखलम्। अन्धायास्तं सुतं मन्ये यस्य माता न पश्यति ॥

'I consider a rock to be a stone, I consider mortar but as wood, I consider him to be the son of a blind woman whose mother cannot see.'

So also when the object of comparison is an animate being, it will not take the dative :—as न त्वां शृगालं मन्ये 'I do not consider thee even as a jackal.' The case of न त्वां शुने मन्ये is an exception.

Vart :—Instead of using अप्राणिषु in the sûtra, the word अनावादिषु should be used. The following words belong to Nâvâdi class, they are always in the accusative after the word मन्ये, never in the Dative :—नौ 'ship,' काक 'crow,' अन्न 'food,' शुक 'parrot,' and शृगाल 'jackal.'

कर्तृकरणयो स्तृतीया ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-करणयोः तृतीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि करणे च कारके तृतीया विभक्ति र्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तृतीया विधाने प्रकृत्यादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

18. In denoting the agent (I. 4. 54) or the instrument (I. 4. 42), the third case-affix is employed.

Ex. देवदत्तेन कृतं 'done by Devadatta,' दात्रेण लुनाति 'he cuts with the sickle.' So also यज्ञदत्तेन भुक्तम्, परशुना छिनत्ति ॥

Vart:—The following words take the 3rd case. प्रकृति 'original,' प्राय 'almost,' गोत्र 'gotra,' सम 'equal,' विषम 'unequal,' द्विद्रोण, पंचक and साहस्र as प्रायेण याज्ञिकः, गार्ग्योऽस्मि गोत्रेण, समेन or विषमेण धावति, द्विद्रोणेनक्रीणाति &c.

सहयुक्तेऽप्रधाने ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहयुक्ते, अप्रधाने (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहार्थेन युक्तेऽप्रधाने तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

19. When the word सह 'with,' is joined to a word the latter takes the third case, when the sense is that the word in the third case is not the principal but the accompaniment of the principal thing.

Ex. पुत्रेण सहागतः पिता" the father has come with the son.'

The same will be the result with the synonyms of सह as, पुत्रेण साकं 'with the son'. So also when the word सह is understood, as Pâṇini himself uses in I. 2. 65 वृद्धो यूना &c.

Why do we say 'when not the principal.' Observe, शिष्येण सहोपाध्याय-स्यगौः.

येनाङ्गविकारः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ येन, अङ्ग-विकार, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येनाङ्गेन विकृतेनाङ्गिनो विकारो लक्ष्यते ततस्तृतीया विभक्ति र्भवति ॥

20. By whatsoever limb, being defective, is pointed out the defect of the person, after that the third case-affix is employed.

As, अक्ष्णा काणः 'blind of one eye' पादेन खंजः 'lame of foot.' पाणिना कुण्ठः &c. The word aṅga in this sûtra applies to the whole body, whatsoever by reason of being a member of the body is defective is indicated here.

इत्थंभूतलक्षणे ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्थंभूत-लक्षणे, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कंचित्प्रकारं प्राप्त इत्थंभूत, लक्ष्यतेऽनेनेति लक्षणं, ततस्तृतीया विभक्ति र्भवति ॥

21. Any mark or attribute, by which is indicated the existence of a particular state or condition, is put in the third case to express this relation.

जटाभिस्तापसः 'he is an ascetic by (the fact of his having) matted hair.' अपि भवान् कमण्डलुना छात्रमद्राक्षीत् 'your honor might see the student by the fact of his having a kamaṇḍalu.' So also छात्रैरुपाध्यायम् 'a teacher by the fact of having students.' शिखया परिव्राजकम् 'a Parivrâjaka by a tuft of hair.' But not so here, कमण्डलुपाणिश्छात्रः 'a student has kamaṇḍalu in his hand.' Because here in the compound; कमण्डलुपाणि is hidden the mark

Why do we say ittha-bhuta? Observe वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतनं.

संज्ञोऽन्यतरस्यां कर्मणि ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-ज्ञः, अन्यतरस्यां, कर्मणि, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वस्य जानातेः कर्मणि कारके द्वितीयायां प्राप्तायामन्यतरस्यां तृतीया विभक्ति र्भवति ॥

22. After the verb sam-jñâ the third case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the object.

पित्रा or पितरं संजानीते 'he knows his father.' मात्रा or मातरं संजानीते ॥

हेतौ ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतौ, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलसाधनयोग्यः पदार्थो लोके हेतुरुच्यते; तद्वाचिनस्तृतीया विभक्ति र्भवति ॥

23. When a word denotes 'cause,' it takes the third case-affix.

विद्यया यशः 'by learning there is produced fame.' धनेन कुलम् 'by wealth, family;' कन्यया शोकः 'by daughter there is grief.'

The word हेतु here is used in its popular sense and not the grammatical hetu (I. 4. 55). Any thing capable of accomplishing a desired object is called hetu.

अकर्तर्यृणे पञ्चमी ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्तरि, ऋणे, पञ्चमी, (हेतौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृवर्जितं यदृणं हेतुस्ततः पञ्चमी विभक्ति र्भवति ॥

24. A word, implying debt, considered as a 'cause' but not as a kartri or agent, takes the fifth case-affix.

Ex. शताद्बद्धः 'he has been bound on account of a debt of a hundred pieces.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting the agent?'—Observe शतेन बन्धितः; 'a debt of hundred has thrown him in prison'; here शत being considered as a prayojaka hetu, is an agent and takes the third case-affix.

विभाषा गुणेऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, गुणे, अस्त्रियाम्, (हेतौ पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुणे हेतावस्त्रीलिङ्गे विभाषा पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

25. The fifth case-affix is employed optionally when the noun expresses an attribute, being the cause of an action, and not being of the feminine gender.

Ex. जाड्येन जाड्यतात् वा बद्धः 'he has been bound by reason of his dullness.' पाण्डित्येन or पाण्डित्याद् मुक्तः 'saved through learning.'

Guṇa-vachana nouns are generally abstract nouns. Therefore not here धनेन कुलम्. If an abstract noun is of feminine gender, this rule will not apply, as बुद्ध्या or प्रज्ञया मुक्तः 'he was set at liberty on account of his skill or wisdom.'

षष्ठी हेतुप्रयोगे ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, हेतु-प्रयोगे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुशब्दस्य प्रयोगे हेतौ द्योत्ये षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

26. The sixth case-affix is employed after a noun implying the cause of an action, when the word hetu is used along with such a word.

Ex. अन्नस्य हेतोर्वसति 'he dwells for the sake of food.'

सर्वनाम्नस्तृतीया च ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनाम्नः तृतीया, च, (हेतुप्रयोगे) (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनाम्नो हेतुशब्दप्रयोगे हेतौ द्योत्ये तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति षष्ठी च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निमित्तकारणहेतुषु सर्वासां प्रायदर्शनम् ॥

27. After a sarvanâman (I. 1. 27) when it signifies the cause of an action, and the word hetu is used with it, the third case-affix is employed, as well as the sixth

Ex. कस्य or केन हेतुना वसति 'for the sake of what does he live?' यस्य or येन हेतुना वसति ।

Vart:—When the words निमित्त or कारण are so used, almost all the case affixes may be employed; as किं निमित्तं or केन निमित्तेन or कस्मै निमित्ताय or कस्मान्निमित्तात् or कस्य निमित्तस्य or कस्मिन् निमित्ते वसति. Similarly with

the words kâraṇa and hetu. Here also the word हेतु does not mean the word-form hetu (I. 1. 68) but its synonyms also; as किं प्रयोजनं or केन प्रयोजनेन or कस्मै प्रयोजनाय &c., वसति.

अपादाने पञ्चमी ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपादाने, पञ्चमी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपादाने कारके पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पञ्चमीविधाने ल्यब्लोपे कर्मण्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अधिकरणे चोपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रश्नाख्यानयोश्च पञ्चमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यतश्चाध्वकालनिर्माणं तत्र पञ्चमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तद्युक्तात्काले सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अध्वनः प्रथमा सप्तमी च वक्तव्या ॥

28. When the Apâdâna-kâraka (I 4. 24) is denoted, the fifth case-affix is employed.

Ex. ग्रामादागच्छति 'he comes from the village' (I. 4. 24); वृकेभ्यो बिभेति (I. 4. 25), अध्ययनात् पराजयते (I. 4. 26) &c.

Vart:—The fifth case-affix is employed in denoting the object, when the verbal participle ending in ल्यप् is elided; as प्रासादमारुह्य प्रेक्षते = प्रासादात् प्रेक्षते 'he sees from a palace.'

Vart:—And under similar circumstances in denoting the location the place where an action is performed is put in the ablative case, as, आसने उपविश्य प्रेक्षते = आसनात् प्रेक्षते 'he sees from a seat.'

Vart:—In questions and answers, the fifth case-affix is employed:—कुतो भवान्? पाटलिपुत्रात् 'whence is your Honor coming? From Pataliputra'

Vart:—That point of time or space from which distance in time or space is measured is put in the ablative case:—as, गवीधुमतः सांकाश्यं चत्वारि योजनानि 'Sankâsya is from Gavîdhuma four yojanas.' कार्त्तिक्या आग्रहायणी मासे 'Agrahâyana is one month from Kârtika. The word denoting the distance in time is put in the locative case, as मासे

Vart:—In the above the word denoting the distance in space may be put either in the nominative or locative; as गवीधुमतः सांकाश्यं चत्वारि योजनानि or चतुर्षु योजनेषु।

अन्यारादितरर्त्तेदिक्शब्दाञ्चूत्तरपदाजाहियुक्ते ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥

अन्य--आरात्-इतर-ऋते-दिक्शब्द-अञ्चु-उत्तरपद-आच्-आहियुक्ते, (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्य आरात् इतर ऋते दिक्शब्द अञ्चूत्तरपद आच् आहि इत्येतैर्योगे पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

29. When a noun is joined with words meaning 'other than' or with ârât 'near or remote' or itara 'different from' or ṛite 'without,' or words indicative of the 'directions' (used also with reference to the time corresponding to them) or with words having añchu 'to bend' as the last member of the compound (and expressive of direction), or with words ending with the affix âch or âhi (V. 3. 36 and 37) the fifth case-affix is employed.

Ex. अन्यो, भिन्नो, इतरो, अर्थान्तरं, विलक्षणो वा देवदत्तात् 'different from Devadatta' आराद् देवदत्तात् 'remote from or near to Devadatta.' The word ârât meaning 'near or remote' would have taken the sixth case-affix by sûtra 34, but this enjoins 5th case-affix. ऋते देवदत्तात् 'excepting Devadatta.' पूर्वो ग्रामात् 'east of the village,' उत्तरो ग्रामात् 'north of the village,' पूर्वो ग्रीष्मात् वसन्तः 'the spring is prior to summer' प्राक् प्रत्यग्वा ग्रामात् 'to the east or west of the village' दक्षिणा दक्षिणाहि वा ग्रामात् 'to the south or in the eastern direction of the village.'

The words like प्राक् &c., formed from the verb añchu are also दिक्शब्दः; their separate enumeration shows that the sixth case-affix ordained by the next sûtra does not come after them.

षष्ठ्यतसर्थप्रत्ययेन ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, अतसर्थप्रत्ययेन ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतसर्थेन प्रत्ययेन युक्ते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

30. The sixth case-affix is employed when used in connection with words ending with affixes having the sense of the affix atasuch (V. 3. 28).

The affix अतसुच् is ordained by V. 3. 28.

Ex. ग्रामस्य दक्षिणतः उत्तरतः पुरस्तात् उपरि वा 'to the south or north, fore most, in or above the village.'

एनपा द्वितीया ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ एनपा, द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एनबन्यतरस्यामदूरे पञ्चम्या इति वक्ष्यति । तेन युक्ते द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

31. With a word ending with the affix 'enap' (V. 3. 35), the second case-affix is employed as well as the sixth.

Ex. दक्षिणेन ग्रामम् ग्रामस्य वा 'south of the village.'

पृथग्विनानानाभिस्तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पृथग्-विनः-नानाभिः, तृतीया, अन्यतरस्याम्, (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पृथक् विना नाना इत्येतै र्योगे तृतीया विभक्ति र्भवति अन्यतरस्यां पञ्चमी च ॥

32. When joined with the words pṛithak 'without', vinâ 'without' and nânâ 'without' the third case-affix is employed, optionally (as well as the fifth and the second).

Ex. रामाद्रामेण रामं वा विना पृथग् नाना वा 'without or different from Ráma.' This sûtra may be divided into two parts:—(1) पृथग् विना नानाभिः (2) तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम्. By this arrangement we can read dvitiya into the aphorism.

विना वातं विना वर्षं विद्युत्प्रपतनं विना ।
विना हस्ति कृतान्दोषात् केनेमौ पातितौ द्रुमौ ॥

करणे च स्तोकाल्पकृच्छ्रकतिपयस्यासत्ववचनस्य ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, च, स्तोक-अल्प-कृच्छ्र-कतिपयस्य, असत्ववचनस्य, (तृतीया-पञ्चमी-अन्यतरस्यां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तोक अल्प कृच्छ्र कतिपय इत्येतेभ्योऽसत्ववचनेभ्यः करणे कारकेऽन्यतरस्यां तृतीया भवति पक्षे पञ्चम्येव ॥

33. When expressing an instrument-kâraka, optionally after the words stoka 'little,' alpa 'little,' kṛichchhra 'difficulty,' and katipaya 'some,' the fifth case-affix is used, when they do not denote material objects.

Ex. स्तोकात् स्तोकेन वा मुक्तः and अल्पान्मुक्तः or अल्पेनमुक्तः &c, 'he got off easily &c. But स्तोकेन विषेण हतः, अल्पेन मधुना मत्तः &c. 'killed by a little poison.' No option allowed, as it qualifies a substance. So also स्तोकं मुञ्चति 'he loosens a little.' Here स्तोक is used as an adverb and not as an instrument (करण).

दूरान्तिकार्थैः षष्ठ्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूर-अन्तिक-अर्थैः, षष्ठी, अन्यतरस्याम्, (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूरान्तिकार्थैः शब्दैर्योगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति अन्यतरस्यां पञ्चमी च ॥

34. when in conjunction with words having the sense of dûra 'distant,' and antika 'near,' the sixth case-affix is optionally employed.

Ex. ग्रामाद् ग्रामस्य वा वनं दूरं विप्रकृष्टं, अन्तिकं, अभ्याशं, निकटं समीपं वा 'the forest is distant from or near or to the village.'

The force of the word अन्यतरस्यां is to indicate that the 5th case-affix employed in the alternative, would have run into this sûtra, had we not used 'anyatarasyam.'

दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यो द्वितीया च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूर-अन्तिक-अर्थेभ्यः, द्वितीया, च, (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यः शब्देभ्यो द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति चकारात्पञ्चमीतृतीयापि समुच्चीयते ॥

35. After the words having the sense of dûra 'distant,' and antika 'near,' the second case-affix is used as well as the fifth and the third.

Ex. दूरं दूराद् दूरेण वा ग्रामस्य and अन्तिकात्, or अन्तिकेन अन्तिकं ग्रामस्य.

This rule applies only when these words have their original signification and do not denote a substance. Otherwise the proper case-affix should be employed, as दूरः पन्थाः, दूराय पथे देहि.

सप्तम्यधिकरणे, च, ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, अधिकरणे, च, (दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवत्यधिकरणे कारके चकारात् दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यश्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सप्तमीविधाने क्तस्येन्विषयस्य कर्मण्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ साध्वसाधुप्रयोगे च सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कारकार्हाणां च कारकत्वे सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अकारकार्हाणां चाकारकत्वे सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तद्विपर्यासे च सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निमित्तात्कर्मसंयोगे सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

36. The seventh case-affix is employed when the sense is that of location (I. 4. 45) as well as after the words meaning 'distant' or 'near'.

Ex. कटे आस्ते 'he sits on the mat' अन्तिके दूरे वा ग्रामस्य 'near or distant from the village.' स्थाल्यां पचति 'he cooks in the pot.' Thus the words दूर and अन्तिक take four case-affixes, namely the second, third, fifth and seventh.

Vart:—Words like अधीतिन् 'who has learnt,' गृहीतिन् 'who has comprehended;' *i. e.*, words formed by adding इन् to the past participle in क्त, govern the locative of that which forms their object:—as अधीती व्याकरणे 'versed in grammar.' परिगणिती याज्ञिके 'well versed in sacrificial rites.' आम्नाती छन्दसि 'well read in the Veda.' See V. 2. 88.

Vart:—The words साधु and असाधु govern the locative of that towards whom goodness or otherwise is shown; as मातरि साधुरसाधु वा 'well behaved or ill-behaved towards his mother.'

Vart:—The Locative absolute is used in cases other than those specified in the next sûtra, namely, in cases where the action done or sufferod does not indicate the time of another action; as ऋद्धेषु भुञ्जानेषु दरिद्रा आसते 'the poor are sitting, while the rich are eating,' दरिद्रेषु आसीनेषु ऋद्धाभुञ्जते 'the rich are eating, while the poor being seated.' So also *vice versa.*

Vart:—The Locative is sometimes used to denote the object or purpose for which anything is done; as.

चर्मणि द्वीपिनं हंति, दंतयोर्हन्ति कुंजरम् ।
केशेषु चमरीं हंति सीम्नि पुष्कलको हतः ॥

'Man kills the tiger for his skin, the elephant for his tusks, for chamari cow for her hair, and the musk-deer for its musk.'

यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, च. भावेन, भाव-लक्षणम्, (सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावः क्रिया यस्य च भावेन यस्य च क्रिययाक्रियान्तरं लक्ष्यते ततो भाववतः सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

37. By the action (bhâva) of whatsoever, the time of another action is indicated, that takes the seventh case-affix.

This is Locative Absolute. गोषु दुह्यमानासु गतः 'the cows being milked, he went away' दुग्धास्वागतः 'and returned when they were milked' अग्निषु हूयमानेषु गतः, हुतेष्वागतः.

Why do we say 'by the action of whatsoever'? Observe यो जटाभिः स भुङ्क्ते. Why have we used the word 'action' twice? Witness यो भुङ्क्ते स देवदत्तः.

षष्ठी चानादरे ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, च, अन्-आदरे, (सप्तमी, भावेन भावलक्षणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनादराधिके भावलक्षणे भाववतः षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ विभक्ती भवतः ॥

38. The sixth case-affix is employed (as well as the seventh), when disregard is to be shown, after that by whose action the time of another action is indicated

This is Genitive Absolute. रुदतः रुदतिवा प्राव्राजीत् 'in spite of her weeping, he went away.' The force of this genitive is that of the English word 'notwithstanding' 'in spite of' 'for all,' &c., पश्यतः पशव इव हताः पश्यतो राघवस्य 'the

Nandas were killed like so many beasts Rakshasa looking on,' (not-withstanding that Rakshasa was looking on).

स्वामीश्वराधिपतिदायादसाक्षिप्रतिभूप्रसूतैश्च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वामिन्-ईश्वर-अधिपति-दायाद-साक्षिन्-प्रतिभू-प्रसूतैः, च, (षष्ठी सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वामिन् ईश्वर अधिपति दायाद साक्षिन् प्रतिभू प्रसूत इत्येतैर्योगे षष्ठी सप्तमी विभक्ती भवतः ॥

39. The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after words when they are joined with svâmin 'master,' iśvara 'lord,' adhipati 'ruler,' dâyâda 'an heir', sâkshin 'witness,' pratibhû 'a surety,' and prasûta 'begotten'.

गवां गोषु वा स्वामी or ईश्वरः 'master of cows' So also गवामधिपतिः or गोष्वधिपतिः, गवां दायादः or गोषु दायादः, गवां or गोषु साक्षी प्रतिभूः &c.

These words naturally would have governed the Genitive; the present sûtra ordains Locative as well.

आयुक्तकुशलाभ्यां चासेवायाम् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ आयुक्त-कुशलाभ्यां, च, आसेवायाम्, (षष्ठी सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आयुक्तो व्यापारितः कुशलो निपुणः ताभ्यां योगे आसेवायां गम्यमानायां षष्ठी सप्तम्यौ विभक्ती भवतः ॥

40. In conjunction with the words âyukta 'engaged,' and kuśala 'skilful,' when meaning entire absorption in an engagement, the sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after a word.

Ex. आयुक्तः कुशलो वा कटकरणे कटकरणस्य वा 'deeply absorbed in mat-making.'

When not meaning 'deeply absorbed,' the construction is different; as आयुक्तो गौः शकटे 'the cow is slightly yoked to the cart.' Here the seventh case-affix only is employed.

यतश्च निर्द्धारणम् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यतः, च, निर्द्धारणम्, (षष्ठी-सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यतो निर्द्धारणं ततः षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ विभक्ती भवतः ॥

41. The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after those words from which specification is made, (as of an individual from the whole class).

Ex. गवां गोषु वा कृष्णा बहुक्षीराः 'among cows the black one gives much milk., मनुष्याणां or मनुष्येषु क्षत्रियः शूरतमः .

A nirdhârana or specification is made by separating one from the many by reason of its genus, quality and action (II. 2. 10).

पञ्चमी विभक्ते ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चमी, विभक्ते, (यतश्च निर्द्धारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मिन्निर्द्धारणाश्रये विभक्तमस्ति ततः पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥ विभागो विभक्तं ॥

42. The fifth case-affix is employed when the thing specified is different or divided from (and not included in) that from which specification is intended.

This debars the sixth and the seventh case-affixes, as, माथुराः पाटलिपुत्रेभ्यः सुकुमारतराः 'Mathura is more beautiful than Pâtaliputra.'

साधुनिपुणाभ्यामर्चायां सप्तम्यप्रतेः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ साधु-निपुणाभ्यां, अर्चायम्, सप्तमी-अप्रतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साधु निपुण इत्येताभ्यां योगेऽर्चायां गम्यमानायां सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवति न चेत्, प्रतिः प्रयुज्यते ॥

43. In conjunction with the words sâdhu 'good,' and nipuna 'skillful,' when they denote respect, the seventh case-affix is employed; provided that the word prati is not used.

मातरि साधुः or निपुणः 'good behaved towards his mother'? But साधुर्देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति 'Devadatta is good behaved towards his mother.'

Why do we say 'when respect is denoted'? Observe, साधुर्भृत्यो राज्ञः 'the servant is good towards the king. Here it is a bare statement of a fact.

The exception applies not only to प्रति but to other prepositions, like परि, अनु &c., as, मातरं परि साधुर्देवदत्तः ॥

प्रसितोत्सुकाभ्यां तृतीया च, ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रसित-उत्सुकाभ्यां, तृतीया, च, (सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रसित उत्सुक इत्येताभ्यां योगे तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति चकारात्सप्तमी च ॥

44. In conjunction with the words prasita 'longing for,' and utsuka 'greatly desirous of,' the third case-affix is used after a word, as well as the seventh.

Ex. निद्रायां निद्रया वा उत्सुकः 'longing for sleep.' केशैः or केशेषु प्रसितः

नक्षत्रे च लुपि ॥ ४५ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रे, च, लुपि, (तृतीया सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुबन्तान्नक्षत्रशब्दात् तृतीयासप्तम्यौ विभक्ती भवतः ॥

45. When an affix declaring the time of an Asterism is elided by lup (IV. 2. 4); the seventh and the third case-affixes are used after the word, whose affix is so elided.

Ex. पुष्येण पुष्ये वा पायसमश्नीयात् 'when the moon is in the Asterism of Pushya, let him drink milk' See Rules IV. 2. 4 and IV 2 5. So also मघाभिः पललौदनं मघासु पललौदनम्. But not so here पंचालेषु वसति 'he lives in Panchâla'. Here the country is meant, and not a star, though here also there is elision of the Taddhita affix.

Why do we say 'lup elision'? Observe मघासु ग्रहः 'the planet in the Maghâ.' Here there is no elision. But why not in अद्यपुष्यः, अद्यकृत्तिका. Because they do not denote location, which is understood. It is when location is expressed by such words that we may use the third case-affix in the alternative.

प्रातिपदिकार्थलिङ्गपरिमाणवचनमात्रे प्रथमा ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रातिपदिक-अर्थ-लिङ्ग-परिमाण-वचन-मात्रे, प्रथमा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्रे लिङ्गमात्रे परिमाणमात्रे वचनमात्रे प्रथमा विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

46. Where the sense is that of the Nominalstem (I. 2. 45) or of gender only, or measure only or number only, the first case-affix is employed.

Ex. उच्चैः 'aloft,' नीचैः 'below,' कुमारी 'virgin,' वृक्षः 'tree,' कुंडं 'owl,' द्रोणः 'a measure'. By 'number' grammatical number is meant; as एकः 'one,' द्वौ 'two,' बहवः 'many'.

The sense of a Prâtipadika is to denote mere existence. Genders are three, masculine, feminine and neuter. Measures are such as droṇa, khâri, âḍhaka &c. Numbers are singular, dual and plural. The Nipatas which do not denote anything are also Prâtipadika.

संबोधने च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बोधने, च (प्रथमा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबोधने च प्रथमा विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

47. And when the sense is that of addressing, the first case-affix is employed.

Ex. हे राम 'O Ram' हे रामौ, हे रामाः ॥

साऽऽमन्त्रितम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सआमन्त्रिम् (सम्बोधने प्रथमा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबोधने या प्रथमा तदन्तं शब्दरूपमामन्त्रितसंज्ञं भवति ॥

48. The word ending with the first case-affix, in the sense of addressing, is called Amantrita or vocative (VIII. 2. 78).

एकवचनं संबुद्धिः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकवचनं सम्बुद्धिः, (आमन्त्रितम् प्रथ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितप्रथमाया यदेकवचनं तत्संबुद्धिसंज्ञं भवति ॥

49. In the sense of vocative, the singular number of the first case-affix is called Sambuddhi.

The vocative singular is called sambuddhi, when it is employed in the vocation. Thus VI. 1. 69 declares 'after an inflection base ending in एङ् or in a short vowel, a consonant is elided if it be that of Sambuddhi' as हे राम ॥

षष्ठी शेषे ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, शेषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मादिभ्योऽन्यः प्रातिपदिकार्थव्यतिरिक्तः स्वस्वामिसंबन्धादिः शेषस्तत्र षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

50. The sixth case-affix is employed in the remaining case, that is to say, where there is a sense, such as the relation between property and its owner, &c. different from that of a Nominal-stem.

Ex. राज्ञः पुरुषः 'the king's man' पशोः पादः 'beast's foot' पितुः पुत्रः father's son.'

ज्ञोऽविदर्थस्य करणे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञः, अविदर्थस्य, करणे, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानातेरविदर्थस्याज्ञानार्थस्य करणे कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

51. Of the verb ज्ञा jñâ, when not used in the sense of 'to know,' the instrument takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. मधुनो जानीते 'he engages in sacrifice with honey'. So also सर्पिषो जानीते. The verb ज्ञा when not meaning 'to know', has the significance of

' to act, or to engage in ;' or it may denote ' false knowledge'; as सर्पिषि रक्तः प्रतिहतोवा. Compare I. 3. 45.

But not so here स्वरेण पुत्रं जानाति ' he recognises the son by the voice.'

अधीगर्थदयेशांकर्मणि ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधि-इक्-अर्थ-दय-ईशां, कर्मणि, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधीगर्थाः स्मरणार्थाः । दय दानगतिरक्षणेषु । ईश ऐश्वर्ये । एतेषां कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

52. Of the verbs having the sense of 'remembering,' (adhik) and of daya 'to give,' ' to pity ' ' to protect,' to move,' and of îśa ' to rule or be master of,' the object takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. मातुः अध्येति 'he remembers the mother,' सर्पिषो दयते 'he gives clarified butter,' नायं गात्राणामीष्टे 'he can not rule his limbs.' But not so here मातुर्गुणैः स्मरति because गुण here is not the object. The word शेष is also understood here. So that the cases not otherwise provided for, take this case. So that मातरं स्मरति is also allowed.

कृञः प्रतियत्ने ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृञः, प्रतियत्ने, (कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतेः कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते प्रतियत्ने गम्यमाने षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

53. The object of the verb kṛi takes the sixth case-affix, when it means ' to impart a new quality or virtue (I. 3. 32).

Ex. एधोदकस्योपस्कुरुते ' the wood gives a new quality to the water ' (or he prepares the wood and water for sacrifice). (By VI. 1. 139, स is inserted).

When प्रतियत्न is not meant, the second case-affix is employed: as कटं करोति.

The word शेष is also understood here. So that we have also एधोदकमुपस्कुरुते ॥

रुजार्थानां भाववचनानामज्वरे ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुज-अर्थानां, भाववचनानाम्, अज्वरे, (कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुजार्थानां धातूनां भाववचनानां भावकर्तृकाणां ज्वरिवर्जितानां कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अज्वरि संताप्योरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

54. The object of verbs having the sense of ruj 'to afflict', with the exception of the Causative verb jvaraya 'to be feverish,' takes the sixth case-affix, when the verb expresses a condition (*i. e.*, when the subject is an Absract noun).

Ex. चौरस्य रुजति रोगः 'the disease afflicts the chief' चौरस्यामयति आमयः ।

Why do we say 'when the subject is an Abstract noun'? Observe नदी कूलानि रुजति 'the river breaks the banks.' So also not here चौरं ज्वरयति ज्वरः 'the fever burns the thief.' So also when the verb संताप is used, चौरं संतापयति तापः ।

The word शेष is also understood here. Thus चौरं रुजति रोगः ॥

आशिषि नाथः ॥ ५५ । पदानि ॥ आशिषि, नाथः (कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाथृ नाधृ याच्ञोपतापैश्वर्याशीःषु पठ्यते, तस्याशीः क्रियस्य कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी विभक्ति र्भवति ॥

55. Of the verb nâth when meaning 'to bless'; the object takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. मधुनो नाथते 'he blesses the honey.' But माणवकमुपनाथति, अंग पुत्राधीष्व 'he solicits mânavaka saying (child) son, study.' Here नाथ does not mean to bless, and so it takes the accusative case.

जासिनिप्रहणनाटक्राथपिषां हिंसायाम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जासि-निप्रहण-नाट-क्राथ-पिषां, हिंसायाम्, (कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जासि निप्रहण नाट क्राथ पिष् इत्येतेषां धातूनां हिंसा क्रियाणां कर्मणि कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

56. The object of the verbs jâsi 'to strike'; 'to hurt,' han 'to strike' preceded by नि and प्र, nâṭ 'to injure,' 'krâth,' and 'pish,' when they mean, 'to injure,' takes the sixth case-affix.

चौरस्योज्जासयति, निप्रहन्ति, निहन्ति, प्रहन्ति, प्रणिहन्ति, उन्नाटयति, क्राथयति, पिनष्टि वा, 'he injures the thief.'

The root जसु belonging to the Churadi class should be taken, and not Divâdi. हन with the prepositions pra and ni may be taken in any order. The root क्रथ् takes in the causative vṛiddhi irregularly. The verb is Bhvâdi and falls into the subdivision ghaṭâdi, and is called there a मित् verb; all मित् verbs shorten their penultimate before the causative affix णिच् (VI. 4. 92). Thus क्राथ is an irregularity.

Why do we say 'when meaning to injure'? Observe धानाः पिनष्टि 'he pounds the barley.'

The word शेष is also understood here as चौरस्योज्जासयति. Only these govern the genitive, not so here चौरं हिनस्ति. चौरं विहन्ति ॥

व्यवहृपणोः समर्थयोः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यवहृ-पणोः, समर्थयोः (कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवहृ पण इत्येतयोः समर्थयोः समानार्थयोः कर्मणि कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

57. The object of the verbs vyavahṛi and paṇ when they are synonymous, that is when they mean 'dealing in sale and purchase transactions' or 'staking in gambling,' takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. शतस्य व्यवहरति or पणते 'he deals in, or stakes| hundred.'

Why does not the verb पण take the affix आय? It takes आय when meaning 'to praise or honor,' and not in the sense of 'gambling, or bartering' &c. Not so here शलाकां व्यवहरति 'he throws the dice,' ब्राह्मणान् पणायते 'he praises the Brâhmaṇas.' The word शेष is also here understood, so that we have शतं पणते 'he stakes a hundred.'

दिवस्तदर्थस्य ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, तदर्थस्य । (व्यवहृपणोः समर्थयोः कर्म० षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवहृपणिसमानार्थस्य दीव्यतेः कर्मणि षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

58 The object of the verb div when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking,' takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. शतस्य दीव्यति 'he stakes or deals in a hundred.' But not in ब्राह्मणं दीव्यति 'he jokes with the Brahmana.'

The yoga vibhâga when this root might well have been included in the last aphorism, is for the sake of the succeeding sûtras, in which the anuvṛitti of दिव runs, and not of others.

विभाषोपसर्गे ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उपसर्गे, (दिवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे सति दिवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

59. The object of the verb div when having the above-mentioned sense of dealing or staking, optionally takes the sixth case-affix, when it is preceded by an upasarga (or preposition).

Ex. शतस्य शतं वा प्रति दीव्यति 'he deals in or stakes a hundred.' But no option is allowed when the verb is simple as in the last aphorism; nor does this rule apply when the sense is not that of dealing or gambling. As, शलाकां प्रति दीव्यति 'he throws the missile.'

द्वितीया ब्राह्मणे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीया, ब्राह्मणे, (दिवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्राह्मणविषये प्रयोगे दिवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि कारके द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

60. The object of the verb div when having the above-mentioned sense of dealing' or 'staking' takes the second case-affix in the Brâhmaṇa literature.

Ex. गामस्य तदहः सभायां दीव्येयुः (Maitr. S. 1. 6. 11) In the Vedic literature the simple verb div takes the accusative instead of the genitive. And with upasargas it is optional. The anuvṛitti of the word शेष does not extend to this sûtra, or the following.

प्रेष्यब्रुवोर्हविषोदेवतासंप्रदाने ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रेष्य-ब्रुवोः, हविषः, देवता-सम्प्रदाने (षष्ठी कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेष्यब्रुवोर्हविषः कर्मणः षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति देवता संप्रदानेसति ॥

61. The object of the verb preshya and brûhi (imperative singular of Divâdi verb, meaning 'send' and 'utter,') denoting sacrificial food, takes the sixth case-affix, when making offerings to deity is meant or when deity is the recepient.

Ex. अग्नये छागस्य हविषोवपाया मेदसोऽनुब्रूहि प्रेष्य वा 'send to fire as oblation, the goat, the fat, and the marrow.' But not here.—अग्नये छागं हविर्वपां मेदो जुहुधि. Because the verb is not preshya or bruhi So also not here अग्नये गोमयान् प्रेष्य. Because it is not an oblation. Not here too मावावकाय पुरोडाशं प्रे ष्य. Because the recepient is not a diety. Compare VIII. 2. 91.

Vart:—This rule does not apply when the word प्रस्थित 'set out' qualifies the word हविः as; इन्द्राग्निभ्यां छागं हविर्वपां मेदः प्रस्थितं प्रेष्य 'send to Indra and Agni the oblation set out for them' &c.

चतुर्थ्यर्थे बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी-अर्थे, बहुलं, छन्दसि (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये चतुर्थ्यर्थे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति बहुलम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ षष्ठ्यर्थे चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥

62. In the chhandas the sixth case-affix is employed diversely with the force of the fourth case-affix.

Ex. पुरुषमृगश्चन्द्रमसः or चन्द्रमसे 'to the moon, a male deer.' गोधा कालका दार्वाघाटस्ते वनस्पतीनाम् or वनस्पतिभ्यः, to you lords of the forest, are lizard, kâlaka bird, &c. So also वायुरस्मा उपा मन्थत् (R. Ved X. 136. 7).

Why do we say 'diversely ?' Observe कृष्णो रात्र्यै, हिमवतो हस्ती.

Vart:—In the Veda, the 4th case-affix is employed in the sense of the sixth: as या खर्वेण पिबति तस्यै खर्वो जायते 'who soever woman drinks with a woman in her courses, gets herself in menstrua. So also या दतो धावति तस्यै श्यावदन् 'who cleans her teeth, her teeth become black.' या नखानि कृन्तति तस्यै कुनखः 'who pairs her nails, her nails become ugly.' So on, in याऽक्तेतस्यै काणः याऽभ्यङ्क्तेतस्यै दुश्चर्मा, या केशान् प्रलिखति तस्यै खलति ॥ अहल्यायै जारः (T. S. 2. 5. 1. 7.)

यजेश्च करणे ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि यजेः, च, करणे, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजेर्धातोः करणे कारके छन्दसि बहुलं षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

63. The sixth case-affix is diversely employed in the chhandas in denoting the instrument of the verb yaj 'to sacrifice.'

Ex. घृतस्य or घृतेन यजते 'he sacrifices with butter.' सोमस्य or सोमेन यजते ॥

कृत्वोऽर्थप्रयोगे कालेऽधिकरणे ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्वो-अर्थप्रयोगे, काले, अधिकरणे (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्वसुजर्थानां प्रत्ययानां प्रयोगे कालेऽधिकरणे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

64. The sixth case-affix is employed in denoting location (adhikarana) after a word denoting time (kâla) when used along with a word ending with an affix having the sense of kritvasuch (V. 4, 17) 'so many times.'

Ex. पंचकृत्वोऽह्नो भुंक्ते 'he eats five times a day.' In short, 'words meaning so many times, or the numeral adverbs of frequency, govern the genitive of time in the sense of locative.' As द्विरह्नोऽधीते 'he studies twice in a day.'

Why do we say 'having the force of कृत्वसुच् ? Observe अहनि शेते 'he sleeps in the day.'

This rule will not apply when the adverb of frequency is understood, not expressed (prayoga) as in अहनि भुक्तम्. Nor when the time is not meant, as द्विः कांस्यपात्र्यां भुंक्ते 'he eats in two brass vessels.' So also when

location is not meant: as द्विरह्नो भुङ्क्ते. The शेष being understood we have द्विरह्न्यधीते.

कर्तृकर्मणोः कृति ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-कर्मणोः, कृति । (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्प्रयोगे कर्त्तरि कर्मणि च षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

65. The sixth case affix is employed after a word, in denoting the agent and the object, when used along with a word ending with a kṛit affix (III. 1.93).

Ex. क्रियां कालिदासस्य 'the composition of Kâlidâsa.' आहर्ता क्रतूनां 'the performer of sacrifice.' So also भवतः शायिका 'your turn of lying down.' अपां स्रष्टा, पुरां भेत्ता वज्रस्य भर्त्ता. But not in शस्त्रेणभेत्ता 'cutting with weapon.'

Why do we say 'kṛit?' Not so when a Taddhita-affix is employed as कृतपूर्वीकटं. In other words, the genitive in Sanskrit is both subjective and objective.

उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणि ॥ ६६ ॥ उभयप्राप्तौ, कर्मणि, (कृति षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उभयोः प्राप्तिर्यस्मिन्कृति सोयमुभयप्राप्तिस्तत्रकर्मण्येव षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति, न कर्तरि ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अकाकारयोः स्त्री प्रत्यययोः प्रयोगे नेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शेषे विभाषा ॥

66. When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the words formed by kṛit-affixes, are both used in a sentence, in the object only, the sixth case-affix is employed, and not in the agent (the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent).

आश्चर्यो गवां दोहोऽगोपालकेन 'the milking of a cow without a cowherd is a wonder.' रोचते मे ओदनस्य भोजनं देवदत्तेन. 'The eating of rice by Devadatta pleases me;' पयसः पानं यज्ञदत्तेन 'the drinking of milk by Yajñadatta.'

Vart:—'When the agent and object are both used, the agent is put in the instrumental, or genitive case, when, as some say, the kṛit terminations are of the feminine gender, or as others say, when the terminations are of any gender; as, विचित्रा जगतः कृतिर्हरेर्हरिणा वा 'the creation of the world by Hari is wonderful.' शब्दानामनुशासनमाचार्येण आचार्यस्यवा 'the dissertation on words by the âchárya' बविशाहि सूत्रस्य कृतिः पाणिनेः or पाणिनिना 'beautiful is the structure of sûtra by Pâṇini.' Apte.

क्तस्य च, वर्त्तमाने ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तस्य, च, वर्त्तमाने (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तस्य वर्तमानकालविहितस्य प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नपुंसके भावउपसंख्यानम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शेषविज्ञानात् सिद्धम् ॥

67. The past participle ending in क्त when used in the sense of the present tense, (III. 2. 187 and 188) is used with the genitive.

Ex. राज्ञां पूजितः 'honored by kings,' अहमेवमतो महीपतेः 'I alone am regarded by the king.'

Why do we say 'क्त'? Observe ओदनं पचमानः 'rice is cooked.' Why do we say 'when denoting the present tense'? Observe ग्रामं गतः 'gone to the village.

Vart:—When used as abstract neuter nouns, past participles are used with the genitive, as मयूरस्य नृत्तं 'the dancing of a peacock छात्रस्य हसितं 'the laughing of the student', कोकिलस्य व्याहृतम् 'the screaming of the cuckoo.' When, however, agent is desired to be particularised, the instrumental case is employed: as छात्रेण हसितम्.

This sûtra debars sûtra 69 by which genitive is prohibited after Nishṭhâ affixes. This is an exception to that sûtra.

अधिकरणवाचिनश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरणवाचिनः, च, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तोऽधिकरणे चेति वक्ष्यति तस्य प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

68. The past participle in क्त is used with the genitive when the former expresses location (III. 4. 76).

This also is an exception to the prohibition about Nishṭhâ contained in II. 3. 69. As इदमेषामासितम् 'this is their seat.' इदमेषां शयितं 'this is their sleeping.'

In connection with verbs taking two objects, both take the genitive case, when a word ending in kṛit-affix denotes the agent, as they would have taken the accusative: as, नेताऽश्वस्य ग्रामस्य चैत्रः 'Chaitra is the leader of the horse of the village.' When, however, one is the principal, then the object takes the genitive: as, नेताऽश्वस्य ग्रामं चैत्रः, 'Chaitra leads the horse to the village.'

न लोकाव्ययनिष्ठाखलर्थतृनाम् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ल-उ-उक-अव्यय-निष्ठा-खलर्थ-तृनाम्, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल उ उक अव्यय निष्ठा खलर्थ तृन् इत्येतेषां प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्न भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उक प्रतिषेधे कमेर्भाषायामप्रतिषेधः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अव्ययप्रतिषेधे तोसुन्कसुनोरप्रतिषेधः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्विषः शतुर्वा वचनम् ॥

69. The sixth case-affix is not used to express the agent or the object, when the word is governed by an Active Participle ending in the affix ल, or उ, or उक, or by an Indeclinable, or by a Past Participle in क्त and क्तवतु, or by a word ending in an affix having the sense of खल् or by a Noun of agency formed by तृन् ॥

After these words, the Instrumental case must be employed to denote the Agent, and the Accusative case to denote the object. This sûtra debars Genitive which would have come by II. 3. 65. The word लोक is formed by ल+उ+उक=ल+उक=लोक.

1. The word ल means the substitutes of ल *i.e.*, the Present Participles in शतृ, शानच् (III. 2. 124), कानच् (III. 2. 106) क्वसु (III. 2. 107) कि and किन् (III. 2. 172). Thus ओदनं पचन्, पचमानः, पेचानः or पेचिवान्, पपिः सोमम्, ददिर्गाः ॥

2. The affix उ is enjoined by III. 2. 168, as, कटं चिकीर्षुः, ओदनं बुभुक्षुः ॥ The prohibition applies when a word ending in इष्णुच् (III. 2. 136) is the governing term; as, कन्यामलंकरिष्णुः ॥

3. The affix उक is ordained by III. 2. 154: as आगामुकं वाराणसीं रक्ष आहुः॥

Vart:— But the word कामुक in the classical Sanskrit, governs the Genitive, as दास्याः कामुकः 'lusting for the slave.'

4. Indeclinables formed by कृत् affixes, as, कटं कृत्वा, ओदनं भुक्त्वा ॥

Vart:—This prohibition, however, does not apply to the indeclinables formed by तोसुन् (III 4. 16) and कसुन् (III. 4. 17), as, पुरा सूर्यस्योदेतोराधेयः पुरा क्रूरस्य विसृपो विरप्शिन् (I. 1. 40).

5. Nishṭhâ *i.e.*, क्त and क्तवतु; as ओदनं भुक्तवान् देवदत्तेन कृतम्.

6. The words formed by खलर्थ affixes (III. 3. 126), as. ईषत्करो भवता कटः, ईषत्पानः सोमो भवता.

7. The तृन् in the aphorism is a pratyâhâra, formed by taking the तृ of शतृ (III. 2. 129) and the final न् of तृन् (III. 2. 135), meaning the affixes शानन् (III. 2. 128), चानश् (III. 2. 129), शतृ (III. 2. 130) and तृन् (III. 2. 135). As सोमं पवमानः, नडमाघ्नानः, अधीयन्, पारायणम्, कर्ता कटान्, वदिता जनापवादान् ।

Vart:—Optionally so, when the root द्विष् takes the affix शतृ, as, चौरं or चौरस्य द्विषन् ॥

अकेनोर्भविष्यदाधमर्ण्ययोः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अक-इनोः, भविष्यत्-आधमर्ण्ययोः (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकस्य भविष्यति काले विहितस्येनस्तु भविष्यति आधमर्ण्ये च विहितस्य प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्न भवति ॥

70. The sixth case-affix is not used when the word is governed by a verbal noun in अक denoting futurity, or in इन् denoting 'futurity and indebtedness.'

The affix अक, such as ण्वुल्, वुञ् &c., denote futurity, and never denote indebtedness. The affix इन् such as णिनि (III. 3. 3 and 170) denotes both. Thus कटं कारको व्रजति 'he goes to make a mat.' ओदनं भोजको व्रजति 'he goes to eat rice.' So also with इन्, as ग्रामंगमी or गामी 'he has to go to the village.' शतं दायी 'he owes hundred.'

Why do we say 'when denoting futurity or indebtedness'? Observe यवानां लावकः 'the cutter of barley.' सक्तूनां पायकः, अवश्यं करी कटस्य ॥

Why is the Genitive employed in the following वर्षशतस्य पूरकः, पुत्रपौत्राणां दर्शकः? The words पूरक and दर्शक, though formed by अक (III. 1. 133), are not formed by that अक which denotes futurity, *viz.*, III. 3. 10. The present sûtra relates to this latter अक, and not every अक in general.

कृत्यानां कर्त्तरि वा ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्यानां, कर्त्तरि, वा, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यानां प्रयोगे कर्त्तरि वा षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति, न कर्मणि ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उभयप्राप्तौ कृत्ये षष्ठ्या प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

71. The sixth case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the agent, (but not the object), when the word is governed by a Future Passive Participle (kṛitya).

By II. 3. 65, verbal nouns, (kṛit-formed), always govern the Genitive in denoting agent or object. The present sûtra declares an option as to agent only, in the case of those verbal nouns which are Future Passive Participles. Thus भवतः or भवता कटः कर्त्तव्यः (III. 1. 95).

Why do we say 'in denoting the agent'? In denoting the object, no option is allowed; the Genitive is compulsory. As गेयो माणवकः साम्नाम् ॥

Vart:—The prohibition of the Genitive should be stated in the case of the Future Passive Participles of those verbs which govern two objects. Thus आकृष्टव्या ग्रामं शाखा देवदत्तेन, नेतव्या ग्राममजा देवदत्तेन ॥

तुल्यार्थैरतुलोपमाभ्यां तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुल्य-अर्थैः, अतुल-उपमाभ्यां, तृतीया, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुल्यार्थैः शब्दैर्योगे तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवत्यन्यतरस्यां, पक्षे षष्ठी च, तुलोपमा शब्दौ वर्जयित्वा ॥

72. The third or the sixth case-affix may optionally be employed, when the word is joined with another word meaning 'like to or resemblance'; excepting तुला and उपमा

Thus तुल्यो देवदत्तेन or देवदत्तस्य, सदृशो देवदत्तेन, or देवदत्तस्य ॥ But with तुला and उपमा the Genitive must necessarily be employed. As तुला देवदत्तस्य नास्ति, उपमा कृष्णस्य न विद्यते ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of वा was understood in this sûtra from the previous sûtra, yet the repitition of अन्यतरस्याम् is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra. The word च in II. 3. 73 attracts the word अन्यतरस्याम् into that sûtra; but had the word अन्यतरस्याम् not been used in this sûtra, then the word च would have attracted the word तृतीया instead, which is not desired.

On this sûtra, Professor Apte says:—'Pâṇini says that the words तुला and उपमा can not be used with the Instrumental. But this is against good usage: as, तुलां यदारोहति दंतवाससा (Kum. Sam. V. 24), नभसा तुलां समारुरोह (Raghuvaṁsa VIII. 15), स्फुटोपमं भूतिसितेन शंभुना (Mâgh I. 4).'

चतुर्थी चाशिष्यायुष्यमद्रभद्रकुशलसुखार्थहितैः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी, च, आशिषि, आयुष्य-मद्र-भद्र-कुशल-सुख-अर्थ-हितैः, (अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि गम्यमानायाम् आयुष्य मद्र भद्र कुशल सुख अर्थ हित इत्येतैर्योगे चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति । चकारो विकल्पानुकर्षणार्थः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अत्रायुष्यादीनां पर्यायग्रहणं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

73. The fourth as well as the sixth case-affix may be employed, when blessing is intended in connection with the words âyusha 'long life,' madra 'joy,' bhadra 'good fortune,' kuśala 'welfare,' sukha 'happiness,' artha 'prosperity,' and hita 'good.'

The च in the sûtra makes the employment of Dative optional: in the alternative we have Genitive.

Vart:—In this sûtra आयुष्य &c., include their synonyms also.

Thus आयुष्यं देवदत्ताय भूयात् or आयुष्यं देवदत्तस्य भूयात् ॥ Similarly चिरं जीवितं; मद्रं, भद्रं, कुशलं, निरामयं, सुखं, शं, अर्थो; प्रयोजनं, हितं पथ्यं देवदत्ताय or देवदत्तस्य भूयात् ॥

Why do we say when 'benediction is intended'? Observe आयुष्यं देवदत्तस्य तपः 'the austerity is the cause of the long life of Devadatta.' Here there is no option allowed: and the Genitive case is only employed.

ओ३म्

॥ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

BOOK II.

CHAPTER IV.

द्विगुरेकवचनम् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगुः । एक-वचनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगुः समासः एकवचनं भवति ॥

1. The compound Dvigu (II. 1. 52) is singular in number.

The word एकवचन is a genitive Tat-purusha compound meaning 'the expression for one,' that is to say, it expresses the sense of unity. The rule therefore, enjoins that the sense inherent in a Dvigu compound is that of unity.

This is confined to Samâhâra Dvigu *i. e.*, an aggregate compound taken in a collective sense. As, पञ्चगवं 'an aggregate of five cows,' पञ्चपली (IV. 1. 21.). The sense of Dvigu being that of one, it follows that it retains the singular number even when further modified by other affixes, and used as an attributive and though no longer a Dvigu; as, पञ्चपूलीयं शोभना ॥

द्वन्द्वश्च प्राणितूर्यसेनाङ्गानाम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वः, च, प्राणि-तूर्य-सेना-अङ्गानाम् (एकवचनं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राण्यङ्गानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति, तथातूर्याङ्गाना सेनाङ्गानां च ॥

2. A Dvandva compound too is singular in number, when it is compounded of words signifying members of the animal body, players (or singers or dancers) and component parts of an army.

As, पाणिपादम् 'the hand and foot' शिरोग्रीवं 'the head and neck' मार्दङ्गिकपाणविकम् 'players on the mṛidaṅga and panava (kinds of drums)' रथिकाश्वरोहम् 'the soldiers on chariot and horse.' वीणावादकपरिवादकम्, रथिक-पादातम् ॥

This rule applies to cases of Samâhâra Dvandva or aggregate Dvandva Compounds only; and not to Itaretara Dvandva (II. 2. 29.)

In the Dvandva Compounds of animals such as elephants, horses, &c., the singular is optional; (II. 4. 12.) The present rule also gives us an index as to where we must make Samâhâra Dvandva and where an Itaretara Dvandva. The Dvandva compounds of words signifying members of animal body, players or army, are always and solely Samâhâra Dvandva. The compounds of words like दधिपयसी 'curd and milk' (II. 4. 14.) are purely Itaretara Dvandva and can never be Samâhâra Dvandva; while compounds of words denoting tree, animals &c., (II. 4. 12.) are optionally either Samâhâra or Itaretara Dvandva.

अनुवादे चरणानाम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुवादे, चरणानाम् ।
(द्वन्द्वः, एकवचनम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ चरणानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति अनुवादे गम्यमाने ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्थेणोरद्यतन्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

3. A Dvandva compound of words signifying persons belonging to the different Vedic-Schools When the sense is that of repetition, is singular.

The word चरण means a school or branch of any of the Vedas designated by the name of the person who founded such a branch and hence means such a person. The word अनुवाद means repetition by way of explanation, illustration or corroboration; that is to say, when a speaker demonstrates for some special purposes, a proposition which had already been demonstrated before, that is called anuvâdâ.

This aggregate is used with the aorist of the roots स्था and इङ् only; as उदगात् कठकालापम् 'kaṭha and kâlâpa arose (again, further demonstrating their doctrines)'; प्रत्यष्ठात् कठकौथुमम् 'kaṭha and kauthuma established again.

Why do we say 'when meaning repetition'? Observe उदगुः कठकालापाः or प्रत्यष्ठुः कठकौथुमाः, when demonstration for the first time is meant. It is the aorist of स्था and इङ् which takes such a Dvandva and not any other verb or any other tense of these verbs; as:—अनन्दिषुः कठकालापाः and उद्यन्ति कठकालापाः

Note:—This sûtra is translated thus by Mr. Iyangar, 'Aggregation alone is admissible between words denoting persons belonging to the different charaṇas of the Vedas, when they are used along with the aorist derived from the roots sthâ and iṅ in the sense of recitation of the charaṇas as already learnt, as distinguished from learning them the first time.' Prof. Bohthlingk's translation is. 'The Dvandva Compound of the names of Vedic-Schools is singular, when such a school is repeatedly mentioned equally along with another

अध्वर्युक्रतुरनपुंसकम् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्वर्य्यु, क्रतुः अ-नपुंसकम् । (द्वन्द्व, एकवचनम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्वर्यु क्रतुवाचिनां शब्दानामनपुंसकलिङ्गानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

4. A Dvandva compound of words denoting sacrifices (kratu) ordained by the Yajur (Adhvaryu) Veda, is singular, provided they are never used in the neuter gender.

As, अर्काश्वमेधम् 'the Arks and Aśvamedha sacrifices,' सायाह्नातिरात्रम् 'the Sâyâhna and Atirâtra sacrifices.

Why do we say 'Yajur-veda sacrifices? Observe इषुवज्रौ 'the Ishu and Vajra ceremonies,' उद्भिद्बलभिदौ ॥

Why do we say 'when not in the neuter gender'? Observe राजसूयवाजपेयौ 'the Râjasûya and Vâjapeya sacrifices.'

Why have we दर्शपौर्णमासौ? Because the word क्रतुः is a technical term applying only to Soma-sacrifices and not any sacrifices in general. Therefore, though Darśa and Paurṇamâsa are Yajur-veda ceremonies, they not being Soma ceremonies, the present rule does not apply.

अध्ययनतोऽविप्रकृष्टाख्यानाम् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्ययनतः, अविप्रकृष्ट-आख्यानाम्, (द्वन्द्व, एकवचनम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्ययनेन निमित्तेन येषामविप्रकृष्टा प्रत्यासन्ना आख्या तेषां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

5. A Dvandva compound of words denoting (persons who have studied) subjects, which in their order of study are not remote from each other, is singular.

As, पदकक्रमकम् 'a person who has studied the pada arrangement and a person who has studied the krama arrangement; so also क्रमकवार्त्तिकम्.

Why do we say 'order of study'? Observe पितापुत्रौ 'father and son.' Why do we say 'not remote'? See याज्ञिकवैयाकरणौ 'sacrifice-knower and the grammarian.'

जातिरप्राणिनाम् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातिः, अप्राणिनाम्, (द्वन्द्व, एकव०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचिनां शब्दानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति, प्राणिनो वर्जयित्वा ॥

6. A Dvandva compound of words signifying jâti (genus) which are not names of living beings, is singular.

Thus आराशस्त्रि 'the probe and the knife'; धानाशष्कुलि 'fried rice and barley cake.'

Why do we say 'words denoting genus'? Observe नन्दकपाञ्चजन्यौ 'Nandaka and Pânchajanya.'

Why do we say 'not of living'? See ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियौ "Brahmaṇas and the Kshatriyas.'

This rule applies to the jâti or genus names of substances (द्रव्यजाति) and not the jati names of qualities and actions. (गुणक्रियाजाति), Thus रूपरसगन्धस्पर्शाः 'colour, savour, odour, and tangibility'; गमनाकुञ्चनप्रसारणानि 'going, contraction and expansion.'

Even with jati names of substances, the Dvandva compound takes singular, only when the objects are spoken of collectively as a class; when, however, the individuals belonging to a class are indicated, the proper number should be employed; as, इह कुण्डे बदरामलकानि तिष्ठन्ति 'in this bowl are the badari and âmalaki fruits'

The words जाति 'genus,' द्रव्य 'substace,' गुण 'quality' and क्रिया 'action' are technical terms of Indian Logicians. Jâti has already been explained. Substances are nine: earth, water, light, air, ether, time, space, soul, and mind. Qualities are twenty-four: colour, savour, odour tangibility, number, dimension, severalty, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, weight, fluidity, viscidity, sound, understanding, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, effort, merit, demerit and faculty. There are five actions: throwing upwards, throwing downwards, contraction, expension, and going.

विशिष्टलिङ्गो नदी देशोऽग्रामाः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशिष्ट-लिङ्गः, नदी, देशः, अग्रामाः, (द्वन्द्व०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विशिष्टलिङ्गानां भिन्नलिङ्गानां नदीवाचिनां शब्दानां देशवाचिनां च ग्रामवर्जितानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अग्रामा इत्यत्र नगराणां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उभयतश्च ग्रामाणां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

7. A Dvandva compound of words of different genders, denoting names of rivers and countries, but not of towns, is singular.

Thus गंगाशोणम् 'the Ganges and the Sona.' कुरवः + कुरुक्षेत्रं = कुरुकुरुक्षेत्रं 'the country of the Kurus and the Kurukshetra.' उद्ध्यैरावती जाम्बवं नगरम् ॥

Why do we say 'of different genders'? Observe गंगायमुने 'the Ganges and the Yamuna.' Both being feminine gender, so also मद्रकेकयाः ॥

Why do we say 'rivers and countries'? Observe कुक्कुटमयूर्यौ 'the hen and the pea-hen.'

Why do we say 'not of a town? See जाम्बवशालूकिन्यौ 'Jâmbaba and Sâlukinî, which are the names of two villages or grama.

We have taken the word 'river,' as the word 'country' does not include 'river.' So also 'mountains' are not included; as कैलासगन्धमादने the Kailasa and the Gandhamadana.'

Vart:—The prohibition extends to villages and towns (grâma) but not to cities, (Nagara), as मथुरापाटलिपुत्रं 'the cities of Mathura and Pataliputra.'

Vart:—When a compound consists of two words, one a town and the other a city, the prohibition applies; as सौर्यकेतवते 'the city of Saurya and the village of Ketavata.'

क्षुद्रजन्तवः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुद्र-जन्तवः, (द्वन्द्व एकवचनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुद्रजन्तु वाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

8. A Dvandva compound of words signifying small animals, is singular.

Thus यूकालिक्षम् 'the louse and the nil'; दंशमशकम् 'the bug and the mosquito.' The word क्षुद्रजन्तु means an animal of a very small size. Some say that animals not having bones are called क्षुद्रजन्तु, (invertebrates); others say, those which are small in size; others say, all below the mongoose are kshudrajantu.

येषां च विरोधः शाश्वतिकः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ येषां, च, विरोधः, शाश्वतिकः (द्वन्द्वः, एकव०) ॥

वृत्ति ॥ येषां शाश्वतिको विरोधस्तद्वाचिनां शब्दानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

9. A Dvandva compound of words signifying those animals only among whom there is permanent enmity *i. e.* natural and eternal antipathy or quarrel, is singular.

The word विरोध means enmity: and शाश्वतिकः means permanent.

Thus, मार्जारमूषकम् 'the cat and the rat; श्वशृगालम् 'the dog and the jackal'; अहिनकुलं. 'the snake and the mongoose.'

Why do we say 'natural and eternal'? Observe गौपालिशालंकायनाः कलहायन्ते 'Gaupali and Salankayana are quarrelling.'

The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of एव 'only.' Dvandva compounds of such animals only are invariably singular; no other rule, even if otherwise applicable, would apply to such compounds.

Thus rule 12 says that Dvandva compounds of beasts and birds, is optionally singular That rule (by I. 4, 2.) would have set aside the present rule But च prevents that, and no optional plural number is allowed in case of beasts or birds that are naturally at war; as अश्वमहिषम्. 'the horse and the buffalo'; काकोलूकम् 'the crow and the owl.'

शूद्राणामनिरवसितानाम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ शूद्राणाम्, अ-निर्-व-सितानाम्, (द्वन्द्वः, एकव०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनिरवसितशूद्रवाचिनां शब्दानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

10. A Dvandva compound of words denoting those classes of Sûdras who have not been expelled from the communion of higher classes, is singular.

Thus, तक्षायस्कारम् 'the carpenter and the blacksmith'; रजकतन्तुवायम् 'the washerman and the weaver.'

The word अनिर्वसित means one not expelled (from the dish).

A Sûdra who can take food from the dish of a higher class, without permanently defiling that vessel, is called an Anirvasita Sûdra.

Why do we say 'not expelled'? Observe चण्डालमृतपाः 'the Chandala and the Mritâpa.'

गवाश्वप्रभृतीनि ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि । गवाश्व-प्रभृतीनि, (एक-वचनम्, द्वन्द्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गवाश्वप्रभृतीनि कृतैकवद्भावानि द्वन्द्वरूपाणि साधूनि भवंति ॥

11. The word gavâśva, and others are also Dvandva compounds which take the singular number.

Thus गवाश्वम् 'the cow and the horse.' So also गवाविकम्.

गवाश्वादिः

1. गवाश्वम्. 2. गवाविकम्. 3. गवैडकम्. 4. अजाविकम्. 5. अजैडकम्. 6. कुब्जवामनम्. 7. कुब्जकैरातकम्. 8. पुत्रपौत्रम्. 9. श्वचण्डालम्. 10. स्त्रीकुमारम्. 11. दासीमाणवकम्. 12. शाटीपिच्छकम्. 13. उष्ट्रखरम्. 14. उष्ट्रशशम्. 15. मूत्रशकृत 16. मूत्रपुरीषम्. 17. यकृन्मेदः. 18. मांसशोणितम्. 19. दर्भशरम्. 20. दर्भपूतीकम्. 21. अर्जुनशिरीषम्. 22. तृणोलपम्. 23. दासीदासम्. 24. कुटीकुटम्. 25. भागवतीभागवतम्.

Vart:—In this list, the forms as given, are singular; but when the same words assume different forms they may take either number. As गोश्वम् or गोश्वौ. In this form of गो and अश्व the next rule applies and option is allowed.

विभाषा वृक्षमृगतृणधान्यव्यञ्जनपशुशकुन्यश्ववडवपूर्वापराधरोत्तराणाम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वृक्ष-मृग-तृण-धान्य-व्यञ्जन-पशु-शकुनि-अश्ववडव-पूर्व-अपर-अधर-उत्तराणाम्, (द्व०ए०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृक्ष मृग तृण धान्य व्यञ्जन पशु शकुनि अश्ववडव पूर्वापर अधरोत्तर इत्येतेषां द्वन्द्वो विभाषैकवद्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुप्रकृतिः फलसेना वनस्पतिमृगशकुनिक्षुद्रजन्तुधान्यतृणानाम् ॥

12. A Dvandva compound of words being the names of trees, wild animals, grass, corn, condiment, domestic beasts and birds, and the compounds aśva-vaḍava, purvâ-para and adharottara, are optionally singular.

12. Thus, प्लक्षन्यग्रोधम् or प्लक्षन्यग्रोधाः 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees'; रुरुपृषतम् or रुरुपृषताः 'the Ruru-deer and the spotted antelopes'; कुशकाशम् or कुशकाशाः 'the Kuśa grass and the Kâsa grass'; व्रीहियवम् or व्रीहियवाः 'the rice and the barley' दधिघृतम् or ते 'the curd and the butter' गोमहिषम् or षाः 'the cow and the buffalo'; तित्तिरिकपिञ्जलम् or लाः 'the Tittiri (a kind of partridge) and the Kapinjala birds'; अश्ववडवम् or वाः 'the horse and the mare'; पूर्वापरम् or रे 'the first and the last'; अधरोत्तरम् or रे 'the upper and lower.

Vart:—The Dvandva compound of words denoting names of fruits, army, large trees, wild animals, birds, small animals grain and grass, is singular, when a large number or quantity of these is spoken of; that is when a large number of them is taken collectively, the compound is singular, otherwise not; as, बदरामलके तिष्ठतः 'a badari and an âmalâki fruit are here'; रथिकाश्वारोहौ 'a charioteer and a horseman'; प्लक्षन्यग्रोधौ 'a Plaksha and a Nyagrodha tree'; रुरुपृषतौ 'a Ruru and a Prishata deer'; हंसचक्रवाकौ 'a Hansa and a Chakravaka bird'; यूकालिक्षे 'a louse and nit'; व्रीहियवौ 'a brîhi and yava grain'; कुशकाशौ 'the kuśa and káśa grass.

विप्रतिषिद्धं चानधिकरणवाचि ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विप्रतिषिद्धं, च, अनधिकरण-वाचि, (विभाषा द्व० एक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विप्रतिषिद्धार्थानां शब्दानामनधिकरणवाचिनामद्रव्यवाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति विभाषानुकर्षणार्थश्चकारः ॥

13. A Dvandva compound of words of contrary significations, but not being the names of concrete substances, is optionally singular.

Thus शीतोष्णम् or शीतोष्णे 'cold and heat'; सुखदुःखं or सुखदुःखे 'pleasure and pain'; जीवितमरणं or जीवितमरणे 'life and death.'

The word विप्रतिषिद्ध means words of contrary significations, च indicates the anuvritti of the word 'optionally' from the last sûtra.

Why do we say ' of contrary significations '? Observe, कामक्रोधौ ' lust and anger,' which are not of contrary significations.

Why do we say ' not being the names of substances '? Observe शीतोष्णे उदके ' cold and warm waters,' which denote substances.

न दधिपय आदीनि ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दधिपयः, आदीनि (द्वं०ए०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दधिपय आदीनि शब्दरूपाणि नैकवद्भवन्ति ॥

14. The Dvandva compounds like 'dadhipáya' &c., are not singular.

Thus दधिपयसी ' the curd and the milk '; सर्पिर्मधुनी or मधुसर्पिषी ' the clarified butter and the honey.'

With this sûtra begins prohibition of singular number which previous sûtras would have caused.

The following is a list of such compounds :—

1. दधिपयसी. 2. सर्पिर्मधुनी or मधुसर्पिषी. 3. ब्रह्मप्रजापती. 4. शिववैश्रवणौ. 5. स्कन्दविशाखौ. 6. परिव्राट्कौशिकौ. 7. प्रवर्ग्योपसदौ. 8. शुक्लकृष्णौ. 9. इध्माबर्हिषी ॥ निपातनाद्दीर्घः ॥ 10. दीक्षातपसी. 11. श्रद्धातपसी. 12. मेधातपसी. 13. अध्ययनतपसी. 14. उलूखलमुसले. 15. आद्यावसाने. 16. श्रद्धामेधे. 17. ऋक्सामे. 18. वाङ्मनसे.

अधिकरणैतावत्वे च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरण-एता वत्वे, च, (न द्वं०ए०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणं वर्त्तिपदार्थः, स हि समासस्यार्थस्याधारः तस्यैतावत्वे परिमाणे गम्यमाने द्वन्द्वो नैकवद्भवति ॥

15. A Dvandva compound denoting a fixed number (etavatva) of concrete things (adhikarṇa) is not singular.

As, दश दन्तोष्ठाः ' ten sets of teeth and lips '; दशमार्दङ्गिकपाणविकाः ' ten sets of drum and panavika players.' Compare II. 4. 2.

विभाषा समीपे ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा समीपे, (अधिकरणैतावत्वे, द्वन्द्वः एकव०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणैतावत्वस्य समीपे विभाषा द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

16. A Dvandva compound, denoting an approximate number of concrete substances, is optionally singular.

As, उपदशं दन्तोष्ठं or उपदशा दन्तोष्ठाः 'nearly ten *i.e.*, nine or eleven sets of teeth and lips'; उपदशं मार्दङ्गिकपाणविकम् or उपदशा मार्दङ्गिकपाणविकाः nearly ten (nine or eleven) mṛidaṅga and panava players.'

An indeclinable, when compounded with a numeral, may either be a Bahuvrîhi or an Avyayîbhava compound. When the compound is singular in form, it is Avyayîbhava, and when it takes proper number-terminations, it is Bhuvrîhi compound. As, उपदशं; उपदशाः (II. 2. 25).

स नपुंसकम् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, नपुंसकम् (एकवचनम्, द्वन्द्वः, द्विगुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्यायमेकवद्भावो विहितः स नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति द्विगुर्द्वन्द्वश्च ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अकारान्तोत्तरपदो द्विगुः स्त्रियां भाष्यते ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वाऽऽबन्तः स्त्रियामिष्टः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनो नलोपश्च वा च द्विगुः स्त्रियाम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पात्राद्भ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

17. It, namely the Dvigu or the Dvandva compound, with regard to which singular number has been ordained by the above rules, is always a neuter gender

As, दशगवम् 'an aggregate of ten cows,'; पाणिपादम् 'hands and feet, शिरोग्रीवम् 'head and neck.'

This sûtra debars the operation of the rule by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent member. See II. 4. 26

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which ends in short अ, is employed in the feminine gender only; as पञ्चपूली, दशरथी.

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a feminine word ending in आप् affix, is optionally feminine; as, पञ्चखट्वम् or पञ्चखट्वी.

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a word inding in अन्, is optionally feminine and the न is elided: as पञ्चतक्षम् or पञ्चतक्षी,

Vart:—A Prohibition must be stated in the case of Dvigu compounds ending in पात्र &c., पञ्चपात्रम्; चतुर्युगम्; त्रिभुवनम्.

अव्ययीभावश्च ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावः, च, (नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावश्च समासो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुण्यसुदिनाभ्यामह्नः क्लीबतेष्यते ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पथः संख्याव्ययादेः क्लीबतेष्यते ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्रियाविशेषणानां कर्मत्वं नपुंसकलिङ्गता च वक्तव्या ॥

18. An Avyayîbhâva (II 1. 6.) compound is also neuter gender.

Thus, अधिस्त्रि 'pertaining to a woman; so also, उपकुमारि, उन्मत्तगंगम् &c.

But for this rule, an Avyayibhava compound would have been either without any gender, if gender were to be regulated by its first member, which is generally an indeclinable, and which is the principal member in the compound; or it would have taken the gender of its subsequent member, like other compounds in which the last member is principal.

The force of च is to include cases not mentioned already.

Vart:—Neuter gender is employed after the word अहन् preceded by पुण्य or सुदिन; as पुण्याहम् 'sacred day'; सुदिनाहम् 'lucky day.

Vart:—The word पथ is neuter when compounded with a numeral or an Avyaya; as त्रिपथम्, चतुष्पथम्, विपथम्, सुपथम्.

Vart:—Adverbs, qualifying verbs, are put in the neuter gender and accusative case; as मृदु पचति 'he cooks mildly,' शोभनं पचति 'he cooks well.'

तत्पुरुषोऽनञ्कर्मधारयः ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषः, अनञ् कर्मधारयः (नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्समासं कर्मधारयं च वर्जयित्वाऽन्यस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवतीत्येतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

19. A Tat-purusha compound, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle nañ, and of the Karmadhâraya compound, becomes neuter gender, in the cases explained in the following sûtras.

This is a governing sûtra and regulates the sense of the succeeding aphorisms which show when a Tat-purusha may be neuter. Thus, ब्राह्मणसेनम् or. ना (II. 4. 25); but दृढसेनो राजा (the compound not being Tat-purusha); असेना (it being a compound with नञ् = अ); and परमसेना (it being Karmadharaya.

संज्ञायां कन्थोशीनरेषु ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, कन्था, उशीनरेषु, (तत्पुरुषः नपुंसकं) ॥

वृत्ति ॥ संज्ञायां विषये कन्थान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति, सा चेत् कन्था उशीनरेषु भवति ॥

20. When denoting an appellative, a Tatpurusha compound ending with the word kanthâ 'town,' is neuter in gender, provided that it is the name of a town situated in the country of the Usînaras.

As, सौशमिकन्थम् 'the town of Sausami'; आह्वरकन्थम् 'the town of Ahwara.'

When not an appellative, the form is different; as, वीरणकन्था. So also if the town is not in the country of the Usînaras; as दाक्षिकन्था.

This debars the rule (II 4. 25.) by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent term. (For accent see IV. 2. 124.)

उपज्ञोपक्रमं तदाद्याचिख्यासायाम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपज्ञा-उपक्रमं, तद्-आदि-आचिख्यासायाम् (तत्पुरुषः, नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपज्ञोपक्रमं तदन्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति तदाद्याचिख्यासायां तयोरुपज्ञोपक्रमयोरादिराचिख्यासायां गम्यमानायाम् ।

21. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words 'upajnâ' (invention) and 'upakrama' (commencement) is neuter in gender, when it is intended to express the starting point of a work which is first invented or commenced.

As, पाणिन्युपज्ञमकालकं व्याकरणम् 'the grammars Kalâpa &c., had their commencement with Panini's invention'; व्याड्युपज्ञं दुष्करणं 'Vyadi, invened Dushkarana'; आढ्योपक्रमं प्रासादः 'the palace is an invention of rich folks'; नन्दोपक्रमाणि मानानि 'the measures are the invention of king Nanda.'

Of course, when it has not this sense, the neuter gender is not employed; as देवदत्तोपज्ञो रथः 'the chariot made by Devadatta,' यज्ञदत्तोपक्रमो रथः 'the chariot commenced by Yajñadatta.' So also the sense may be that of invention &c., but when these words are not employed, the neuter gender is not used; as वाल्मीकिश्लोकाः 'the slokas invented by Valmîki.' N. P. Prof. Bohthlingk gives पाणिन्युपज्ञमकालकं व्याकरणम् 'The Grammar omitting the time of day is the work invented by Panini, (VI. 2. 14).

छाया बाहुल्ये ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ छाया, बाहुल्ये, (तत्पुरुषः, नपुंसक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छायान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति बाहुल्ये गम्यमाने ॥

22. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word chhâyâ 'shadow' is neuter in geuder when the sense is that of profuseness of the thing indicated by the first term.

Thus, शलभच्छायम् 'A crowd of locusts darkening the sky.' इक्षुच्छायम् 'the sugarcane shade i. e., groves of sugarcane.' Otherwise, कुड्यच्छाया 'the shadow of a wall.' (VI. 2. 14, accent.)

The sûtra 25 gives optional neuter; this rule enjoins invariable neuter when chhaya has the sense of profuseness.

सभा राजामनुष्यपूर्वा ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सभा, राजा-मनुष्य-पूर्वा (तत्पुरु०नपुंसक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सभान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति, सा चेत् सभा राजपूर्वा मनुष्यपूर्वा च भवति ॥

23. A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word sabhâ 'court' is neuter, provided that it is preceded by (a word synonymous with) the word Râjâ, or by a word denoting a non-human being.

As इनसभम् 'the King's Court.' ईश्वरसभम् 'Lord's Court.'

But in राजसभा 'the King's Court,' the word is not neuter; for synonyms of राजा are only to be taken and not the word-form राजा; an apparent exception to Rule I. 1. 68.

So also रक्षःसभम् 'the Court of the Rakshasas' पिशाचसभम् 'the Court of the Piśachas.'

But in काष्ठसभा, देवदत्तसभा &c., the word is not neuter; for the word non-human has a technical significance meaning Rakshasa or a monster.

अशाला च ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अशाला, च, (तत्पुरु० नपुंसक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अशाला च या सभा तदन्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति ॥

24. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word sabhâ, when it does not mean a house, but means concourse, is neuter.

As, स्त्रीसभम्, दासीसभम् 'the concourse of ladies and slaves;' otherwise अनाथसभा 'the poor-house.'

विभाषा सेनासुराच्छायाशालानिशानाम् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, सेना-सुर-छाया-शाला-निशानाम्, (नपुंसकं, तत्पुरुषः) ॥

वृत्ति ॥ सेना सुरा छाया शाला निशा इत्येवमन्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गे भवति विभाषा ॥

25. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words senâ 'army' surâ 'wine,' chhâyâ 'shadow', śâlâ 'house, and niśâ 'night,' is optionally neuter, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle nañ (II. 2. 6) and the karmadhâraya compound.

As ब्राह्मणसेना, ब्राह्मणसेनम् 'the Brâhmana army,' यवसुरम्, यवसुरा 'the barley wine,' कुड्यच्छायम्, कुड्यच्छाया 'the shadow of the wall,' गोशालम्, गोशाला 'the cow house.' श्वनिशम्, श्वनिशा 'to-morrow night.' But असेना 'non-army,' परमसेना good army,' the former being negative and the latter karmadharaya compound. For accent see VI. 2. 14. 123.

परवल्लिङ्गं द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ परवत्-लिङ्गम्, द्वन्द्व-तत्पुरुषयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्य यल्लिङ्गं तद्भवति द्वन्द्वस्य तत्पुरुषस्य च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्विगुप्राप्तापन्नालंपूर्वगतिसमासेषु प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

26. The gender of Dvandva or Tat-purusha compound is like that of the last word in it.

This applies to Itaretara Dvandva or coupling by mutual conjunction कुक्कुटमयूर्याविमे 'those two (fem.) the cock and the peahen' मयूरीकुक्कुटाविमौ 'those two (mas.) the peahen and the cock.' The Samâhara Dvandva is always neuter. So also in Tat-purusha compound not especially mentioned in the previous aphorism: As अर्द्धपिप्पल्याः, अर्द्धपिप्पली 'half a pippali' अर्द्धकोशतकी.

Vart :—Prohibition must be made in regard to (1) Dvigu compound, (2) compounds with प्राप्त, आपन्न and, अलं, and (3) compounds with Gati words; as, पंचकपालः 'Purodasa prepared in five cups'; प्राप्तजीविकः (प्राप्त + जीविका) 'has obtained living,' आपन्नजीविकः, अलंजीविकः; निष्कौशाम्बिः 'gone beyond Kausambi.

पूर्ववदश्ववडवौ ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्ववद्, अश्व-वडवा, (लिङ्गम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्ववडवयोः पूर्ववल्लिङ्गं भवति ॥

27. The gender of the compound of the word aśva 'horse' and vadava 'a mare,' is like that of the first word in it.

This applies where the compound is not an aggregate by rule II. 4. 12; in that case it will be neuter, अश्ववडवाविमौ; अश्ववडवान्, अश्ववडवैः &c., (in every number and case) 'those two (mas.) the horse and the mare.' This is an exception to the last and general rule, by which the gender of the subsequent term, guides the gender of the whole compound

हेमन्तशिशिरावहोरात्रे च च्छन्दसि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेमन्त-शिशिरौ, अहो-रात्रे, च, छन्दसि, (पूर्ववत्, लिङ्गम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तशिशिरौ अहोरात्रे इत्येतयो श्छन्दसि विषये पूर्ववल्लिङ्गं भवति ॥

28. Of the compounds 'hemantaśiśirau' and 'ahoratre' the gender is like that of the first word; in the Chhandas, (vedas).

हेमन्तशिशिरावृतूनां प्रीणामि, अहोरात्रे इदं ब्रूमः ॥

This aphorism debars the general rule given in II. 4. 26.

This applies to these words in all cases and numbers, not being confined to them in the dual number, though exhibited in the sûtra in the dual number, as:—पूर्वपक्षाश्चितयः, अपरपक्षाः पुरीषम्, अहोरात्राणीष्टकाः 'The white fortnight is fuel-wood, the black fortnight is the dung-cake, and days and nights are bricks (of the altar of sacrifice).'

Why do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe दुःखे हेमन्तशिशिरे, अहोरात्राविमौ पुण्यौ. In the Vedas the ordinary rules of gender are often set aside; this an individual example of the universally exceptional nature of the Vedic language.

रात्राह्नाहाः पुंसि ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्र-अह्न-अहाः, पुंसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रात्र अह्न अह इत्येते पुंसि भाष्यन्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनुवाकादयः पुंसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

29. The Dvandva and Tatpurusha compound ending with râtra and ahna and aha are spoken of in the masculine.

These words refer to krit and Samásanta affixes. Thus the word रात्र is formed by रात्रि + अच् (V. 4. 87) अह्न is formed by V. 4. 88 and अह by V. 4. 91. The general rule II. 4. 26 also does not apply here.

द्विरात्रः, त्रिरात्रः 'A space of two or three nights' पूर्वाह्णः, अपराह्णः, मध्याह्नः 'the forenoon, the afternoon and noon', द्व्यहः 'two days' त्र्यहः, 'three days.'

Vart:—The words अनुवाक &c., are masculine, as अनुवाकः, शंयुवाकः, सूक्तवाकः &c.

अपथं नपुंसकम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपथम्, नपुंसकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपथ शब्दो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति ॥

30. The Tatpurusha word apatham 'a bad road' is neuter.

अपथमिदम् 'this (neuter) is a bad road' अपथानि गाहते मूढः 'the fool roams on wrong roads.' But अपथो देशः a (masc.) 'a roadless country.' Here the compound being Bahuvrihi the word is masculine so; also अपथा नगरी ॥

अर्धर्चाः पुंसि च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्धर्चाः, पुंसि, च, (नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्द्धर्चादयः शब्दा पुंसि नपुंसके च भाष्यन्ते ॥

31. The words 'ardharcha &c., are spoken of in maseuline and neuter.

As, अर्धर्चः and अर्धर्चम् 'half a verse,' गोमयः and गोमयम् 'cow-dung.' These twofold genders sometime, convey different meanings, the masculine form having one meaning and the neuter, another. Thus पद्मः 'treasure,' पद्मः or पद्मम् 'lotus,' शंखः 'treasure,' and शंखम् or शंखः 'conch-shell,' भूतः or भूतम् 'ghost.' But when it is a verbal noun, it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. सैन्धवः or सैन्धवम् 'salt'; but when it is considered as a derivative word meaning "born in or belonging to the sea' it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. सारः 'best' सारं 'compendium.' So धर्मः and धर्मम्.

1. अर्धर्च. 2. गोमय. 3. कषाय. 4. कार्षापण. 5. कुतप. 6. कुणप. 7. (कुणप). 8. कपाट. 9. शङ्ख. 10. गूथ 11. यूथ. 12. ध्वज. 13. कबन्ध. 14. पद्म. 15. गृह. 16. सरक. 17. कंस. 18. दिवस. 19. यूष. 20. अन्धकार. 21. दण्ड. 22. कमण्डलु 23. मण्ड. 24. भूत. 25. द्वीप. 26. द्यूत. 27. चक्र. 28. धर्म. 29. कर्मन् 30. मोदक. 31. शतमान. 32. यान. 33. नख. 34, नखर. 35. चरण. 36. पुच्छ. 37. दाडिम. 38. हिम. 39. रजत. 40. सक्तु. 40. पिधान. 41. सार. 42. पात्र. 43. घृत. 44. सैन्धव. 45. औषध. 46. आढक. 47. चषक. 48. द्रोण. 49. खलीन. 50. पात्रीव. 51. षष्टिक. 52. वारबाण. 53. (वारवाणक) 54. प्रोथ. 55. कपित्थ. 56. शुष्क 57. शाल. 58. शील. 59. शूक. 60. (शुक्ल). 66. शीधु. 52. कवच. 63. रेणु. 64. (ऋण) 65. कपट. 66. शीकर. 67. मुसल. 68. सुवर्ण. 69. वर्ण. 70. पूर्व. 71. चमस 72. क्षीर. 73. कर्ष, 74. आकाश. 75. अष्टापद. 76. मङ्गल. 77. निधन. 78. निर्यास. 79. जृम्भ. 80. वृत्त. 81. पुस्त. 82. बुस्त. 83. क्ष्वेडित. 84. शृङ्ग. 85. निगड 86. (खल). 87. मूलक. 88. मधु. 89. मूल. 90. स्थूल. 91. शराव. 92. नाल. 93. वप्र. 94. विमान. 95. मुख 96. प्रग्रीव. 97. शूल. 98. वज्र. 99. कटक. 100 कण्टक. 101. (कर्पट). 102. शिखर. 103. कल्क. 104. (वल्कल). 105. नटमक. 106. (नाटमस्तक). 107. वलय. 108. कुसुम. 109. तृण. 110. पङ्क. 111. कुण्डल. 112. किरीट. 113. (कुमुद) 114. अर्बुद. 115. अङ्कुश. 116. तिमिर. 117. आश्रम. 118. भूषण. 119. इल्वल. 120. (इष्वास). 121. मुकुल. 122. वसन्त 123. तटाक. 124. (तडाग). 125. पिटक. 126. विटङ्क. 127. विडङ्ग. 128 पिण्याक. 129. माष. 130. कोश. 131. फलक. 132. दिन. 133. दैवत. 134 पिनाक. 135. समर. 136. स्थाणु. 137. अनीक 138. उपवास. 139. शाक. 140. कर्पास. 141. (विशाल.) 142. चषाल 143. (चखाल.) 144. खण्ड 145. दर. 146. विटप. 147. (रण). 148. (बल). 149. (मक). 150 मृणाल. 151. हस्त. 152 आर्द्र. 153. हल. 154 (सूत्र.) 155. ताण्डव. 156. गाण्डीव.

157. जनपद. 158. पटह. 159. सौध. 160. योध. 161. पार्श्व. 162. शरीर. 163. फल. 164. (मल) 165. पुर. 166. पुरा. 167 राष्ट्. 168. अम्बर. 169. बिम्ब. 170. कुट्टिम. 171. मण्डल. 172. (कुक्कुट). 173. कुडप. 174. ककुद. 175. खण्डल. 176. तोमर. 177. तोरण. 178. मञ्चक. 179. पञ्चक. 180. पुङ्ख. 181. मध्य. 182. (बाल). 183. वाल. 184. वल्मीक. 185. वर्ष. 186. वस्त्र. 187. वसु. 188. देह. 189. उद्यान. 190. उद्योग. 191. स्नेह. 192. स्तेन. 193. (स्तन). 194. (स्वर). 195. संगम. 196. निष्क 197. क्षेम 198. शूक. 199. क्षत्र. 200. पवित्र. 201. (यौवन). 202. (कलह). 203 मालक 204. (पालक). 205. मूषिक. 206. (मण्डल). 207. (वल्कल). 208. कुञ्ज. 209 (कुञ्ज). 210. विहार. 211. लोहित. 212 (विषाण). 213. भवन. 214. अरण्य. 215. पुलिन. 216. दृढ 217. आसन. 218. ऐरावत 219. शूर्प 220 तीर्थ 221. लोमन. 222. (लोमश). 223. तमाल. 224. लोह. 225. दण्डक. 226. शपथ 227 प्रतिसर 228. दारु. 229. धनुस्. 230 मान. 231. वर्चस्क. 232. कूर्च. 233. तण्डक. 234. मठ. 235. सहस्र. 236. ओदन. 237. प्रवाल. 238. शकट. 239. अपराह्ण. 240. नीड. 241. शकल. 242. तण्डुल ॥

इदमोऽन्वादेशेऽशनुदात्त तृतीयादौ ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदमः, अन्वादेशे, अश, अनुदात्तः तृतीयादौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इदमोऽन्वादेश विषयस्यादेशो भवत्यनुदात्तस्तृतीयादौ विभक्तौ परतः ॥

32. In the room of idam 'this,' in case of its re-employment in a subsequent member of the same sentence and referring to the same thing (anvâdeśa) there is the substitution of aś which is anudâtta *i. e.*, gravely accented, when the third case-affix and the rest follow.

The word अन्वादेश means literally saying (âdesa) 'after' (anu) or after-say or re-employment.

अश् (actually अ) replaces इदम् in all cases except the nominative and the accusative, when anvadeśa or repetition is implied. अश् replaces the whole of इदम् by 55 and not only the final म्. Anvadeśa means repeating in a second sentence with reference to the preceding in which it has already been used. Both pronouns, the antecedent and the subsequent, must refer to the same object. As, आभ्यां छात्राभ्यां रात्रिरधीता, अथो आभ्यामहरप्यधीतम् 'These students studied in the night and they have read in the day also.' The substitute अश् will replace इदम्, even when the latter takes the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71.)

अस्मै छात्राय कम्बलं देहि, अथो अस्मै शाटकमपि देहि ‘Give this student a blanket and give him also a cloth’. अस्य छात्रस्य शोभनं शीलम्, अथो अस्य प्रभूतं स्वम्, ‘ this student’s conduct is excellent, and his wealth is great.’

So also when the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71) comes after the Pronominal as इमकाभ्यां छात्राभ्यां रात्रिरधीता, अथो आभ्यामहरप्यधीतम्.

The mere mentioning in a subsequent sentences is not anvâdesa : it is the employment again of what has been employed to direct one operation, to direct another operation. Therefore the rule does not apply here :—देवदत्तं भोजय, इमं च यज्ञदत्तम् ‘ feed Devadatta and this Yajñadatta.’

एतदस्त्रतसोस्त्रतसौ चानुदात्तौ ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतदः, त्र-तसोः त्र तसौ, च, अनुदात्तौ, (अन्वादेशे, अश्, अनुदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतदोऽन्वादेशविषयस्य अशादेशो भवति अनुदात्तस्त्रतसोः परतः ॥ तौ चापि त्रतसावनुदात्तौ भवतः ॥

33. In the room of एतद् in case of its re-employment there is the substitution of the gravely accented अश् when the affixes त्र (V. 3. 10) and तस् (V. 3. 7) follow, and the affixes त्र and तस् are anudatta also (gravely accented.)

Thus अत्र ‘ here,’ and अतस् ‘ hence ’ in the following : — एतस्मिन् ग्रामे सुखं वसामः ; अथो अत्र युक्ता अधीमहे । ‘ We live in this (etasmin) village, happily, therefore let us read with full devotion in this (atra).’ एतस्माच्छात्राच्छन्दो ऽधीष्व, अथो अतो व्याकरणमप्यधीष्व । ‘Learn from this student Prosody and also learn from him Grammar.’ By rule V. 3. 5. अश् is declared to be the substitute of एतद्; its repetition here is to indicate that this अश् of anvâdeśa is anudatta.

द्वितीयाटौस्स्वेनः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीया-टा-ओस्सु, एनः, (इदम्, एतद्, अन्वादेशे, अनुदात्ते)

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीया टा ओस् इत्येतेषु परत इदमेतदोरन्वादेशविषययोरेनआदेशो भवति अनुदात्तः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ एनदिति नपुंसकैकवचने वक्तव्यम् ॥

34. When an affix of the 2nd case or टा (Ins. Sing.) or ओस् (Loc. dual) follows, एन which is anudâtta is the substitute of इदम् and एतद् in the case of its re-employment.

The word इदम् is also understood in this sûtra though it was not so in the last. This skipping is technically called 'frog-leap.' Thus:— इमं or एतं छात्रं छन्दोऽध्यापय, अथो एनं व्याकरणमध्यापय 'teach this pupil Prosody, and teach him Grammar also. अनेन or एतेन छात्रेण रात्रिरधीता 'अथो एनेनाहरप्यधीतम् 'this pupil studied in the night and he studied in the day also.' अनयोः or एतयोः छात्रयोः शोभनं शीलम्, अथो एनयोः प्रभूतं स्वं 'the family of these two students is respectable and their wealth great.'

Vart:—The word एनत् neuter and singular, is also used in anvâdeśa: as- इदं कुण्डमानय प्रक्षालयैनत् 'bring this bowl and wash it.' The above three Sûtra regulate the accent only of certain pronouns.

आर्द्धधातुके ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आर्द्धधातुके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम आर्द्धधातुके इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

35. The clause 'when the affix is Ardhadhâtuka' is understood in the following aphorisms up to aphorism 58 of this chapter.

Thus it will be taught in sûtra 42, 'that वध is the substitute of हन् when लिङ् follows.' The words 'when the affix is ârdhadhâtuka' must be read into the sûtra to complete the sense. The result will be that in the ârdhadhâtuka लिङ् namely the आशीर्लिङ् or the Benedictive mood, हन् is replaced by वध, but not so in the Sârvadhâtuka लिङ् *i. e.*, the Potential mood (विधिलिङ्). Thus, Benedictive वध्यात् 'may he kill' but Potential हन्यात् let him kill.'

The word आर्द्धधातुके is in the 7th case; the force of this case-affix here is not that given in I. 1. 66. *i. e.*, the sûtra does not mean 'when an ârdhadhatuka affix follows.' But the 7th case has the force of indicating the subject, the meaning of the sûtra being 'when the subject is an ardhadhatuka affix.' The result of this explanation is, that the various substitutions enjoined hereafter should be made first, and then the respective affixes should be applied. Thus whenever we want to affix any ardhadhatuka-affix to अस् 'to be,' we must first substitute भू for it, and then take the proper ardhadhatuka-affix which would come with regard to भू. Thus we can apply यत् to भू by rule III. 1. 97 which says: 'after verbs ending in vowels यत् is applied.' But this affix could never have been applied to अस् which ends in a consonant. Thus we have भव्यम्. So the substitution does not depend upon any particular affix, but ardhadhatuka-affixes as a class.

अदो जग्धिर्ल्यप्ति किति ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदः, जग्धिः, ल्यप्-ति, किति, (आर्द्ध-धातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदो जग्धिरादेशो भवति ल्यपि परतः तकारादौ च किति प्रत्यये ॥

36. The word जग्धि is the substitute of अद् 'to eat,' when the affix ल्यप् (VII. 1. 37) or an ârdhadhâtuka कित् affix beginning with त follows.

प्रजग्ध्य 'Having eaten.' (प्र + अद् + ल्यप् = प्र + जग्ध् + य). So also जग्ध 'eaten' (अद् + क्त = जग्ध् + त).

The इ in जग्धि is merely for the sake of articulation and is not an anubandha, otherwise there would have been the insertion of the nasal न (नुम्). So also the इ in वधि &c., is merely for the sake of articulation. But अद् + क्त = अन्नः 'food' is an irregularity.

The employment of ल्यप् in this sûtra indicates the existence of this Paribhâshâ. 'A bahiranga substitution of ल्यप् supersedes even antaranga rules.' Because in case this maxim did not exist, the substitution of जग्ध् for अद् before ल्यप् which is taught in this sûtra, would follow already from the word किति (before that which is distinguished by an indicatory क) in this rule, i. e., जग्ध would (by maxim 'that which is bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect, or as not existing, when that which is antaranga has taken effect') first be substituted for अद् before क्त and ल्यप् afterwards for क्त.

Why do we say 'before affixes beginning with त'? Observe अद्यते 'is eaten.'

Why do we say 'before affixes having indicatory क'? Observe अत्तव्यम्.

लुङ्सनोर्घस्लृ ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङ्-सनोः, घस्लृ (अदः, आर्द्धधा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङि सनि च परतोऽदो घस्लृ आदेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ घस्लृ भावेऽच्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

37. When luṅ (aorist) or san (desiderative) follows घस्लृ is the substitute of अद् 'to eat.'

अघसत्, अघसताम्, अघसन् 'he ate.' The लृ in घस्लृ is servile and indicates the substitution of अङ् for च्लि of the Aorist (III. 1. 55.) So also in desiderative, as, जिघत्सति, जिघत्सतः जिघत्सन्ति 'wishes to eat.'

vart :—The verb अद् is replaced by घस् when the affix अप् follows. Thus प्र+अद्+अप्=घस्+अप्=प्रघसः 'voracious.'

घञपोश्च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ घञ्-अपोः, च, (अदः, घस्लृ, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घञि अपि च परतोऽदो घस्लृ आदेशो भवति ॥

38. And when the affix घञ् and अप् follow घस्लृ is the substitute of अद्.

घासः 'food, grass,' अद्+घञ्=घास+अ (III. 3. 19). प्रघसः 'voracity.' । प्र+अद्+अप्=प्र+घस.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलं, छन्दसि, (अदः, घस्लृ, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुलमदो घस्लृ आदेशो भवति ॥

39. In the chhandas (Vedas), घस्लृ is diversely substituted for अद.

घस्तान्नूनम् । सग्धिश्च मे । (Yajur Veda Vaj S, XVIII. 9). Sometimes it does not take place; as आत्तामद्य मध्यतो मेद उद्भृतम्

The word बहुलं is used in this sûtra and the word अन्यतरस्याम् in the next. There is evidently difference between the senses of these words; otherwise Pâṇini would not have employed them in such juxtaposition, had they been synonymous. For then the anuvritti of बहुलं in the next sûtra would have been sufficient. The following verse indicates that difference.

क्वचित् प्रवृत्तिः क्वचिदप्रवृत्तिः, क्वचिद्विभाषा क्वचिदन्यदेव ।
विधेर्विधानं बहुधा समीक्ष्य, चातुर्विधं बाहुलकं वदन्ति ॥

'Sometimes they are, where there is no express rule for their application; sometimes they are not applied, in spite of an express rule for their application; sometimes they are optionally employed or not, and sometimes there is some other result, licence permitted by the rule.' Thus in घस्तान् there is not elision of the penultimate.

लिट्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटि, अन्यतरस्याम्, (अदः, घस्लृ, आः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटि परतोऽदोऽन्यतरस्यां घस्लृादेशो भवति ॥

40. When लिट् (Perfect) follows घस्लृ is optionally the substitute of अद्.

जघास or आद 'he ate,' जक्षतुः or आदतुः 'they two ate,' जक्षुः or आदुः

(VI. 1. 8) = च + चत् + अतुस् (VII. 4. 60) = च + चस् + अतुः (VII. 4 62) = ज + घस् + अतुस् (VIII. 4. 53) = ज + घ् स् + अतुस् (VI. 4. 98.) = जक्षुः (VIII. 3. 60).

वेञो वयिः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेञः, वयि, (लिट्यन्यतरस्याम्, आर्द्धः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेञो वयिरादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां लिटि परतः ॥

41. When लिट् follows, वयि is optionally the substitute of 'वेञ् to weave.'

In the Perfect tense thus we have two roots: Let us first take वेञ्. Then we have regulary वे + लिट् = वे + णल् = ववौ. The roots in ए, ऐ and ओ are treated like roots ending in आ thus :—

Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	
1. ववौ	वविव	वविम	In this case samprasârana ordained by VI. 1. 17 does not take place by VI. 1. 40
2. वविथ or ववाथ,	ववथुः	वव	
3. ववौ	ववतुः	ववुः	

When however we take the base वय्, the इ being for the sake of articulation only, we have the following forms:— वय् + णल् = वय् + वय् + अ (VI. 1. 8) = उय् + वय् + अ (VI. 1. 17) = उवाय; the व is not changed into इ by VI. 1. 38. In this dual we have वय् + अतुस = उय् + अतुः (VI. 1. 15) = उ + उय् + अतुः (VII. 4. 60) = ऊयतुः The affix अतुस् being कित् affix by rule I. 2. 5 there is samprasârana before reduplication. Thus we have उवाय, ऊयतुः, ऊयुः. Further by rule VI. 1. 39 before कित् affixes व may be optionally substituetd for य, *i. e.*, ऊयतुः or ऊवतुः and ऊयुः or ऊवुः

हनो वध लिङि ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, वध, लिङि (आर्द्धधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्धातोर्वध इत्ययमादेशो भवति लिङि परत आर्द्धधातुके ॥

42. वध् is the substitute of हन् 'to kill' when the ârdhadhâtuka लिङ (Benedictive) follows.

वध्यात' my he kill,' वध्यास्ताम्' may they two kill,' वध्यासुः ' may they all kill.'

The substitute वध, ends with short अ this अ is elided. This elision being like the original (sthânivat I. 1.-56), in forming the Aorist, लुङ्, we have अवध् + ० + ईत् = अवधीत्. Here zero being stahânivat prevents the vriddhi of अ of व which otherwise would have take place by VII.2. 7.

लुङि च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङि, च (हनो, वध, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङि च परतो हनो वध इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

43. And when लुङ् (Aorist) follows, वध् is the substitute of हन्.

अवधीत्' 'he killed,' अवधीष्टाम्' they two killed.' The division of this aphorism from the last sûtra (yoga-vibhâga) indicates that the next rule applies to Aorist only and not to Benedictive as well. Thre is no option in Benedictive Atmanepada.

आत्मनेपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु, अन्यतरस्याम्, (हनो, वध, लुङि, आः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेण नित्ये प्राप्ते विकल्प उच्यते । आत्मनेपदेषु परतो हनो लुङ्यन्यतरस्यां वध इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

44. When Atmanepada affixes follow, वध् is optionally the substitute of हन् in the लुङ् (Aorist).

Thus आवधिष्ट or आहत; आवधिषाताम् or आहसाताम्; आवधिषत or आहसत.

The verb हन् becomes Atmanepadi when preceded by आ (I. 3. 28.) By sutra I. 1.14, the Aorist-affixes in the Atmanepada are कित् after हन् and by VI. 4. 37 the न is elided before कित् affixes then by VIII. 2. 27 the स is elided. Thus आहन् + सिच् + त = आहत.

इणो गा लुङि ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, गा, लुङि, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इणो गा इत्ययमादेशो भवति लुङि परतः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इणवदिक इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

45. गा is the substitute of the root इण् when लुङ् follows.

अगात्' he went.' (II. 4. 77) अगाताम्' they two went' अगुः 'they all went. The repetition of the word लुङ् in this sûtra though is anuvṛiti was coming from the last aphorisms, indicates that there is no option allowed even in the Atmanepada, गा being the invariable substitute in all the Padas. Thus अगायि भवता you, went.' The form अगात् is thus evolved अ+गा+सिच्+त्=, अगात् (II. 4. 77.)

Vart:—गा is the substitute of इक् 'to remember' in the Aorist as it is of इण्. Thus अध्यगात्' he remembered.' अध्यगाताम्, अध्यगुः. The root इक् belongs to Adâdi class.

णौ गमिरबोधने ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ णौ, गमिः, अबोधने . (इणः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णौ परत इणोऽवोधनार्थस्य गमिरादेशो भवति ॥

46. When the affix णि (Causal) follows, गमि is the substitute of इण् when the sense is not that of 'informing' but that of 'going.

गमयति 'makes him go' गमयतः, गमयन्ति &c. But प्रत्याययति 'causes to believe.' अधिगमयति. The इ of गमि is for articulation. So also इक् to 'remember'; as, अधिगमयति ॥

सनि च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, च, (इणः, अबोधने गमिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनि परत इणोऽवोधनार्थस्य गमिरादेशो भवति ॥

47. And when सन् (Desiderative) follows, गमि is the substitute of इ when the sense is not that of 'informing.'

जिगमिषति 'wishes to go' जिगमिषतः, जिगमिषन्ति. But अर्थान् प्रतीषिषति 'he wishes to inform the meaning.' So also with इक्, as अधिजिगमिषति. The yogavibhâga indicates that the anuvritti of सन् only runs in the next sûtra and not of णि. The form is thus evolved in the Parasmaipada; सन्+गम् = गम् + गम् + स (VI. 1. 9) = ग + गम् + स (VII. 4. 60) = ज + गम् + स (VII. 4. 62) = ज + गम् + इट् + स (VII. 2. 50) = जिगमिष, and then we add the personal terminations.

इङश्च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इङः, च, (सनि, गमिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इङश्च सनि परतो गमिरादेशो भवति ॥

48. And of इङ् 'to study,' गमि is the substitute when सन् follows.

अधिजिगांसते, ० सेते, ० सन्ते 'he wishes to study.' The root इङ् is always preceded by the preposition अधि. This will be Atmanepadi by I. 3. 12 and I. I. 56. The form is similarly evolved. by the application of rules VII. 2. 58. and VI. 4. 16.

गाङ् लिटि ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाङ्, लिटि, (इङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाङादेशो भवतीङो लिटि परतः ॥

49. गाङ् is the substitute of इङ् when लिट् (Perfect) follows.

The substitute being like its original (I. 1. 68.) गाङ् would have been Atmanepadi, even without the indicatory, ङ्. Why has then this ङ् been added to it? The object is that in the sûtra 1. 2. 1. गाङ् there should mean this substitute गाङ् and not the verb गाङ् 'to go.'

Thus we get अधिजगे 'he studied'. अधिजगाते, अधिजगिरे. See VI. 4. 64 and III. 4. 8.

विभाषा लुङ्लृङोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, लुङ्लृङोः (इङः, वि, गाङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङि लृङि च परत इङो विभाषा गाङादेशो भवति ॥

50. गाङ् is optionally the substitute of इङ् when लुङ् (Aorist) and लृङ् (Conditional Future) follow.

Let us take the case when गाङ् replaces इङ्. The affixes of लुङ् and लृङ् are treated as ङित् by I. 2. 1. and then by the Rule VI. 4. 66 (When an ardhadhatuka affix, beginning with a consonant and distinguished by an indicatory क or ङ् follows; then let ई be the substitute of long आ of the verbs termed घु and of मा, स्था, गा, पा, हा, सो), we get अध्यगीष्ट (अधि + अ + गी + स्त), अध्यगीषाताम्, अध्यगीषत. In the alternative we have अध्यैष्ट, अध्यैषाताम् and अध्यैषत.

So also in लृङ्; as अध्यगीष्यत, अध्यगीष्येताम्, अध्यगीष्यन्त, or in the alternative, अध्यैष्यत, अध्यैष्येताम् and अध्यैष्यन्त.

णौ च संश्चङोः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ णौ, च, सन्-चङोः, (इङः, गाङ्, विभाषा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णौ सन्परे चङ्परे च परत इङो विभाषा गाङादेशो भवति ॥

51. गाङ् is optionally the substitute of इङ् in the causative णि, when that causative takes the affix san (desiderative) and chan (Aorist:)

अधिजिगापयिषति or अध्यापिपयिषति 'he desires to teach.' The form is thus evolved : गा + णिच् = गापि (VII. 3. 36); then by the rules already stated, we get the above form with the affix चङ्. अध्यजीगपत् or अध्यापिपत् 'he taught.' The ई is changed into आ by VI. 1. 48. Thus इ + णिच् = आ + णिच् = आ + पु + इ = आपि. This rule applies to the desideratives of causatives and aorists of causatives.

अस्तेर्भूः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्तेः, भूः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तेर्धातोर्भूरित्ययमादेशो भवति आर्धधातुके ॥

52. भू is the substitute of the verb अस् 'to be, when an ârdhadhâtuka affix is to be applied

भविता 'he will be,' भवितुम् 'in order to be.' भवितव्यम् 'must be.' Now the Perfect tense affixes are also ârdhadhâtuka affixes (III. 4. 115). The Perfect of अस् is therefore the same as that of भू, namely, बभूव &c. There is, however, an important exception to this rule, namely, when अस् is employed as an auxiliary verb in forming Periphrastic Perfect of other verbs. In that case अस् forms its Perfect tense regularly, आस आसतुः आसुः &c. This apparent breach of the present sûtra is explained by taking the term कृञ् in III. 1. 40 as a Pratyâhâra including कृ, भू and अस्, and if अस् could not form its Perfect in the regular way, its inclusion in this Pratyâhâra would be useless; hence we conclude, that as an auxiliary verb, अस् forms its Perfect regularly.

ब्रुवो वचिः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रुवः, वचिः, (आर्धधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रुवो वचिरादेशो भवति आर्धधातुके विषये ॥

53. वचि is the substitute of ब्रू 'to speak' when any ârdhadhâtuka affix is to be applied.

वक्ता 'he will speak,' वक्तुम् 'in order to speak.' The इ of वचि is for the sake of articulation only. The substitute being like the principal, वच् is Atmanepadi when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, as ऊचे 'he spoke,' वक्ष्यते 'he will speak.'

चक्षिङः ख्याञ् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चक्षिङः, ख्याञ्, (आर्धधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चक्षिङः ख्याञादेशो भवति आर्धधातुके ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ख्शादिरप्ययमादेश इष्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वर्जने प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ असनयोश्च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं संज्ञाछन्दसोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

54. ख्याञ् is the substitute of चक्षिङ् 'to perceive, to tell,' when any ârdhadhâtuka affix is to be applied.

आख्याता 'he will perceive or tell'; आख्यातुम् 'in order to tell; आख्यातव्यम् 'must be told.' The substitute being like the principal, चक्षिङ् being always Atmanepadi (I. 3. 12), ख्याञ् would have also been always Atmanepadi. But in that case the letter ञ् would have no scope; it therefore follows that ख्याञ् is not always Atmanepadi, but under conditions mentioned in I. 3. 72

Vart :—This substitute is also said to begin with क्श instead of ख्श. Thus आक्शाता, आक्शातुम्, आक्शातव्यं

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated when meaning 'exclusion'; as दुर्जनाः संचक्ष्याः bad men should be excluded.'

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when the affixes अस and अन follow : as नृचक्षा रक्षः the Râkshasas are cruel.' This is Vedic Sanskrit; modern नृचक्षः. The meaning of the root चक्ष् here, is 'to injure.' So also विचक्षणः पण्डितः; here the affix is अन.

Vart :—Substitutes are made diversely in denoting appellatives and not qualities and in the Vedic Sanskrit; as अन्नम् 'food' (here the substitute जग्धि does not replace अद्); वधकम् 'killer' (वध being substituted for हन् before वुञ्); गात्रं 'body' (गा is substituted for इण before the unâdi affix त्रन्); विचक्षणः (here चक्ष is not replaced by ख्या before अन); अजिरम् 'a court yard' (here अज is not replaced by वी as the next sutra 56 requires.)

वा लिटि ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, लिटि, (चक्षिङः, ख्याञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटि परतश्चक्षिङः ख्याञादेशो वा भवति ॥

55. ख्याञ् is optionally the substitute of चक्षिङ् when लिट् (Perfect) follows.

The लिट् also is an ârdhadhâtuka affix and by the last sûtra ख्या would always have been the substitute of चक्ष्; the present sûtra makes this substitution optional, as आचख्यौ, आचख्यतुः and आचख्युः. In the alterative we have आचचक्षे, आचचक्षाते and आचचक्षिरे 'he told &c.

अजेर्व्यघञपोः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजेः वी, अघञ्-अपोः (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजेर्धातोर्वीत्ययमादेशो भवत्यार्द्धधातुके परतो घञपौ वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ घञपोः प्रतिषेधे क्यप उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वलादावार्द्धधातुके विकल्प इष्यते ॥

56. वी is the substitute of the verb अज् 'to drive,' to lead,' when an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows, with the exception of the affixes घञ् (III, 3. 18.) and अप् (III. 3. 69).

प्रवायकः 'driver,' प्रवायणीयः.

Why do we say 'with the exception of घञ् and अप्'? Observe सम् + अज + घञ् = समाजः society'; उदाजः 'driving out :' So also with अप्, as समजः 'a multitude or herd of animals &c., उदजः 'driving out of cattle.' See III. 3. 69

Why have we used वी with a long ई ?. For the sake of forms like प्रवीताः &c

Vart :—Prohibition must also be stated (along with घञ् and अप्) of the affix क्यप्, as समज्या 'a meeting, fame.'

Vart :—The substitution is optional before ârdhadhâtukas beginning with a letter of वल् Pratyâhâra (all consonant except य) as प्रवेता or प्राजिता प्रवेतुम् or प्राजितुम्. See VI. 2. 144 for accent.

वा यौ ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, यौ, (अजेः वी, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यौ परभूते अजेर्वा वी इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

57. वी is optionally the substitute of अज्, when the affix यु (III. 3. 15 &c.) follows.

This declares an option in case of the affix ल्युट्, the word यु in the Sûtra referring to this affix; as, प्रवयणः or प्राजनो दण्डः 'driving stick or whip.'

ण्यक्षत्रियार्षञितो यूनि लुगणिञोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ण्य-क्षत्रिय-आर्ष-ञितः, यूनि, लुग्, अण्-इञोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यान्तात् क्षत्रियगोत्रात् आर्षाद् ञितश्च परयोरणिञोर्यूनि लुक् भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अब्राह्मणगोत्रमात्राद् युवप्रत्ययस्योपसंख्यानम् ॥

58. After a word ending with the Gotra affix ण्य (IV. 1. 151) and after a Gotra word denoting the descendant of a Kshatriya or a Rishi (seer), and after a word a word ending with a Gotra affix having an indicatory ञ्, the affix अण् and इञ् employed in forming युवन् (IV. 1. 163) descendants, are elided by the substitution of लुक् ॥

1. Thus by sûtra IV. 1. 151 (the affix ण्य comes after कुरु &c., in denoting descendent) we get कुरु + ण्य = कौरव्यः (VII. 2. 117) 'a grandson of Kuru.' This is a Gotra word (IV. 1. 162). Now in forming a word denoting a lower descendent than grandson, we add a Yuvan affix. Thus कौरव्य + इञ् (IV. 1. 95). Now this इञ् is elided by the present sûtra, and we get the form कौरव्यः which thus means both a Gotra and a Yuvan (IV. 1. 163) descendent of Kuru. So that कौरव्यः is the name both of the father and the son.

Now it may be objected : 'the word कौरव्यः belongs to the तिकादि class and by IV. 1. 154, it will take the affix फिञ्. Do we, what we may, the form will be कौरव्यायणिः (VII. 1. 2.') To this we reply, the word कौरव्यः which we see in that list of तिक् &c., is not the word कौरव्यः which we formed by adding ण्य under rule IV. 1. 151; that Tikâdi word is formed by adding ण्य under rule IV. 1. 172, and is confined to Kshatriya. The कौरव्यः which we have taken, denotes a Brahmin Gotra formed by IV. 1. 151.

2. Now to give an example of a word denoting the descendent of a Kshatriya. We take IV. 1, 114. which tells us that 'the affix अण् may be added to the words which are the names of Rishis, or of persons belonging to the family of Andhaka, or Vrishinis or Kuru.' The Andhaka family, is a Kshatriya family, and श्वफल्कः is a person of that family. Then श्वफल्क + अण् = श्वाफल्कः 'a descendent of Svaphalka' This is a Gotra descendent. In forming Yuvan descendent we have श्वाफल्क + इञ्. Now this इञ् must be elided by the present sûtra. So that श्वाफल्कः means both father and the son.

3. Now to give an example of Rishis family. The sûtra last mentioned IV. 1. 114. will also hold here. We take the word वसिष्ठः; and वसिष्ठ + अण् = वासिष्ठः; the Yuvan affix इञ् will similarly be elided after his; and thus the word वासिष्ठः means both the father and the son.

4. Then to take the example of Gotra word formed by affixes having indicatory ञ्. Thus sûtra IV. 1. 104. declares 'the affix अञ् comes after the words बिद् &c., in denoting Gotra descendents.' Thus बिद + अञ् = बैदः; Then add इञ् to denote Yuvan descent; and we have बैदः + इञ्. By the present rule this इञ् is elided and thus we have बैदः both for the father and the son.

The above examples show the elision of the affix इञ्. Now we shall give example of the elision of the affix अण्. Now rule IV. 1. 154 says 'the affix फिञ् comes after the words तिक &c., in denoting descendent.' Thus तिक + फिञ् = तैकायनिः (VII. 1. 2.) Then to form the Yuvan descendent we add अण् by IV. 1. 83. Thus तैकायनि + अण्. By the present sûtra, this अण is elided, and we have तैकायनिः both applicable to the father and the son. Other examples can be multiplied.

Why do we say 'there is elision only after these words'? The Yuvan affix will not be elided after other words. Thus rule IV. 1. 112 says:—'The affix अण् comes after शिव &c., in forming Gotra.' कौहड + अण् = कौहडः. Now this is neither a word formed by अञ nor is it the name of a Kshatriya or a Rishi; nor any affix having ञ् goes to form it. Therefore the Yuvan affix इञ will not be elided after this. Thus कौहड + इञ् (IV. 1. 95) कौहडिः 'son of Kauhada.'

Why do we say 'affix denoting Yuvan descendent is elided? An affix not denoting a Yuvan descendent will not be elided. Thus the pupils of वामरथ्य are called वामरथ्याः which word is thus formed: वामरथ + ष्य = वामरथ्यः 'a descendent of Vâmaratha' (IV. 1. 115). Then to denote pupils we add अण् by IV. 2. 111. Thus वामरथ्य + अण् = वामरथ्याः 'a pupil of Vâmarathya.'

Why do we say 'Yuvan affix अण् and इञ् are elided'? The other Yuvan affixes under similar circumstances are not elided. Thus the Yuvan

descendent of दाक्षि (grandson of दक्ष) will be दाक्षायणः Here the affix फक् (IV. 1. 101) is not elided.

Vart:—All Yuvan affixes are elided after Gotra words not denoting Brahmin Gotras; as बैदिः applies equally to father and son; जाबालिः father, जाबालिः son; औदुम्बरिः father, औदुम्बरिः son; भाण्डीजङ्घिः father, भाण्डीजङ्घिः son. Here, first इञ् is added by IV. 1. 173, then फक् to denote Yuvan descendent. Then this फक् is elided by the present Vartika.

पैलादिभ्यश्च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पैल-आदिभ्यः, च (यूनि, लुग्-णिञोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पैल इत्येवमादिभ्यश्च युवप्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति ॥

59 And after the words पैल &c. there is the लुक् elision of the युवन् affix.

पीला + अण् = पैलः (IV. 1. 118). 'The Gotra descendent of Paila.' पैलः + फिञ् (IV. 1. 156). The present rule intervenes, and the Yuvan affix फिञ् is elided; so पैल is both a Gotra and a Yuvan word. Some say that the [?] Paila &c. words are formed by the affix इञ्; (IV. 1. 95) and then the luk-elision of the Yuvan affix would be valid by the next rule 60. They would limit the scope of the present sûtra to cases where the Gotra of the people is not known, the Prachyas not being indicated.

1. पैल. 2. शालङ्कि. 3. सात्यकि. 4. सात्यकामि. 5. राहवि. 6. रावणि. 7. औदञ्चि. 8. औदव्रजि. 9. औदमेघि. 10. औदन्यञ्जि. 11. औदमज्जि. 12. औदभृज्जि. 13. दैवस्थानि. 14. पैङ्गलायनी. 15. राहक्षति. 16. भौलिङ्गि. 17. राणि. 18. औदन्यि. 19. औद्राहमानि. 20. औज्जिहानि. 21. औदशुद्धि. 22. तद्राजाच्चाणः. 23. तद्राज.

इञः प्राचाम् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ इञः, प्राचाम्; (यूनि, लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रे य इञ् तदन्तात् युवप्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति ॥

60. After a word ending with the Gotra affix इञ् (IV. 1. 95) there is luk-elision of the Yuvan affix, when the Gotra of the people called Prachya (Eastern) is denoted.

पान्नागार + इञ् = पान्नागारिः 'the Gotra descendent of Pannâgara'; after this the Yuvan affix फक (IV. 1. 101) is elided by the present rule, and so पान्नागारिः is both the father and the son. So मान्थरैषणिः father and son. The word प्राचाम् here qualifies the word Gotra understood and does not show that it is an optional rule in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians. When the Gotra of Prâchyas is not denoted, there is no elision. Thus दाक्षिः and दाक्षायणः 'son of Dâkshi.'

न तौल्वलिभ्यः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, तौल्वलिभ्यः, (यूनि, लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तौल्वल्यादिभ्यः परस्य युवप्रत्ययस्य न लुग् भवति ॥

61. After the words तौल्वलि and the rest there is not luk-elision of the Yuvan affix.

तौल्वलिः is the name of the father and तौल्वलायनः is the son of the former; formed by the Yuvan affix फक् (IV. 1. 101).

1. तौल्वलि. 2. धारणि. 3 पारणि. 4 रावणि 5. दैलीपि. 6 दैवति. 7. वार्कलि. 8. नैवति. 9. नैवकि. 10. दैवमित्रि 11 दैवमति. 12. दैवयज्ञि. 13 चाफट्टकि 14. वैल्वकि. 15. वैकि. 16. वैङ्कि 17. आनुहारति. 18. आनुराहति. 19. पौष्करसादि. 20. आनुरोहति. 21. आनुति. 22. प्रादोहनि. 23. नैमिश्रि. 24. प्राडाहति. 25. बान्धकि. 26. वैशीति. 27. आसिनासि. 28. आहिंसि. 29, आसुरि. 30. नैमिषि. 31. आसिबन्धकि 32. पौष्पि. 33. कारेणुपालि. 34. वैकर्णि. 35. वैरकि. 36. वैहति ॥

तद्राजस्य बहुषु तेनैवास्त्रियाम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्राजस्य, बहुषु, तेन-एव, अस्त्रियाम्, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्राजसंज्ञस्य प्रत्ययस्य बहुषु वर्त्तमानस्य अस्त्रीलिङ्गस्य लुग् भवति, तेनैव चेद्गोत्रप्रत्ययेनकृतं बहुत्वं भवति ॥

62. There is luk-elision of the तद्राज (IV. 1. 174) affix, when the word is used in the plural number, provided that the plural number is taken by the base itself, and not by its standing as a compound epithet dependent upon another word, and provided that the base is not used in the feminine.

आङ्गः = अंग + अण् (IV. 1. 170) 'a prince of Anga'; plural अङ्गाः the princes of Anga.' The affix अण् is elided by present rule, and the Vriddhih vanishes with it too (I. 1. 63); but आङ्ग्यः 'the princesses of Anga,' plural of आंगी 'a princess of Anga.' But प्रियवांगः 'he to whom the prince of Vanga is beloved' forms its plural प्रियवांगाः 'they whose beloved is the prince of Vanga,' there being no elision.

यस्कादिभ्यो गोत्रे ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्क-आदिभ्यः, गोत्रेः (बहुषुः तेनैवास्त्रियाम्ः लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्कं इत्येवमादिभ्यः परस्य गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु वर्त्तमानस्यास्त्रीलिङ्गस्य लुग् भवति तेनैव चेद्गोत्रप्रत्ययेन कृतं बहुत्वं भवति ॥

63. After the word यस्क &c., there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word of itself and

not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another word, takes the plural ; but not in the feminine.

यस्क + अण् = यास्कः 'a descendent of Yaska not nearer than grandson.' In the plural, the affix is elided and the form is यस्काः 'the decendents of Yaska.'

॥ यस्कादयः ॥

1. यस्क. 2. लह्य. 3. द्रुह्य. 4. अयःस्थूण.* 5. अयःस्थूण. 6. तृणकर्ण. 7. सदामत्त. 8. कम्बलहार. 9. बहिर्योग. 10. कर्णाटक. 11. पर्णाढक. 12. पिण्डीजङ्घ. 13. बकसक्थ. 14. बकसक्थ. 15. विश्रि. 16. कुद्रि. 17. अजबस्ति. 18. मित्रयु 19. रक्षोमुख. 20. जङ्घारथ. 21. उत्कास. 22. कटुक, 23. मथक. 24. मन्थक. 25. पुष्करसद्. 26. पुष्करसद्. 27. विषपुट. 28. उपरिमेखल. 29. क्रोष्टुकमान. 30. क्रोष्टुमान. 31. क्रोष्टुपाद. 32. क्रोष्टुमाय. 33. शीर्षमाय. 34. खरप. 35. पदक. 36. वसुक. 37. भलन्दन. 38 भडिल. 39. भण्डिल. 40. भडित. 41. भण्डित.

यञञोश्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यञ्-अञोः, च, (बहुषु, तेनैवालुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यञोऽञश्च गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु वर्त्तमानस्यास्त्रीलिङ्गस्य लुग् भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यञादीनामेकद्वयोर्वा तत्पुरुषे षष्ठ्या उपसंख्यानम् ॥

64. And there is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes यञ् (IV. I. 105) and अञ् (IV. I. 104.) when the word is itself and not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another, takes the plural but not in the feminine.

गर्ग + यञ् = गार्ग्यः ; plural गर्गाः 'the male descendents of Garga'. So also वत्साः 'the male descendents of Vatsa'; the singular being, वात्स्यः Similarly, विद + अञ् = बैदः (IV. 1. 104); plural विदाः and not बैदाः ; similarly और्व singularly ; ऊर्वाः plural.

But these affixes are not elided when the word forms part of a compound. Thus, प्रियगार्ग्याः 'those to whom Gârgya is beloved;' प्रियबैदा 'those to whom Baida is beloved.'

These affixes will not be elided in the feminine. Thus, गार्ग्यः, बैदा, feminine plurals.

Of course these affixes must be Gotra or patronymic affixes, otherwise there will be no elision. Thus द्वीप + यञ् = द्वैप्यः 'living on the island,' plural द्वैप्याः ; here the affix यञ् is not elided as it does not denote a Gotra. So उत्स + अञ् = औत्सः 'the pupil of Utsa,' plural औत्साः.

Vart :—In forming Tat-purusha compound of the singular and dual genitive, the affix यञ् and अञ् are optionally elided. Thus गार्ग्यस्य कुलं = गार्ग्यकुलं or गार्गकुलं. गार्ग्ययोः कुलं = ~~गार्ग्यकुलं or गर्गकुलं~~.

Similarly बैदस्य or बैदयोः कुलं = बैदकुलं or बिदकुलं.

Why do we say 'the affixes यञ् or अञ्'? Because other affixes will not be elided in forming तत्पुरुष compound; such as आङ्गकुलं।

Why do we say 'singular or dual,? Because in the plural तत्पुरुष compounds, these affixes must necessarily be elided and not optionally; thus गर्गाणां कुलं = गर्गकुलं.

Why do we say 'in forming तत्पुरुष compound'? Because in forming other compounds, these affixes will not be elided. Thus, उपगार्ग्यं which is an अव्ययीभाव compound, meaning गार्ग्यस्य समीपं. Of course, it is only in the Genitive तत्पुरुष that this rule is applicable; it will not therefore apply in कर्मधारय तत्पुरुष &c., as परमगार्ग्यः।

अत्रिभृगुकुत्सवसिष्ठगोतमाङ्गिरोभ्यश्च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्रि-भृगु-कुत्स-वसिष्ठ-गोतम-अङ्गिरोभ्यः, च, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्र्यादिभ्यः परस्य गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति ॥

65. And after the words अत्रि, भृगु, कुत्स, वसिष्ठ गोतम अङ्गिरस there is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix, when the word takes the plural, but not in feminine.

Thus the plural of आत्रेय (अत्रि + ढक IV. 1. 122.) the descendent of अत्रि, is अत्रयः, the regular plural of अत्रि. So also, singular भार्गवः, plural भृगवः; singular कौत्सः, plural कुत्साः; so, वसिष्ठाः, गोतमाः, अङ्गिरसः. In all these the affix has been elided. Thus भृगु + अण् = भार्गवः 'the descendent of Bhrigu. Of course, it is only in the plural number that the Gotra affixes ढक् and अण् are elided, not in any other number; so we have in singular आत्रेयः भार्गवः; dual आत्रेयौ भार्गवौ; plural अत्रयः भृगवः &c

But when these words are part of a compound, the Gotra affixes are not elided in forming their plural Thus प्रियात्रेयाः or प्रियभार्गवाः।

In the Feminine plural the affixes are not elided. Thus:—आत्रेय्यः स्त्रियः।

बह्वच इञः प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बह्वचः, इञः प्राच्य-भरतेषु, (बहुषु० लुग) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बह्वच प्रातिपदिकाद् य इञ् विहितः प्राच्यगोत्रे भरतगोत्रे च वर्तते तस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति ॥

66. There is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix इञ् (IV., I. 95) after a word containing many vowels (a polysyllabic word) which denotes the Gotra of the people called प्राच्य and भरत when the word takes the plural.

The plural of पन्नागारिः is पन्नागाराः, there being elision of इञ्: so also बाभ्रवेयाः plural of बाभ्रवेयिः; so the plural of यौधिष्ठिरिः is युधिष्ठिराः 'the descendents of Yudhishthira. But वैकिः and पौष्पिः not being polysyllabic, their plural will be वैक्याः and पौष्प्याः.

Why do we say 'when denoting the Gotra of Prâchyas and Bhâratas'? Because when denoting the Gotra of any other people, these affixes will not be elided. Thus बालाकयः plural of बालाकिः, हस्तिदासयः plural of हस्तिदासिः.

Though the Bhâratas are Prâchyas, its specification here is to indicate that, wherever 'Prâchyas' will be used, it will not include Bhâratas as in V. 4 60. Here the Yuvan affix of Bhâratas will not be elided. Thus आर्जुनिः father, आर्जुनायनः son.

न गोपवनादिभ्यः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गोप-वन-आदिभ्यः (लुग्), ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोपवनादिभ्यः परस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुग् न भवति ॥

67. After the words गोपवन, &c., there is not luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word takes the plural.

This prevents the application of II. 4. 64. Thus गोपवन + अञ् = गौपवनः; plural गौपवनाः; singular शैग्रवः, plural शैग्रवाः. The गोपवन &c., belong to Vidâdi class, *vide* IV. 1. 104, and are the following:—गोपवन, शिग्रु, बिन्दु, भाजन, अश्व, अवतान, श्यामाक and श्यापर्ण. The remaining words such as हरित &c., should not be taken in this sub-class. In the case of हरित &c., the Gotra affix must be elided in the plural by Rule 64. Thus हरिताः किंदासाः &c.

तिककितवादिभ्यो द्वन्द्वे ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि । तिक-कितव-आदिभ्यः, द्वन्द्वे; (बहुषु लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिकादिभ्यः कितवादिभ्यश्च द्वन्द्वे गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति ॥

68. After the words तिक कितव &c. when used as Dvandva compound, there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affixes, when the compound word takes the plural.

Thus तिक + फिञ् = तैकायनिः (IV. 1. 154). Its plural is तैकायनयः तैकायनयः + कैतवायनयः = तिककितवाः। There is elision of फिञ्. So also बांखरिः plural बांखरयः (IV. 1. 95) + भारडीरयः = बंखरभंडीरथाः; there is elision of इञ् (IV. 1. 95). The following is a list of such compounds.

1. तिककितवाः 2. बङ्खरभण्डीरथाः 3. उपकलमकाः (औपकायनाः + लामकायनाः. IV. 1. 99, elision of फक्) 4. पफकनरकाः (पाफकयः + नारकयः,

IV. 1. 95, elision of इञ्). वकतलगुदप्ररिणद्भाः, 6. उञ्जककुभाः (औञ्जयः IV. 1. 95. + काकुभाः IV. 1. 112, then the elision of इञ् and अण्). 7. लङ्कशान्तमुखाः (the elision of इञ् IV. 9. 95 as in 4). 8. उरसलंकटाः (औरसायनयः IV. 1. 154 + लांकटयः IV. 1. 95, elision of फिञ् and इञ्. 9. भ्रष्टक कपिष्ठलाः (elision of इञ् as in 4). 10. कृष्णाजिनकृष्णसुन्दराः (elision of इञ्). 11. अग्निवेश—दासेरकाः (आग्निवेश्यः IV. 1. 105 + दासेरकयः IV, 1. 95, elision of both यञ् and इञ्).

उपकादिभ्योऽन्यतरस्यामद्वन्द्वे ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपक-आदिभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम्, अद्वन्द्वे, (बहुषु लुग् द्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपक इत्येवमादिभ्यः परस्य गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति अन्यतरस्यां द्वन्द्वे चा द्वन्द्वे च ॥

69. After the words उपक &c., there is optionally luk-elision of the Gotra affix when the words take the plural whether they enter into a Dvandva compound, or are used separately.

Of the words belonging to this list, three have already been enumerated in the group of Tika-kitavâdi of the last sûtra. The elision is invariable in the Dvandva compound of these three, but when used separately the elision is optional. As, उपकलमकाः, भ्रष्टककपिष्ठलाः, कृष्णाजिनकृष्णसुन्दराः. But the plurals of औपकायनयः, the Gotra-derivative of उपक (IV. I. 99) is उपकाः or औपकायनाः; of लामकायनः is लमकाः or लामकायनाः; of भ्राष्टकि is भ्रष्टकाः or भ्राष्टकयः The plural of कापिष्ठलिः is कपिष्ठलाः or कापिष्ठलयः The plural of कार्ष्णाजिनिः is कृष्णाजिनाः or कार्ष्णाजिनयः. The plural of कृष्णसुन्दरः is कृष्णसुन्दराः or कार्ष्णसुन्दरयः.

Of the rest of the words belonging to this group, there is option allowed, both when they occur in Dvandva compound or when used alone. They are as follow :—

1. पण्डारक. 2. भ्रण्डारक. 3. गडुक. 4. सुपर्यक: 5. सुपिष्ट. 6. मयूरकर्ण. 7. खारीजङ्घ. 8. शलाबल. 9. पतञ्जल. 10. कठेरणि. 11. कुषीतक. 12. काशकृत्स्न. 13. निदाघ. 14. कलशीकण्ठ. 15. दामकण्ठ. 16. कृष्णपिंगल. 17. कर्णक. 18. पर्णक. 19. जटिलक. 20. बधिरक. 21. जन्तुक. 22. अनुलोम. 23. अर्द्धपिंगलक. 24. प्रतिलोम. 25. प्रतान. 26. अनभिहित. (27. चृतारक. 28. उदङ्क 29. सुधायुक. 30. अबन्धक. 31. पदञ्जल. 32. अनुपद. 33. अयजन्म. 34. कमक. 35. लेखाभ्र 36. कमन्दक. 37. पिञ्जल. 38. मयूरकर्ण. 39. मदाघ. 40. कदामत्त. 41. दामकण्ठ) ॥

आगस्त्यकौण्डिन्ययोरगस्ति कुण्डिनच् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अगस्त्य-कौण्डिन्ययोः, अगस्ति-कुण्डिनच्, (बहुषु लुग, अणो यञः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आगस्त्यकौण्डिन्ययोरणो यञश्च बहुषु लुग् भवति परिशिष्टस्यश्च प्रकृतिभागस्य यथासंख्यमगस्ति कुण्डिनच् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

70. There is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes अण् and यञ् of the words आगस्त्य and कौण्डिन्य, when they take the plural; and the words अगस्ति and कुण्डिनच् are the substitutes of the bases so remaining after the elision.

The plural of आगस्त्य is अगस्तयः (as if it was the plural of अगस्ति) and of कौण्डिन्यः is कुण्डिनाः The affix अण् (IV. I. 114) after आगस्त्य and the affix यञ् (IV. 1. 105) after कौण्डिन्य are elided.

The च in कुण्डिनच् is indicatory and regulates the accent (IV. 1. 103); the word कुण्डिन has udâtta on the middle vowel; and its substitute will also have the same accent. There is no elision however in आगस्तीयाश्छात्राः (IV. 1 89) कौण्डिनाश्छात्राः (IV. 2. III.)

सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि सुपः, धातु-प्रातिपदिकयोः, (लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुपो विभक्तेर्धातुसंज्ञायाः प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञायाश्च लुग् भवति ॥

71. There is luk-elision of the case-affix of a word when it gets the name of a root, or as a crude form.

A noun is changed into a root (धातु) when it is made a denominative verb. As पुत्रीयति (III. 1. 8) he wishes for a son of his own. A noun which forms part of a compound becomes a crude-form (1. 2. 46); as कष्टश्रितः 'having recourse to pain.' राजपुरुषः 'king's man.' In all these examples, the case affixes have been elided.

Thus पुत्रम् इच्छति = पुत्रीयति, here the 2nd case-affix is elided. कष्टम् श्रितः = कष्टश्रित &c.

Why do we say 'when it gets the name of : धातु or प्रातिपदिक ?

Because when it gets any other name, such as अङ्ग &c., the case-affix is not elided. Thus वृक्षः, प्लक्षः ।

अदिप्रभृतिभ्यः शपः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदि-प्रभृतिभ्यः, शपः, (लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदिप्रभृतिभ्य उत्तरस्य शपो लुग् भवति ॥

72. After the verb अद् 'to eat' and the rest, there is luk-elision of the Vikaraṇa शप् (III. 1.·68).

Thus अद्+शप्+ति=अत्ति 'he eats'; हन्ति 'he kills; द्वेष्टि he envies. The Adâdi verbs belong to the second conjugation. In this class of verbs, therefore, the terminations are added direct to the root.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (शपः लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये शपो बहुलं लुग् भवति ॥

73. In the Chhandas (Vedas) there is diversely the luk-elision of the Vikaraṇa शप् (III. 1. 68).

There is elision in other conjugations than Adadi; and there is sometimes even no elision in Adadi verbs. As वृत्रं हनति 'he kills Vṛitra.' हन्+शप् + ति = हनति instead of हन्ति। So also, अहिः शयते instead of शेते. (Rig. V. I. 32. 5). In these cases the Vikaraṇa शप् has not been elided.

In some cases the शप् is elided as त्राध्वरं नो देवाः instead of त्रायध्वम् ॥

यङोऽचि च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यङः, अचि, च, (लुग् बहुलम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङो लुग भवति अचि प्रत्यये परतः, चकारेश बहुलंग्रहणमनुकृष्यते न तु छन्दसि इति ॥

74. And there is diversely the luk-elision of यङ् (III. 1. 22) when the affix अच् (III. 1. 134) follows.

By using 'diversely' there is elision of यङ् when other affixes than अच् follow, both in the sacred and profane literature; as लोलुवः 'much cutter' (लोलुय+अच्); पोपुवः 'much purifier' सनीस्रंसः from स्रंस 'to drop.' दनीध्वंसः from ध्वंस 'to fall,' the नी being added by (VII. 4. 84).

So also यङ् is elided before other affixes than अचः thus शाकुनिकी लालपीति दुन्दुभिर्वावदीति ॥ See also I. 1. 4.

जुहोत्यादिभ्यः श्लुः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जुहोति-आदिभ्यः, श्लुः, (शपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुहोत्यादिभ्य उत्तरस्य शपः श्लु भवति ॥

75. Ater the verbs हु 'to sacrifice' and others, there is ślu-elision of the Vikaraṇa शप् (III 1. 68).

These verbs belong to the Juhotyadi class. जुहोति 'he sacrifices' (VII. 1. 10). श्लु causes the reduplication of the root. So also बिभेति 'he fears. पिपेर्ति from पिपृ 'to purify,' he purifies.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (शपः श्लुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुलं शपः श्लु भवति ॥

76. In the Chhandas there is ślu-elision of शप् diversely.

Elision does not take place where ordained, and takes place where not ordained. दाति प्रियाणि (instead of ददाति) 'he gives pleasant objects,' धाति instead of दधाति।

So also there is ślu-elision of the vikaraṇas after roots other than those belonging to the Juhotyâdi class. Thus; पूर्णां विवष्टि, जनिम विवक्ति.

गातिस्थाघुपाभूभ्यः सिचः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥

गाति-स्था-घु-पा-भूभ्य, सिचः, परस्मैपदेषु, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाति स्था घु पा भू इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य सिचो लुग् भवति परस्मैपदेषु परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गापोर्ग्रहणे इण्पिबत्योर्ग्रहणम् ॥

77. There is luk-elision of the affix सिच् (III. 1. 44) in the Parasmaipada, after the verbs गा 'to go,' स्था 'to stand,' the verbs called घु (I. 1. 20), पा 'to drink' and भू 'to be.'

गा is the substitute of इण् (II. 4. 45). सिच् the affix of the Aorist is elided after these verbs in the Parasmaipada as अगात् 'he went,' अस्थात् 'he stood,' अदात् 'he gave,' अधात् 'he held,' अपात् 'he drank,' अभूत् 'he was.'

Vart:—The verbs गा and पा in the aphorism mean the गा 'to go' (which is the substitute of इण्, and not गै 'to sing,') which also assumes the form गा, and पा 'to drink' and not पा 'to protect.' The verbs गा 'to sing' and पा 'to protect' will form their Aorist with सिच् without its elision; thus अगासीत् 'he sang,' अपासीत् 'he protected.'

In the Atmanepada the सिच् is not elided; thus अगासातां ग्रामौ देवदत्तेन.

विभाषा घ्राधेट्शाच्छासः ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, घ्रा-धेट्-शा-छासः, (सिचः परस्मै विभाषा लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घ्रा धेट् शा छा सा इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य सिचः परस्मैपदेषु विभाषा लुग् भवति ॥

78. After the verbs घ्रा 'to smell,' धेट् 'to drink.' शा (शो) 'to pare,' छा (छो) 'to cut,' and सा (षो) 'to destroy,' there is optionally the elision of सिच्, when the parasmaipada term inations are employed.

Thus अघ्रात् or अघ्रासीत् 'he smelled;' अधात् or अधासीत् 'he drank;' अशात् or अशासीत् 'he pared,' अच्छात् or अच्छासीत् 'he cut' and असात् or असासीत् 'he destroyed.'

There is no option allowed in Atmanepada; thus, अघ्रासातां सुमनसौ देवदत्तेन ॥

The root धेट् is a Ghu verb, and in its case, the सिच् would have been elided by the last rule also. The present declares an option.

तनादिभ्यस्तथासोः, ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तन-आदिभ्यः, त-थासोः, (सिचःविभाषा लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनादिभ्य उत्तरस्य सिचस्तथासोः परतो विभाषा लुग् भवति ॥

79. After the verbs तन् to expand and others there is optionally the luk-elision of सिच् when the Atmanepada affixes त and थास् of the second person follow.

Thus अतत (VI. 4. 37) or अतनिष्ट 'he expanded,' अतथाः or अतनिष्ठाः 'thou didst expand.' Similarly असात or असनिष्ट he gave.' असाथाः or असनिष्ठाः 'thou didst give.'

The roots तन् and सन् must both belong to the Atmanepada, and not to Parasm aipada. Hence in the Parasmaipada there is no elision of सिच्. Thus, अतनिष्ट यूयम् 'you did expand.'

मन्त्रे घसह्वरणशवृदहाद्वृच्कृगमिजनिभ्यो लेः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ मान्त्रे-घस ह्वर-णश-वृ-दह-आत्-वृच-कृ-गमि-जनिभ्यः, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रविषये घस ह्वर णश वृ दह आत् वृच् कृ गमि जनि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य लेर्लुग् भवति ॥

80. In the Mantra portion of the Vedas there is luk-elision of the sign of the Aorist (& Perfect), after the verbs घस् 'to eat' ह्वर 'to be crooked,' णश 'to destroy' वृ 'to choose,' 'to cover,' दह् 'to burn,' verbs ending in long आ, वृच् 'to avoid,' कृ 'to make,' गमि 'to go' and जनि 'to be produced.'

The word लि is the name given by ancient grammarians to the affixes of Perfect tense as well as the Aorist, or it might be common term for all tense-affixes, Thus from घस we have अक्षन in the sentence, अक्षन्पितरो ऽमी॑मदन्त पितरो॑ऽतीतृपन्त पितरः पितरः शुन्धध्वम् (Yajurveda XIX 36 so also Rig. I. 82. 2).

From the verb ह्वृ we have मा ह्वर्मित्रस्य त्वम्. From नश we have प्रणक् in the following verse मा नः शंसो अररुषो धूर्तिः प्रणङ्मर्त्यस्य । रक्षा णो ब्रह्मणस्पते ॥ (Rig. 1. 18. 3.)

The word वृ in the sûtra includes both वृङ् and वृञ्, as the word वेन in the following ब्रह्म॑ जज्ञानं प्रथमं पुरस्ताद्विसी॑ मतः सुरुचो॑ वेन आवः । स बुध्न्या उपमा अस्य विष्ठाः सतश्च योनिमसतश्च वि वः ॥ (Yajurveda 13. 3).

From दह we have मा धक् as in सरस्वत्यभि नो॑ नेषि वस्यो मापस्फरीः पयसा मा न आ धक् ॥ (Rig. VI. 61. 14). The word आत means verbs ending in long आ as प्रा 'to fill.' Thus, चित्रं देवानामुदगादनीकं चक्षुर्मित्रस्य वरुणस्याग्नेः । आप्रा द्यावा पृथिवी अन्तरिक्षं सूर्य आत्मा जगतस्तस्थुषश्च ॥ (Rig. I. 115. 1.)

The root वृच gives us वर्क् as in the following verse:—मा नो अस्मिन्महाधने परा वर्ग्भारभृद्यथा । संवर्गं सं रयिं जय ॥ (Rig. VIII. 75. 12).

From कृ we have अक्रन् as in the following verse अक्रन् कर्म कर्मकृतः सह वाचा मयोभुवा । देवेभ्यः कर्म कृत्वास्तं प्रेत सचाभुवः ॥ (Yajurveda III. 47)

From गम we have अग्मन्; as in the following verse: वृतेव यंत बहुभिर्वसव्यै स्त्वेरयिं जागृवांसो अनुग्मन् । रुशंतमग्निं दर्शतं बृहंतं विश्वहा दीदिवांसं ॥ (Rig. VI. 1. 1)

From जन we have अजत as अजत वा अस्य दन्ताः This is an example from the Brâhmaṇ literature, as the word मन्त्र in the sûtra refers also to the Brâhmaṇ literature.

आमः ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमः, (लेः, लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमः परस्य ले र्लुग् भवति ॥

81. There is luk-elision in the room of that tense-affix (लि) which comes after आम् of the Perfect.

आम् is used in forming Periphrastic Perfect ईहांचक्रे 'he endeavoured. Here, after the verb ईहाम् all tense-affixes are elided, and the Perfect of कृ is added to form its Perfect. Similarly ऊहांचक्रे, ईहांचक्रे ॥

अव्ययादाप्सुपः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययात्, आप्-सुपः,(लुकः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययादुत्तरस्यापः सुपश्च लुग् भवति ॥

82. There is luk-elision of आप् (the feminine termination) and सुप् (the case-affixes) after an Avyaya or Indeclinable.

Thus, तत्र शालायाम् 'in that hall'. Here the Indeclinable तत्र 'there, does not take the feminine termination, although it is equivalent to तस्याम् 'in that.' So also कृत्वा 'having done' हृत्वा &c. Here the case-affix is elided.

नाव्ययीभावादतोऽम्त्वपञ्चम्याः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अव्ययीभावात्, अतः, अम्, तु, अपञ्चम्याः, (सुपः लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदन्तादव्ययीभावादुत्तरस्य सुपो न लुग् भवति, अमादेशस्तु तस्य सुपो भवत्यपञ्चम्याः ॥

83. There is not luk-elision of the case-affix after an Avyayi-bhâva compound that ends in अ, अम्, is the substitute of its case-affixes, but not went it is the fifth case-affix.

This debars luk-elision which was to have taken place by the last sûtra; instead of luk-elision, we have अम् added to the words ending in short अ; for examples of this, see sûtra II. 1. 6; as उपकुम्भं तिष्ठति 'upakumbha is standing'; उपकुम्भं पश्य 'see the upakumbha.'

Why do we say 'after words ending in short अ'? Because after Avyayîbhâva compound ending in any other vowels there is not substitution, but there is total-elision of the case-affixes; as अधिस्त्रि, अधिकुमारि.

But the ablative case-affix is not elided after Avyayîbhava compound ending in short अ, nor is there the अम् substitution; as उपकुम्भादानय.

तृतीयासप्तम्योर्बहुलम् ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-सप्तम्योः, बहुलम्, (अम् अव्ययीभावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीया सप्तम्योर्विभक्त्योर्बहुलमम्भावो भवति अव्ययीभावे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सप्तम्या ऋद्धि नदी समास संख्यावयवेभ्यो नित्यमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

84. The change to अम् of the third and seventh case-affixes coming after an Avyayîbhâva compound that ends in अ, occurs diversely.

उपकुम्भेन or उपकुम्भम् कृतं 'done by upakumbha'; उपकुम्भे निधेहि or उपकुम्भम् निधेहि 'put it in the upakumbha.'

Vart.—The अम् substitution is invariable and not optional in the locative case when the Avyayîbhava compound denotes prosperity (II, 1. 6.) or a compound of rivers (II. 1. 20 and 21) or a compound having a numeral for its member (II. 1. 19); as, सुमद्रम् 'well or prosperous with the Madras'; सुमगधम् 'well or prosperous with the Magadhas'; similarly उन्मत्तगङ्गम् । लोहितगङ्गम् । एकविंशतिभारद्वाजम् । The word 'diversely' establishes all these even without the Vartika.

लुटः प्रथमस्य डारौरसः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुटः, प्रथमस्य डा-रौ रसः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुडादेशस्य प्रथमपुरुषस्य परस्मैपदस्यात्मनेपदस्य च डा रौ रस इत्येते आदेशा भवन्ति यथासंख्यम् ॥

85. डा, रौ and रस् are substituted respectively in the room of the three-affixes of the third person of लुट् (First-future), both in the Parasmaipada and the Atmanepada.

Thus in the Parasmaipada कर्ता 'he will do,' कर्तारौ 'they two will do;' कर्तारः 'they will do.' So also in the Atmanepade we have अध्येता, अध्येतारौ, अध्येतारः ।

Why do we say 'in the 3rd person'? Observe कर्तासि । अध्येतासे ॥

ओ३म्

अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER I.

—:o:—

प्रत्ययः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्ययः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आ पञ्चमाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेर्यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः प्रत्ययसंज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः, प्रकृत्युपपदोपाधिविकारागमान्वर्जयित्वा ॥

1. An affix.

This is an aphorism intended solely to regulate the sense of others. From this place forward up to the end of the Fifth Book, whatsoever we shall treat of, will get this name of 'Pratyaya' or an affix, except the 'prakṛiti' or base (such as गुप्, तिज्, कित् in III. 1. 5 are bases, the affix, being सन्), the 'upapada' or dependent word (such as स्तम्ब शकृत in III. 2. 24 are upapadas), the upâdhi' or attribute, the special cause that occasions changes (such as पशु in III. 2. 25 is an upâdhi); in the sûtra, III. 2. 25, the word हरति is a prakṛiti, दृति and नाथ are upapadas, पशु is an upâdhi, the affix being इन्, the substitute and the augment. Such as the affixes तव्यत्, तव्य, अनीयर् taught in III. 1. 96, as कर्तव्यम्, करणीयम् 'to be done'

परश्च ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ परः, च, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परश्च स भवति धातोर्वा प्रातिपदिकाद्वा यः प्रत्ययसंज्ञः ॥

2. And subsequent.

This is also an 'adhikâra' or regulating sûtra, and is understood in al subsequent aphorisms; or it might also be called a 'paribhâshâ' or interpreting aphorism. That which is called an affix comes after, or is placed after, the 'dhâtû' or root, or the 'prâtipadika' or crude form; as कर्तव्यम् and तैत्तिरीयम्.

The force of the word च 'and' in this sûtra is to indicate that the affixes here treated of, are to be placed *after* a root &c; not so, however, the affixes not taught in this Adhyâya. These latter, such as Unâdi affixes, may sometimes, be placed in the beginning or the middle of a word.

आद्युदात्तश्च ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-उदात्तः, च, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आद्युदात्तश्च स भवति यः प्रत्ययसंज्ञः ॥

3, That which is called an affix, has an acute accent on its first syllable.

The sûtra may also be treated as a Paribhâshâ or an Adhikâra sûtra. The udâtta accent falls on the affix, and if it consists of more than one vowel, then on the first of the vowels. Thus the affix तव्य has udâtta on the first अ, as in कर्तव्यम्. This general rule of accent applies only where there is no special

rule laid down. Thus, rule VI, 1. 163, declares that affixes having an indicatory च will have udâtta on the final ; those having an indicatory र have accent on the middle (VI. 1. 217) ; those that have an indicatory प are anudâtta ; those having an indicatory ल. throw the acute accent on the syllable immediately preceding the affix (VI. 1. 193) ; the affixes having an indicatory ञ and न throw the acute accent on the first syllable of the word to which they are added (VI. 1. 197) ; the taddhita affix having an indicatory क takes acute accent on the final (VI. 1. 165) ; and the affix having an indicatory त is svarita (VI. 1. 185).

अनुदात्तौ सुप्पितौ ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तौ, सुप्-पितौ, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुपः पितश्च प्रत्यया अनुदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

4. The case-affixes (sup) and the affixes having an indicatory प (pit) are anudatta.

This is an exception (apavâda) to the last aphorism. As दृषदौ 'two stones'; the case-affix औ is anudâtta ; so also दृषदः ; so also पचति ; The third person singular affix तिप् has an indicatory प, and is anudâtta. But not पचतः.

गुप्तिज्किद्भ्यः सन् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुप्-तिज्-किद्भ्यः, सन् (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुप गोपने, तिज निशाने, कित निवासे, एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः सन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ निन्दाक्षमाव्याधिप्रतीकारेषु सन्निष्यतेऽन्यत्र यथाप्राप्तं प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

5. After the verbs गुप्, तिज and कित् comes the affix सन्.

This affix is to be added to the above verbs, when they mean to 'despise', 'to endure' and 'to heal' respectively, though they ordinarily mean 'to hide', 'to whet' and 'to dwell'. As जुगुप्सते 'he censures or despises'; तितिक्षते 'he endures patiently'; चिकित्सते 'he heals'. But गोपायति 'he protects'; तेजयति 'he sharpens'; संकेतयति 'he makes sign'.

When सन् is added, there is reduplication of the root, by VI. 1. 9. Thus, गुप् + सन् = जुगुप् + स (VII. 4. 62.) = जुगुप्स् to which is added the third person singular termination अते = जुगुप्सते.

मान्बधदान्शान्भ्यो दीर्घश्चाभ्यासस्य ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मान्-बध-दान्-शान्भ्यो, दीर्घः, च, अभ्यासस्य, (सन्, प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मान पूजायाम्, बध बन्धने, दान अवखण्डने, शान अवतेजने, इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः सन् प्रत्ययो भवति, अभ्यासस्य चेकारस्य दीर्घादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अत्रापि सन्नर्थविशेष इष्यते ॥

6. The affix सन् comes after the verbs मान 'to honor', बध 'to bind', दान 'to cut' and शान 'to whet', and long ई is the substitute of the इ (VII. 4 79) of the reduplicative (VI. 1. 4) syllable.

The सन् is to be added only then, when the sense of the desiderative verb is as below: मीमांसते 'he investigates', बीभत्सते 'he loathes', दीदांसते 'he straightens', शीशांसते 'he sharpens'. The verbs given in this and the preceding sûtra, are Desiderative in form, but not in meaning. The word 'optionally' in the next sûtra, may be read into this also, whereby the addition of सन् becomes optional. Thus मानयति बाधयति, दानयति and निशा नयति are also valid forms.

धातोः कर्मणः समानकर्तृकादिच्छायां वा ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥

धातोः, कर्मणः, समान-कर्तृकात्, इच्छायाम्, वा (सन, प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इषिकर्मको यो धातुरिषिणैव समानकर्तृकस्तस्मादिच्छायामर्थे वा सन् प्रत्ययो भवति

वार्तिकम् ॥ आशङ्कायामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इच्छासन्नन्तात्प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

भवति ॥

7. The affix सन् is optionally attached, in the sense of wishing, after a root expressing the object wished for, and having the same agent of the action as the wisher thereof.

As, कृ 'to do'; चिकीर्षति = कर्तुमिच्छति 'he wishes to do. This is the Desiderative proper. It is optional to employ the desiderative affix, the same sense may be expressed by a phrase. The root must also be simple and not compounded with any upasarga, when the affix सन् is to be added. Thus प्रकर्तुमैच्छत् = प्राचिकीर्षत्.

Why do we say कर्मणः 'after (a root expressing) an object'? The affix will not come after an Instrumental case. Thus गमनेनेच्छति; here there is no affix. But गन्तुमिच्छति will be जिगमिषति.

Why do we say समानकर्तृकात् 'when the subject of the verb to wish, is also the subject of the verb denoted by the object wished'? Observe देवदत्तस्य भोजनमिच्छति यज्ञदत्तः. Here Yajñadatta is agent of the verb इच्छति; but he is not agent of the action भोजनं; hence there is no affixing.

Why do we say इच्छायाम् 'when the sense is that of wishing'? Observe कर्तुं जानाति 'he knows how to make'; here the sense being that of knowing, there is no affix.

The word वा 'optionally' shows that a sentence may also be employed to express the same idea. Thus कर्तुमिच्छति or चिकीर्षति

The word धातोः being especially used in this sûtra, shows that this सन् is an ârdhadhâtuka affix, while the सन् taught in the two preceding sûtras, will not get this designation.

Vart :—The affix सन् is added, when the sense is that of 'in imminent danger'; as शङ्के पतिष्यति कूलम् = पिपतिषति कूलम् 'the bank is in imminent danger of falling down'. So also श्वा मुमूर्षति.

Vart : There is no affixing of सन् after a verb which has already taken सन् in the sense of wishing. As चिकीर्षितुमिच्छति. But the सन् of III. 1. 5, 6 not denoting wishing, we have जुगुप्सिषते मीमांसिषते.

सुप आत्मनः क्यच् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपः, आत्मनः, क्यच्, (धातोः, कर्मणः, इच्छायां, च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इषिकर्मण एषितुरेवात्मसम्बन्धिनः सुबन्तादिच्छायामर्थे वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्यचि मान्ताव्ययप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि परेच्छायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. The affix क्यच् is optionally empolyed, in the sense of wishing, after a word ending in a case-affix expressing the object wished for as connected with the wisher's self.

This forms the Denominative verbs, *i. e.*, verbs derived from nominal bases. As, पुत्र 'son', पुत्रीयति 'he wishes for a son of his own' (पुत्र + क्यच् = पुत्री + य = पुत्रीय) (II. 4. 71, VII. 4. 33).

Why do we use the word सुप् ? The affix should not come after a whole sentence, but only after the particular word ending in the case-affix. Thus in महान्तं पुत्रमिच्छति, the affix comes only after पुत्रम् and not महान्तं पुत्रं.

Why do we say *âtmanah*? Oserve राज्ञः पुत्रमिच्छति 'he wishes a son for the king'. Here there is no affixing as the wishing is for another and not for one's own self.

The क in क्यच् is for the sake of classing *kyach, kyan and kyash* in one common group by simply using the word क्य, as in sûtra नः क्ये I. 4. 15; while च् distinguishes *kyach* from *kyan &c.*, and is not for the sake of accent, the affix will be udâtta by III. 1. 3.

Vart:—In affixing *kyach*, prohibition must be stated of pronouns in म and of Indeclinables. Thus in इदमिच्छति, उच्चैरिच्छति, there is no affixing.

Vart:— In the Vedas, the affix is added even when the wish is with regard to another. As मा त्वा वृका अघायवो विदन्. Here अघायु (pl. अघायवः) is

formed by *kyach*, अ being added by III. 2. 170, and आ is added by VII. 4. 37. See Rig Veda I 20. 7; 27. 3. &c.

काम्यच्च ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ काम्यच्, च, (सुपः, आत्मनः, धातोः, कर्मणः, इच्छायां, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्तात्कर्मण आत्मनेच्छायां काम्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

9. And the affix काम्यच् is also employed, in the sense of wishing, after a word ending in a case-affix, expressing the object wished for as connected with the wisher's self.

Thus, पुत्रकाम्यति 'he wishes for a son of his own'.

The making of this a separate sûtra instead of adding it with the last aphorism and making one sûtra of them both, is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra, where the anuvritti of *kyach* only runs, and not that of *kâmyach*. The क of *kâmyach* is not indicatory, but is a part of the real affix. Here, therefore, rule I. 3. 8 which would have made the letter क indicatory, does not apply; because no particular purpose would be served by making it indicatory. Or the affix *kâmyach* may be considered to have an indicatory च before it *i.e.* the affix being *chakâmya*.

उपमानादाचारे ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमानाद्, आचारे, (धातोः, कर्मणः, सुपः, वा, क्यच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानात्कर्मणः सुबन्तादाचारेऽर्थे वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अधिकरणाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

10. The affix क्यच् is optionally employed, in the sense of treatment, after a word ending in a case affix denoting the object of comparison.

Thus, पुत्रमिवाचरति छात्रं = पुत्रीयति छात्रम् 'he treats the pupil as a son'.

Vart: So also in a locative case. As प्रासादीयति कुट्यां 'he dwells in hut as if it were a palace'. पर्यंकीयति मंचके 'in a cot he lies down as if he were on a royal bedstead; he treats a cot as a royal bedstead'.

कर्त्तुः क्यङ् सलोपश्च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तुः, क्यङ्, सलोपः, च, (उपमानाद्, आचारे, सुपः, धातोः, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानात्कर्त्तुः सुबन्तादाचारेऽर्थे वा क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, सकारस्य च लोपो भवति॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आचारेऽवगल्भक्लीवहोडेभ्यः क्विब्वा वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वप्रातिपदिकेभ्य इत्येके ॥

11. The affix क्यङ् is optionally employed in the sense of behaving, after a word ending in a case-affix, denoting the object of comparison of the agent; and there is elision (lopa) of the final स of the noun, if it ends with a स.

Thus, श्येनमिवाचरति काकः, श्येनायते, 'the crow behaves like a hawk'; अप्सरायते 'she behaves like an Apsarâ'; पयस्यते or पयायते it becomes milk'; (श्येन + य = श्येना + य = श्येनाय, VII. 4. 25).

In the words ओजस्—ओजायते, and अप्सरस्—अप्सरायते the final स् is invariably elided when forming the denominative verb: but not so in the case of पयस् where the elision is optional, as पयायते or पयस्यते.

The elision of स् refers to the final स् and not when it is followed by any vowel. Thus हंस—हंसायते; सारस—सारसायते; here the स is not elided as it is not final. See. I. 1, 52.

Vart:—After the words अवगल्भ, क्लीब, and होड, the affix क्विप् is optionally added in the sense of behaving like some one or some thing. As अवगल्भते or अवगल्भायते, क्लीबते or क्लीबायते होडते or होडायते The alternative forms are derived by the affixing of *kyan*.

Vart:—According to the opinion of some Grammarians, the affix क्विप् comes optionally in this sense after all crude nouns. As अश्वति or अश्वायते, गर्दभति or गर्दभायते.

भृशादिभ्यो भुव्यच्वेर्लोपश्च हलः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृश-आदिभ्यः, भुवि, अच्वेः, लोपः, च, हलः, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृश इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्योऽच्व्यन्तेभ्यो भुवि भवत्यर्थे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, हलन्तानां च लोपः ॥

12. The affix क्यङ् in the sense of becoming what the thing previously was not, is employed after the crude forms भृश् and the rest, which do not end with the affix च्वि (V. 4. 50); and there is elision (lopa) of the final consonant of these words if they end in a consonant.

Thus, अभृशो भृशो भवति=भृशायते 'he becomes much (from a little)'; शीघ्रायते 'he becomes swift(from being tardy)'. All these roots will be Atmanepadi(I.3.12).

The phrase अच्वेः 'not ending in the adverbial affix ई', refers to every one of the words belonging to the class भृशादि, It may be objected, what was the necessity of adding this condition, since the affix च्वि itself denotes that something has become what it was not before; and therefore a word which has

taken the affix च्वि, will not again take क्यङ् in that very sense. The repetiton of च्वि here shows that the words भृश् &c. never take the affix च्वि, in the sense of 'something becoming what it was not before'. Thus the present sûtra is an exception to sûtra V. 4. 50. which ordains च्वि.

भृशादिः ।

भृश, शीघ्र, मन्द चपल, पण्डित, उत्सुक, उन्मनस्, अभिमनस्, सुमनस्, दुर्मनस्, रहस्, रेहस्, शश्वत्, बृहत्, वेहत् नृषत्, शुधि, अधर, ओजस्, वर्चस्, (विमनस्, रभस्, रोहत, तृप, शुचिस्, चरजस्) ।

लोहितादिडाज्भ्यः क्यष् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोहित-आदि-डाज्भ्यः क्यष्, (भुवि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोहितादिभ्यो डाजन्तेभ्यश्च भवत्यर्थे क्यष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

13. The affix क्यष् in the sense of becoming what the thing previously was not, is employed after the words लोहित, &c. and after those that end with the affix डाच् (V. 4, 57), when these words do not take the affix च्वि (V. 4. 50).

Thus लोहितायते or लोहितायति 'he becomes red'; पटपटायते or पटपटायति 'he makes a noise like patapata', (लोहित+य=लोहिता+य=लोहिताय, VII. 4. 25).

The word पटपटायते is formed by adding the affix *dâch* to the word पट which is first reduplicated, and then takes the denominative affix *kyash*. The affix *dâch* is added to express inarticulate sounds.

There is no special class called *lohitâdi*. The Vârtika, therefore, proposes that the sûtra should read without the word *âdi*, as लोहितादिभ्यः क्यष्; 'the affix *kyash* comes after *lohita*, and words ending in *dâch*'.

This rule applies to words other than भृशादि which are always invariably Atmanepadi owing to the ङित् affix क्यङ् while क्यष् is optionally both. (I. 3. 90). Thus वर्मायति or वर्मायते, निद्रायति or निद्रायते, करुणायति or करुणायते, कृपायति or कृपायते. The *lohitâdi* is an आकृतिगण, the following being some of the words of this class; लोहित, नील हरित, पीत, मद्र, फेन, मन्द.

The indicatory क in क्यष् is not for the sake of prohibiting *guna* and *vriddhi* (I. 1. 5). For *guna* or *vriddhi* takes place in a *dhâtu* followed by a *sârvadhâtuka* or *ârdhadhâtuka* affix. The affix क्यष् is not added to a *dhâtu* but to a nominal stem: hence there is no scope for the operation of *guna* &c. The क is for the sake of grouping क्यच्, क्यङ् and क्यष् in one class as क्य; as in sûtra नःक्ये (I. 4. 15). There is, however, no word ending in न among those enumerated above.

The affix डाच् (V. 4. 57) comes when the verb following is one of the three अस्, भू, or कृ; as पटपटाकरोति, or -भवति -स्यात्. The present sûtra teaches by implication that when क्यष् follows डाच्, the above restriction, that the verb should be कृ, भू or अस्, is not applicable. Here डाच् comes without the addition of कृ, भू or अस्ति.

The anuvritti of च्वेः comes from the last sûtra; and hence the affix क्यष् is added in the sense of अभूततद्भाव i. e. something becoming that which it was not before.

कष्टाय क्रमणे ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कष्टाय, क्रमणे, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कष्टशब्दाच्चतुर्थी समर्थात् क्रमणेऽनार्जवे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सत्रकष्टकक्षकृच्छ्रगहनेभ्यः कण्वचिकीर्षायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

14. The affix क्यङ्, in the sense of exerting in dishonesty, is employed after the word कष्ट 'mischief', when the latter has the fourth case-affix in construction.

Thus, कष्टाय कर्मणे क्रामति = कष्टायते 'he is assiduous for trouble, i. e. he is assiduous in the commission of dishonesty, or he plots'.

Vart:—The affix क्यङ् comes in the sense of exerting in evil, after the words सत्र, कष्ट कक्ष, कृच्छ्र and गहन; as, सत्रायते, कष्टायते, कक्षायते, कृच्छ्रायते, and गहनायते.

When the sense is not of 'evil' the affix is not added, as अजः कष्टं क्रामति.

कर्मणो रोमन्थतपोभ्यां वर्त्तिचरोः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणः, रोमन्थ-तपोभ्यां, वर्त्ति-चरोः, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्ति ॥ रोमन्थशब्दात्तपःशब्दाच्च कर्मणो यथाक्रमं वर्त्ति चरोरर्थयोः क्यङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हनुचलन इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तपसः परस्मैपदं च ॥

15. The affix क्यङ् is employed after the words, रोमन्थ 'ruminating' and तपस् 'austerity', when they are used as the objects of the action of repeating and performing respectively.

Thus, रोमन्थं वर्तयति = रोमन्थायते गौः 'the cow ruminates'.

Vart:—This is restricted to the word signifying movements of the jaws. Therefore there is no affixing here; as, कीटो रोमन्थं वर्तयति.

Vart:—The Parasmaipada affixes are used after the word तपस्; as तपश्चरति = तपस्यति, 'he performs austerity'.

बाष्पोष्मभ्यामुद्वमने ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बाष्प-ऊष्मभ्यां, उद्वमने, (कर्मणः, क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बाष्पशब्दादूष्मशब्दाच्च कर्मण उद्वमनेऽर्थे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ फेनाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

16. The affix क्यङ् is employed in the sense of ejecting, after the words बाष्प 'vapour' and ऊष्म 'heat' as the object of the action.

Thus, बाष्पायते 'it emits vapour'; ऊष्मायते 'it sends out heat'. So also फेनायते 'it ejects froth'.

शब्दवैरकलहाभ्रकण्वमेघेभ्यः करणे ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शब्द-वैर-कलह-अभ्र-कण्व-मेघेभ्यः, करणे, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शब्द वैर कलह अभ्र कण्व मेघ इत्येतेभ्यः करणे करोत्यर्थे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ सुदिनदुर्दिननीहारेभ्यश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अटाट्टाशीकाकोटापोटासोटाकष्टाग्रहणं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

17. The affix क्यङ्, in the sense of making, comes after these words, as the object of the action, viz:—शब्द 'sound', वैर 'hostility', कलह 'strife', अभ्र 'cloud', कण्व 'sin' and मेघ 'cloud'.

Thus, शब्दं करोति=शब्दायते 'he makes a noise'. So also वैरायते, कलहायते, अभ्रायते, कण्वायते, मेघायते।

Vart :—It should be stated that the affix comes after सुदिन, दुर्दिन and नीहार; as, सुदिनायते, दुर्दिनायते, नीहारायते।

Vart:—So also should be included the words अटा, अट्टा, शीका, कोटा, पोटा सोटा and कष्टा; as अटायते, अट्टायते, शीकायते, कोटायते, पोटायते, सोटायते, and कष्टायते।

The word करण in the sûtra is not the Grammatical *Karana* or the Instrumental case, but has here its primary meaning of 'doing'.

सुखादिभ्यः कर्तृवेदनायाम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुख-आदिभ्यः, कर्तृ-वेदनायाम्, (कर्मणः, क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुखइत्येवमादिभ्यः कर्मभ्यो वेदनायामर्थेऽनुभवे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति वेदयितुश्चेत्कर्तुः सम्बन्धीनि सुखादीनि भवन्ति ॥

18. The affix क्यङ् in the sense of feeling, comes

after the words सुख 'pleasure', &c, when the pleasure &c., belong to the agent as feels thereof.

Thus सुखायते 'he feels pleasure'; दुःखायते 'he feels pain'.

Why do we say 'when the feeling belongs to the agent'? Observe सुखं वेदयति प्रसाधको देवदत्तस्य 'the valet knows the happiness of his master. Devadatta'. Here the agent, viz, a valet, is not the percipient of the 'happiness,' which belongs to his master; hence there is no affixing.

सुखादिः ।

सुख, दुःख, तृप्त, गहन, कृच्छ्र, अस्र, अलीक, प्रतीप, करुण, कृपण, सोढ ।

नमोवरिवश्चित्रङः क्यच् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नमस्-वरिवस्-चित्रङः, क्यच्, (करणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नमस् वरिवस् चित्रङ् इत्येतेभ्यो वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति करणविशेषे पूजादौ ॥

19. The affix क्यच्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action, viz.—नमस् 'adoration', वरिवस् 'honor' and चित्र 'wonder'.

Thus नमस्यति देवान्, 'he worships the gods'; वरिवस्यति गुरून्, 'he honors or serves the elders'; चित्रीयते 'he astonishes (makes it wonderful)'. The ङ् in चित्रङ् indicates that it takes the affixes of the Atmanepada. (चित्र + य = चित्री + य (VII. 4. 33) = चित्रीय.

पुच्छभाण्डचीवराण्णिङ् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ पुच्छ-भाण्ड-चीवरात्, णिङ्, (करणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुच्छ भाण्ड चीवर इत्येतेभ्यो णिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति करणविशेषे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पुच्छादुदसने पर्यसने वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाण्डात्समाचयने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चीवरादर्जने परिधाने वा ॥

20. The affix णिङ्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action, viz:—पुच्छ 'tail', भाण्ड 'pot' and चीवर 'rag'.

Thus उत्पुच्छयते 'he lifts up the tail, (the sense must be that of lifting or throwing about); सम्भाण्डयते 'he collects pots in a heap'; संचीवरयते भिक्षुः 'the beggar collects or wears rags'. Of the affix णिङ् the effective portion is इ, the other letters are servile. The ङ indicates Atmanepada(I. 3. 12) and ण serves the purposes of the application of the rule VI. 4. 51 which applies generally to all affixes containing णि, such as णिङ्, णिच् &c.

Vart:—After the word पुच्छ the sense of the affix is that of lifting or throwing about.

Vart :—After भाण्ड the sense of the affix is that of accumulation in a heap.

Vart :—After चीवर the sense of the affix is that of acquiring or wearing.

मुण्डमिश्रश्लक्ष्णलवणव्रतवस्त्रहलकलकृततूस्तेभ्यो णिच् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुण्ड-मिश्र-श्लक्ष्ण-लवण-व्रत-वस्त्र-हल-कल-कृत-तूस्तेभ्यः, णिच्, (करणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुण्ड मिश्र श्लक्ष्ण-लवण व्रत वस्त्र हल कल कृत तूस्त इत्येतेभ्यः करणे णिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

21. The affix णिच्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action viz: मुण्ड, shaving', मिश्र 'mixture', श्लक्ष्ण 'soft', लवण 'salt', व्रत 'vow', वस्त्र, 'dress', हल 'plough', कल 'strife', कृत 'done', and तूस्त 'matted hair'.

Thus मुण्डयति 'he shaves,; मिश्रयति 'he mixes'; श्लक्ष्णयति 'he softens or alleviates'; लवणयति 'he salts'; पयोव्रतयति 'he fasts on milk'; संवस्त्रयति 'he covers with clothes, *i. e.*, dresses'; हलयति 'he ploughs'; कलयति 'he makes war'; कृतयति 'he appreciates kindness'; वितूस्तयति 'he combs the hair, or disentangles matted hair or delivers from sin'.

The affix after the word व्रत has the sense of 'eating' or 'abstaining therefrom'; as पयो व्रतयति 'he drinks milk,' वृषलान्नं व्रतयति 'he abstains from the food prepared by low caste', after the word वस्त्र the affix denotes the sense of covering. After हलि and कलि the sense is that of taking; as हलिं गृह्णाति=हलयति. The words in the sûtra are हल and कल and not हलि and कलि. This anomalous form shows that in forming the Aorist of these by adding the affix चङ् (III. 1. 48) the reduplication takes place, but not in the same way as if the affix were चङ्; *i.e.* the सन्वद्भाव does not take place here in the Aorist (VII. 4 93). Thus the Aorists are अजहलत् and अचकलत्; and not अजीहलत् and अचीकलत् which would have been the forms by the application of rules VII. 4. 79. & 94. if there was सन्वद्भाव.

The word तूस्त means either hair, or matted hair, or sin.

धातोरेकाचो हलादेः क्रियासमभिहारे यङ् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातोः, एक-अचः, हल-आदेः क्रिया-समभिहारे यङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकाज् यो धातुर्हलादिः क्रियासमभिहारे वर्त्तते तस्माद्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, पौनःपुन्य भृशार्थो वा क्रियासमभिहारः ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सूचिसूत्रिमूत्र्यट्यर्त्यशूर्णोतीनां ग्रहणं यङ् विधावनेकाजहलाद्यर्थम् ॥

22. The affix यङ्, in the sense of repetition of the act, comes after a root, having a single vowel and beginning with a consonant.

The phrase *kriyâ-samabhihâra* means repetition of the act or its intensity. As पच् 'to cook', पापच्यते 'he cooks again and again'; जाज्वल्यते 'he shines with great intensity'. The root must be a simple root, and not compounded with any *upasarga*. We cannot therefore make Intensives of verbs like प्राट् 'to go', (because the root अट् is preceded by the upasarga प्र); or जागृ 'to be awake,' (because it contains two vowels); or ईक्ष् 'to see' (because it begins with a vowel).

Vart:—The intensive affix यङ् comes after सूचि, सूत्रि, मूत्रि, अटि, अर्ति, अश and ऊर्णु, though some of these contain more than two vowels and others begin with a vowel.

As, सोसूच्यते, सोसूत्र्यते, मोमूत्र्यते, अटाट्यते, अरार्यते, अशाश्यते, and प्रोर्णोनूयते.

The affix is not added in these cases भृशं शोभते or भृशं रोचते, as it is against usage to make Intensive forms of these verbs on the sense of intensity, though in the sense of repeition we have रोरुच्यते and शोशुभ्यते.

In making the Intensives, the root is reduplicated and it takes the termination of the Atmanepada as the root is ङित्.

नित्यं कौटिल्ये गतौ ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, कौटिल्ये, गतौ, (यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिवचनाद्धातोः कौटिल्ये गम्यमाने नित्यं यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

23. The affix यङ् invariably comes, in the sense of crookedness, after a simple verb expressing motion.

Thus क्रम् 'to move', चंक्रम्यते 'he moves crookedly'. So also दन्द्रम्यते After a verb of motion, the यङ् never expresses intensity or repetition; so if the latter is to be expressed, a phrase must be employed; as भृशं क्रामति 'he wanders much'. This is inferred from the word नित्य used in the sûtra *i. e.* यङ् always has the sense of crookedness and no other sense after a verb of motion.

लुपसदचरजपजभदहदशगॄभ्यो भावगर्हायाम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुप-सद-चर-जप-जभ-दंश-गॄभ्यः, भाव-गर्हायाम्, (यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुप सद चर जप जभ दह दंश गॄ इत्येतेभ्यो भावगर्हायां धात्वर्थगर्हायां यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix यङ् when it is intended to convey the sense of contempt (गर्हा) in respect of the sense

of the root (भाव) comes always after the following roots, viz —लुप् 'to cut off', सद् 'to sit', चर् 'to walk', जप् 'to mutter silently any sacred formula', जभ् 'to gape or yawn', दह् 'to burn', दश् 'to bite' and गॄ 'to swallow'.

Thus लोलुप्यते 'he cuts off badly'; सासद्यते 'he sits badly'; चंचूर्यते 'he walks badly'; जंजप्यते 'he recites badly'; so also जंजभ्यते, दन्दह्यते दन्दश्यते, निजगल्यते. The affix यङ् does not come in the sense of repetition, &c., after the above verbs, but only in the sense of censurable performance of the action denoted by the verbs. Separate words must be used to express the intensive or the frequentative meaning. As भृशं लुम्पति 'he cuts off much',

Why do we say 'when contempt in regard to the sense of the root is meant'? Observe साधु जपति 'he recites well'. There is no affixing as no contempt is denoted. Why do we say 'in regard to the action denoted by the root'? When the contempt is not with regard to the sense of the root, but with regard to the action as accomplished, the affix is not employed. Thus मन्त्रं जपति वृषलः 'the Sûdra recites the sacred mantras'. The word नित्य of the last aphorism is understood here also.

सत्यापपाशरूपवीणातूलश्लोकसेनालोमत्वचवर्मवर्णचूर्णचुरादिभ्यो णिच् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्याप-पाश-रूप-वीणा-तूल-श्लोक-सेना-लोम-त्वच-वर्म-वर्ण-चूर्ण-चुर-आदिभ्यः, णिच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्यादिभ्यश्चूर्णपर्यन्तेभ्यश्चुरादिभ्यश्च णिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अर्थवेदसत्यानामापुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

25. The affix णिच् is employed after these words, viz, :—सत्य 'truth' (which then takes the form of सत्याप as exhibited in the sûtra), पाश 'a fetter', रूप 'form', वीणा 'a lute, तूल 'cotton', श्लोक 'celebration', सेना 'an army', लोम 'the hair of the body', त्वच 'the skin,' वर्म 'mail', वर्ण 'celebration', चूर्ण 'powder' and the verb of the Churâdi class.

Thus सत्यापयति 'he speaks truly'; विपाशयति 'he unfetters or liberates'; रूपयति 'he looks'; उपवीणयति 'he sings with the lute'; अनुतूलयति 'he makes a brush'; उपश्लोकयति 'he praises in verse'; अभिषेणयति 'he advances with the army'; अनुलोमयति 'he rubs over the hair'; त्वचयति 'he feels of the skin'; संवर्मयति 'he puts on the mail armour'; वर्णयति 'he celebrates or colors'; अवचूर्णयति he pulverises. The roots of the *Churâdi* class belong to the tenth conjugation, for a list of whicl see the Dhâtupâtha. After the verbs of the *Churâdi* class, the affix णिच् is employed without alteration of the sense; as चोरयति 'he steals'. So also चिन्तयति.

Vart:—The words अर्थ वेद and सत्य take the augment आपुक् before the affix णिच्; as, सत्यापयति, अर्थापयति, वेदापयति. The whole equation is thus shown अर्थ + आपुक् + णिच् + शप् + तिप् = अर्थ + आप् + इ + अति = अर्थापि + अति = अर्थापयति (VII. 3. 86). The final syllable called टि is not elided in this case, *i. e.*, of अर्थाप् the syllable आप् is not elided before णिच्, as it would have been by VI. 4. 155. The reason is that if आप् was to be elided, there would have been no necessity of adding it. The affix णिच् has the sense of 'unfettering' after the word पाश, of 'seeing' after रूप, of 'singing in accompaniment' after वीणा, of 'brushing' after तूल, of 'praising' after श्लोक, of 'leading' after सेना, of 'rubbing' after लोम, of 'taking' after त्वच्, of 'putting on' after वर्म and of 'taking' after वर्ण.

हेतुमति च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतुमति, च, (धातोः, णिच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुः स्वतन्त्रस्य कर्तुः प्रयोजकः तदीयो व्यापारः प्रेषणादिलक्षणो हेतुमान् तस्मिन्नभिधेये धातोर्णिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तत्करोतीत्युपसंख्यानं सूत्रयत्याद्यर्थम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आख्यानात्कृतस्तदाचष्ट इति णिच् कृल्लुक् प्रकृति प्रत्यापत्तिः प्रकृतिवच्च कारकम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आङ्लोपश्च कालात्यन्तसंयोगे मर्यादायाम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चित्रीकरणे प्रापि ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नक्षत्रयोगे ज्ञि ॥

26. The affix णिच् is employed after a root, when the operation of a causer is to be expressed.

The *hetu* (I. 4. 55) means the mover of the independent agent; an operation relating to the *hetu*, such as *directing*, &c., is called *hetumat*: as कटं कारयति 'he causes to prepare a mat'; ओदनं पाचयति 'he makes the rice to be cooked. In other words, the affix णिच् forms the causative verbs.

Vart:—The affix comes also in the sense of 'he does that' after the word सूत्र &c. Thus सूत्रं करोति = सूत्रयति 'he makes sûtra.' So also मूत्रयति.

Vart:—After words ending in कृत् affixes and describing legends, comes the affix णिच्, when the sense is 'he does that'. The कृत् affix is elided, the word reassumes its basic (प्राकृतिक) form, and the base is as if the agent, thus कंसवधमाचष्टे = कंसं घातयति; बलिबन्धमाचष्टे = बलिं बन्धयति; राजागमनमाचष्टे = राजानम् आगमयति.

Vart:—Under the conditions mentioned in the last वार्त्तिक, the upasarga आ is elided, when duration of time is meant expressing limit. Thus आरात्रिविवासं आचष्टे = रात्रिंविवासयति; here the आ of आरात्रि is elided.

Vart:—Under the conditions mentioned in the second vârtika the affix णिच् has the sense of 'making wonderful', meaning 'attaining that'. Thus

उज्जयिन्याः प्रस्थितो माहिष्मत्यां सूर्योद्गमनं संभावयते=सूर्यमुद्गमयति 'going from Ujjain he finds the sun rise in Mahismati (wonderful speed)'.

Vart :— When an asterism is in composition and the sense is that of knowing, there comes the affix णिच् after a word ending in कृत् affix, the कृत् affix is elided, the word reassumes its basic form and the base is as if the agent. Thus पुष्ययोगं जानाति=पुष्येण योजयति. So also मघाभिर्योजयति.

कण्ड्वादिभ्यो यक् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कण्डू-आदिभ्यः, (यक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कण्डूञ् इत्येवमादिभ्यो यक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

27. The affix यक् is employed after the roots कण्डु 'to itch', &c.

Thus, कण्डूयति or कण्डूयते 'he itches or scratches'. This word takes terminations indicatory. The words कण्डु; &c, are both roots and nouns, and are placed therefore in a separate list by themselves and are not included in the general list of verbs. The affix applies to these words as roots and not as nouns.

कण्ड्वादिः ।

कण्डूञ्, मन्तु, हृणीङ् वल्गु, अस्, मनस्, महीङ्, लेट्, लोट् इरस् इरज्, इरञ्, दुवस्, मेधा, कुषुभ, मगध, तन्तस्, पम्पस् सुख, दुःख, सपर, अर, भिषज्, भिष्णज्, इषुध, चरण, चुरण, भुरण, तुरण, गद्गद्, एला, केला, खेला, लिट् and लोट् ।

गुपूधूपविच्छिपणिपनिभ्यः आयः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुपू-धूप-विच्छि-पणि-पनिभ्यः, आयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुपू रक्षणे, धूप सन्तापे, विच्छ गतौ, पण व्यवहारे स्तुतौ च, पन च, इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्य आय प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix आय comes after गुप 'to protect', धूप 'to heat', विच्छ 'to approach', पण 'to contract or praise' and पन 'to praise'.

Thus गोपायति 'he protects', धूपायति 'he heats' so also, विच्छायति, पणायति, and पनायति.

The verb पण् being read along with पन् 'to praise.' has here the sense of praise only; so that the affix does not come after the verb पण् when it means 'to make a contract'; as शतस्य पणते, सहस्रस्य पणते.

The verb in आय do not take Atmanepada affixes, as there is no indicatory letter to show that.

ऋतेरीयङ् ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतेः, ईयङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋतिः सौत्रो धातुर्घृणायां वर्त्तते तस्माद् ईयङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix ईयङ् comes after the sûtra root ऋति 'to reproach'.

The indicatory ङ shows that the verb will take the affixes of the Atmanepada; as ऋतीयते 'he pities or reproaches'; so also, ऋतीयाते, ऋतीयन्ते.

कमेर्णिङ् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ कमेः, णिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कमेर्धातोर्णिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix णिङ् comes after the root कम 'to desire.'

The ण indicates *vriddhi* (VII. 2. 115) and ङ shows Atmanepada; as, कामयते 'he desires'; so also कामयेते and कामयन्ते.

आयादय आर्द्धधातुके वा ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आय-आदयः, आर्द्ध-धातुके, वा, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आर्द्धधातुकविषये आर्द्धधातुकविवक्षायामायादयः प्रत्यया वा भवन्ति ॥

31. The affixes आय and those that follow it, (i e., आय, ईयङ् and णिङ्) are optionally added, when it is desired to express one's self with an ârdhadhâtuka affix.

Thus ता 3rd sing. of the Future is an ârdhadhâtuka affix. It is optional to retain the *âya* of *gopâya* before this affix. So we have गोपायिता or गोप्ता, 'he will protect'. So also ऋर्तिता or ऋतीयिता; कमिता or कामयिता.

But for this sûtra, the affixes आय, &c, would have come always even when ârdhadhâtuka affixes were to be applied. This makes it optional Therefore proper ârdhadhâtuka affixes should be applied when we retain आय &c. and when we do not retain them. Thus the ârdhadhâtuka क्तिन् (III. 3. 95) will be employed in forming the fenimine noun from the simple root, but the ârdhadhâtuka अ (III. 3 102) will, be employed in forming the feminine when आय &c. are retained. Thus गुप्तिः or गोपाया.

सनाद्यन्ता धातवः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्-आदि-अन्ताः, धातवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनाद्यन्ताः समुदाया धातुसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

32. All the words ending with the affixes सन् and others are called Dhâtu.

This extends the sphere of Dhâtu or roots already defined in sûtra 1. 3. 1. These roots may be called derivative root. They are separate independent roots, and have all the functions of a root, as taking tense-affixes &c., as shown in the above examples. Thus चिकीर्ष 'to wish to do', कारि 'to

cause to do'; चेक्रिय 'to do repeatedly' are separate roots and not the same as कृ 'to do' and thus take चप् &c.

स्यतासी लृलुटोः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्य-तासी, लृ-लुटोः, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लृङ्लृटोः सामान्यमेकमेव तस्मिन् लुटि च परतो धातोर्यथासंख्य स्यतासी प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

33. When लृ and लुट् follow, then स्य and तासि are respectively the affixes of a verbal root.

लृ is the common expression for लृङ् and लृट् formed by rejecting their special *anubandhas*, and means therefore the 2nd Future and the Conditional tenses लुट् is the 1st Future also called the Periphrastic Future. Thus करिष्यति अकरिष्यत्, कर्ता. The इ of तासि is indicatory and shows that the nasal of the root is not to be dropped before this; as मन् 'to think', मन्ता 'he will think.'

सिब्बहुलं लेटि ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिप्, बहुलम्, लेटि,(धातोः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः सिप् प्रत्ययो भवति बहुलं लेटि परतः ॥

34. सिप् is diversely the affix of a verbal root when लेट् follows.

The tense called लेट् or subjunctive is found in the Vedas only. When the subjunctive tense is employed, the affix सिप् is diversely added.

Thus जोषिषत्, तारिषत्, मन्दिषत् Sometimes this augment is not employed; thus पताति दिद्युत् उदधिं ज्यावयाति. Thus in Rig Veda I. 1 2, वक्षति is an example of लेट् with सिप् ॥

कास्प्रत्ययादाममन्त्रे लिटि ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कास-प्रत्ययात्, आम्, अमन्त्रे, लिटि, (प्रत्ययः, धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कासृ शब्द कुत्सायां, ततः प्रत्ययान्तेभ्यश्च धातुभ्य आम् प्रत्ययो भवति लिटि परतोऽमन्त्रविषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कास्यनेकाच इति वक्तव्यम् चुलुम्पाद्यर्थम् ॥

35. आम् is the affix of the verb कास् 'to cough', and of those roots that are formed by affixes (i. e. the derivative verbs), when लिट् follows, except in the Mantra.

This forms the Periphrastic Perfect. The Perfect of कास् will be कासाम्, after which the terminations of the Perfect are all elided (II. 4 81) and instead, the perfect tense of the auxiliary verb भू or अस् or कृ is added. As कासांचक्रे 'he coughed'; चोरयामास 'he stole'. So also लोलूयांचक्रे.

This rule, however, does not apply to the Vedas; as कृष्णो नोनाव Rig Veda I. 79. 2.

Vart :—This rule also applies where the root is polysyllabic consisting of more than one vowel; as चुलुम्पाञ्चकार, दरिद्राञ्चकार

The final म् of आम् is not indicatory.

इजादेश्च गुरुमतोऽनृच्छः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्-आदेः, च, गुरुमतः, अनृच्छः, (लिटि, आम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इजादिर्यो धातुर्गुरुमान् ऋच्छतिवर्जितस्तस्माल्लिटि परतः आम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ऊर्णोतेश्च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

36. The affix आम् is used when लिट् follows, after a root beginning with a letter of इच् pratyâhâra and having a heavy vowel, excepting the root ऋच्छ 'to go'.

Thus ईह 'to try', ईहांचक्रे 'he tried'; so also ऊहाञ्चक्रे 'he guessed', ईक्षाञ्चक्रे 'he grieved'.

But ऋच्छ forms आनर्च्छ 'he failed or went'. This applies to monosyllabic roots which begin with any vowel prosodially long, except अ or आ. The verb ऊर्णु 'to cover' is, however, an exception; its perfect is ऊर्णुनाव 'he covered'.

Why do we say 'beginning with इच् or any vowel except अ or आ'? Observe अर्द, Perfect आनर्द (VII. 4. 71). Why do we say 'heavy vowel'? Observe उख्, Perf. उवोख (VI. 4. 78) ऊखतुः, ऊखुः Why do we say 'vowel'? Observe कुर्द, Perf. चुकुर्दे; खुर्द, Perf. चुखुर्दे.

दयायासश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दय-अय-आसः, च, (लिटि, आम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दय दानगतिरक्षणेषु, अय गतौ, आस उपवेशने, एतेभ्यश्च लिटि परतः आम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. After the verbs दय 'to give', 'to go' and आव 'to protect', अय 'to go', and आस् 'to sit', there is the affix लट्, when लिट् follows.

Thus दयाञ्चक्रे 'he gave'; पलायांचक्रे 'he ran away'; आसांचक्रे 'he sat'.

उषविदजागृभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उष-विद्-जागृभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (आम्, प्रत्ययः, लिटि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष दाहे, विद ज्ञाने, जागृ निद्राक्षये, एतेभ्यो लिटि परतोऽन्यतरस्यामाम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

38. The affix आम् is optionally employed after these, viz:— उष् 'to burn', विद् 'to know', and जागृ 'to wake', when लिट् follows.

Thus ओषाञ्चकार or उवोष, विदाञ्चकार or विवेद, जागराञ्चकार or जजागार. As there is an agreement in the present instance to regard the verb विद as ending in a short अ, *guṇa* is not substituted, as it would otherwise have been by rule VII. 3. 86.

भीह्रीभृहुवां श्लुवच्च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी-ह्री-भृ-हुवां, श्लुवत्, च, (आम्, लिटि, अन्यतरस्याम्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ ञिभी भये, ह्री लज्जायाम्, डुभृञ् धारणपोषणयोः, हु दानादानयोः, एतेभ्यो लिटि परतः आम्प्रत्ययो भवत्यन्यतरस्याम्, श्लाविव चास्मिन्कार्यं भवति ॥

39. आम् is optionally affixed, when लिट् follows, after these verbs भी 'to fear,' ह्री 'to be ashamed', भृ 'to nourish' हु 'to sacrifice'; and when आम् is affixed, the effect is as if there were श्लु elision and the roots belonged to Hvâdi class.

The effect of श्लु is to cause reduplication by rule VI. I. 10. As बिभयाञ्चकार or बिभाय, जिह्रयाञ्चकार or जिह्राय, बिभराञ्चकार or बभार, जुहवाञ्चकार or जुहाव.

कृञ्चानुप्रयुज्यते लिटि ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृञ्, च, अनुप्रयुज्यते, लिटि

वृत्तिः ॥ आम्प्रत्ययस्य पश्चात्कृञनुप्रयुज्यते लिटि परतः, कृञिति प्रत्याहारेण कृभ्वस्तयो गृह्यन्ते तत्सामर्थ्यादस्तेर्भू भावो न भवति ॥

40. After a verb which ends with आम्, the verb कृ 'to do' is annexed, when लिट् follows.

After the above verbs formed by taking the augment आम् the perfect tense of कृ is added to form their Perfect. This has already been illustrated in the above examples. The word कृ includes also the verbs भू and अस्. All these three may be used as auxiliaries. The verb अस् when used as an auxiliary, is not replaced by भू (III. 4. 52) before the लिट् affixes which are ârdhadhâtuka affixes. Thus पाचयाञ्चकार, पाचयाम्बभूव, पाचयामास.

विदाङ्कुर्वन्त्वित्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु, इति, अन्यतरस्याम्

वृत्तिः ॥ विदांकुर्वन्त्वित्येतदन्यतरस्यां निपात्यते ॥

41. The form विदांकुर्वन्तु is optionally employed as an irregular form.

This irregular form is obtained by adding the affix आम् to the root विद 'to know,' when followed by लोट् or the Imperative tense; the tense-affixes of लोट् are then elided by *luk*; moreover there is no substitution of *guṇa*

as required by VII. 3. 86; and when we have thus obtained the form विदाम्, we annex to it the लोट् of the verb कृ; thus we have विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु or विदन्तु 'let them know.' The third person plural is not only intended to be spoken of by the employment of the form विदांकुर्वन्तु in the aphorism; on the contrary, the word इति shows that all the numbers and persons of the Imperative may be so employed; as विदाङ्करोतु विदांकुरुताम् &c.

अभ्युत्सादयांप्रजनयांचिकयांरमयामकः पावयांक्रियाद्विदामक्रन्निति छन्दसि ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्युत्सादयाम्-प्रजनयाम्-चिकयाम्-रमयामकः, पावयांक्रियाद्-विदामक्रन्, इति, छंदसि, (अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्युत्सादयामित्येवमादयः छन्दसि विषयेऽन्यतरस्यां निपात्यन्ते ॥

42. The forms अभ्युत्सादयामकः प्रजनयामकः चिकयामकः रमयामकः पावयांक्रियाद् विदामक्रन् are irregularly formed in the Chhandas.

The first two of these and the fourth are the Aorists (लुङ्) of the causatives of the roots षद् 'to sit' जन् 'to be born', and रम् 'to sport': to which the affix आम् is added. The third is the Aorist of the root चि 'to collect', to which आम् has been added after the reduplication and the change of च into क of the root. The auxiliary अकः is added to all these four. The fifth is derived from the root पू 'to blow, to purify', by adding the causative affix णिच्, annexing the affix आम् before the terminations of the Potential (लिङ्) and then using after the form so obtained, the auxiliary क्रियात्. The last is the Aorist of विद् 'to know', to which आम् is added and the auxiliary अक्रन् is employed. These are the archaic forms; their modern forms are as follow:— अभ्युदसीषदत्, प्राजीजनत्, अचैषीत्, अरीरमत्, पाव्याद्, अवेदिषुः ।

च्लि लुङि ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ च्लि, लुङि, (धातोः, प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः च्लि प्रत्ययो भवति लुङि परतः ॥

43. When लुङ् follows, the affix च्लि is added to the verbal root.

The इ of च्लि is for the sake of articulation, the च is for the sake of accent (VI. I. 162.) showing that an affix which has an indicatory च has *udátta* on its final. Then remains only क्लि; which after all, is to be replaced by other affixes, as we shall show below. In fact च्लि is the common name for all Aorist affixes.

च्लेः सिच् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ च्लेः, सिच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ च्लेः सिजादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्पृशमृशकृषतृपदृपां सिज्वा वक्तव्यः ॥

44. Of च्लि, सिच् is the substitute.

The इ of सिच् is for the sake of pronunciation, the च is for accent, and the real affix is स्; as अकार्षीत् 'he did'. When सिच् is added, the terminations of the Aorist assume the following forms:—

	Parasmaipada. sing	dual	plural	Atmanepada sing.	dual	plural.
1st pers.	सं	स्व	स्म	सि	स्वहि	स्महि
2nd pers.	सीः	स्तं, तं	स्त, त	स्थाः, थाः	साथां	ध्वं
3rd pers	सीत्	स्तां, तां	सुः	स्त, त	सातां	सत

The substitution of सिच् is optional in the Aorist of the roots स्पृश् 'to touch', मृश् 'to rub', कृष् 'to plough', तृप् 'to become satisfied', and दृप् 'to light'. Thus the Aorist of स्पृश् has three forms; अस्प्राक्षीत्, अस्पार्क्षीत् or अस्पृक्षत्. Similarly मृश् has अम्राक्षीत्, अमार्क्षीत् or अमृक्षत्; कृष्, अकार्क्षीत् अक्राक्षीत् or अकृक्षत्; तृप्, अतार्प्सीत्, अत्राप्सीत्, or अतृपत्; दृप्, अद्राप्सीत्, अदार्प्सीत् or अदृपत्।

शल इगुपधादनिटः क्सः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शलः, इग्-उपधात्, अनिटः, क्सः, (च्लेः, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शलन्तो यो धातुरिगुपधस्तस्मात् परस्य च्लेरनिटः, क्स आदेशो भवति ॥

45. After a verb that ends in a शल consonant, and has an इक् vowel for its penultimate letter, and does not take इट् (VII. 2. 10), क्स is the substitute of च्लि.

The forms of the terminations of the Aorist with क्स are as follows:—

	Parasmaipada. sing.	dual	plural	Atmanepada. sing.	dual	plural
1st pers.	सं	साव	साम्	सि	सीवहि	सीमहि
2nd pers	सः	सतं	सत	सथाः, थाः	साथाम्	सध्वम्, ध्वम्
3rd pers	सत्	सतां	सन्	सत, त	सातां	सन्त

As, मृश् and कृष् in the last sûtra have their Aorist with क्स as अमृक्षत् and अकृक्षत्; so दुह 'to milk' forms अधुक्षत् 'he milked', लिह् 'to lick' अलिक्षत्.

Why do we say 'when ending in श, ष, स, and ह'? Observe अभैत्सीत्, अच्छैत्सीत्; here सिच् is emloyed. Why do we say 'having for its penultimate इ, उ, ऋ or ऌ'? Observe अधाक्षीत्. Why do we say 'not having an intermediate इ'? Observe अकोषीत् and अमोषीत्. See VII. 2. 4. and VIII. 2. 28.

श्लिष आलिंगने ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्लिषः, आलिङ्गने, (च्लेः, क्सः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्लिषेर्धातोरालिङ्गनक्रियावचनात् परस्य च्लेः क्स आदेशो भवति ॥

46. क्स is the substitute of च्लि after the verb श्लिष, when it is employed in the sense of embracing.

*This is a restrictive aphorism. As आश्लिक्षत् कन्याम् 'he embraced the girl'. But समाश्लिषज्जतुकाष्ठम् 'the glue joined the wood'.

न दृशः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दृशः, (च्लेः, क्सः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृशोर्धातोः परस्य च्लेः क्सादेशो न भवति ॥

47. क्स is not the substitute of च्लि after the verb दृश् 'to see'.

This is an exception to the sûtra III. I. 45. enjoining क्स. The root दृश् will form its Aorists by III. I. 57. and will take अङ् and च्णि; as अदर्शत् or अद्राक्षीत् 'he saw'.

णिश्रिद्रुस्रुभ्यः कर्त्तरि चङ् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ णि-श्रि-द्रु-स्रुभ्यः, कर्त्तरि, चङ्, (च्लेः, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यः श्रिद्रुस्रुइत्येतेभ्यश्च परस्य च्लेश्चङादेशो भवति कर्तृवाचिनि लुङि परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कमेरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

48. After a root which ends in णि (III. 1. 20, 21, 44, &c.) and after the verb श्रि 'to serve', द्रु 'to run', and स्रु 'to drop', चङ् is the substitute of च्लि when लुङ follows signifying an agent.

The ङ prevents *guṇa* and *vriddhi* and च is to distinguish it from अङ्. When चङ् is added there is reduplication (VI. I. II) The usual terminations of the Imperfect are employed after the root, when चङ् is used; as अचीकरत् 'he caused to make'; अशिश्रियत् 'he served or went'; अदुद्रुवत् 'he ran'; असुस्रुवत् 'it flowed'. This form is not used in Passive; as, अकारयिषाताम्.

The root कम् 'to love' should also be included in this rule. कम् when it takes the affix णिङ् (III. I. 30) will of course be included in this sûtra, by virtue of its ending in णि; the *Vârtika* makes the additional statement that even when the root कम् does not take the affix णिङ्, the present aphorism must apply to it. Thus we have अचकमत् 'he loved'; when it takes णिङ्, the Aorist will be अचीकमत् (VII. 4. 93, 79, 94.)

विभाषा धेट्श्व्योः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, धेट्-श्व्योः, (च्लेः, चङ्, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धेट् पाने, टुओश्वि गतिवृद्ध्योः, एताभ्यामुत्तरस्य च्लेर्विभाषा चङादेशो भवति ॥

49. After the roots धे 'to suck', and श्वि 'to grow', चङ् is optionally the substitute of च्लि, when लुङ् follows signifying an agent.

As, अचचत् 'he sucked.' When it takes the alternative चिच्, then rule II. 4. 78. comes into operation, and we have अधात् and अधासीत् 'he sucked'. So also of श्वि, we have अशिश्वयत् 'he grew'. It also takes the अङ्. (III. I. 58) and then its form is अश्वत् or अश्वयीत्.

गुपेश्छन्दसि ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ गुपेः, छन्दसि, (च्लेः, चङ्, विभाषा, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुपेः परस्य च्लेश्छन्दसि विषये विभाषा चङादेशो भवति ।

50. After the verb गुप् 'to protect', चङ् is optionally the substitute of च्लि in the Chhandas.

This rule applies where the root गुप् does not take the affix आय (II. I. 28). As इमान् नो मित्रावरुणौ यत् गृहान् अजूगुपतम् 'Mitra Varuṇa protected these our houses'. The other froms are अगौप्तम्, अगोपिष्टम् or अगोपायिष्टम्. In the secular literature, the latter three forms are used, but not the first.

नोनयतिध्वनयत्येलयत्यर्दयतिभ्यः ॥५१॥ पदानि ॥ न, ऊनयति-ध्वनयति-एलयति-अर्दयतिभ्यः, (च्लेः, चङि, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊन परिहाणे, ध्वन शब्दे, इल प्रेरणे, अर्द गतौ याचने च. एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो णयन्तेभ्यः पूर्वेण च्लेश्चङि प्राप्ते छन्दसि विषये न भवति ॥

51. After the causatives of the verbs ऊन 'to decrease,' ध्वन 'to sound', इल 'to send', and अर्द 'to go or to beg'; चङ् is not the substitute of च्लि in the Chhandas.

Thus we have ऊनयीः in the Vedas; औनिनत् in the classical literature; so also ध्वनयीत्, ऐलयीः and अर्दयीत्; their classical forms being अदिध्वनत्, ऐलिलत्, and आर्दिदत्. See Rig Veda I. 53, 3, I. 162. 15. and Pâṇini VII 2. 5.

अस्यतिवक्तिख्यातिभ्योऽङ् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यति-वक्ति-ख्यातिभ्यो, अङ्, (च्लेः, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असु क्षेपणे, वच परिभाषणे, ब्रूञादेशो वा, ख्या प्रकथने, चक्षिङादेशो वा, एभ्यः परस्य च्लेरङादेशो भवति कर्तृवाचिनि लुङि परतः ॥

52. After the verbs अस् 'to throw', वच् 'to speak', and ख्या 'to speak', अङ् is the substitute of च्लि, when लुङ् follows signifying the agent.

वच् may be either the root, or the substitute of ब्रू (II. 4, 53) and so also ख्या may be the root, or the substitute of चक्ष् (II. 4. 54.). The root अस् belonging to the दिवादि or the Fourth conjugation, falls under the sub-division पुषादि, and therefore it would have taken अङ् in the Parasmaipada

by rule III. 1. 55. The repetition is to indicate that it takes अङ् in the Atmanepada also; as पर्यस्यत (VII. 4. 17), अवोचत् and आख्यत्. In the Passive, we have पर्यास्थिषाताम्.

लिपिसिचिह्वश्च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिपि-सिचि-ह्वः, च, (च्लेः, अङ्, कर्त्तरि, लुङि)

वृत्तिः ॥ लिप उपदेहे, षिच क्षरणे, ह्वेञ् स्पर्द्धायां एतेभ्यश्च परस्य, च्लेरङादेशो भवति।

53. After the verbs लिप् 'to paint', सिच् 'to sprinkle' and ह्वे 'to call, अङ् is the substitute of च्लि when लुङ् follows signifying the agent.

Thus अलिपत् he painted or wrote'; असिचत् 'he sprinkled'; and आह्वत् 'he called or challenged'.

आत्मनेपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु, अन्यतरस्याम्, (च्लेः, अङ्, लिपि, सिचि, ह्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिपिसिचिह्व आत्मनेपदेषु परतः च्लेराङादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

54. After the verbs लिप्, सिच् and ह्वे, अङ is optionally the substitute of च्लि when the affixes of the Atmanepada follow.

Thus अलिपत or अलिप्त 'he painted'; असिचत or असिक्त 'he sprinkled; आह्वत or अह्वास्त 'he challenged'.

पुषादिद्युताद्य्लृदितः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुषादि-द्युतादि-लृद्-इतः, परस्मैपदेषु, (च्लेः, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुषादिभ्यो द्युतादिभ्यः लृदिद्भ्यश्च धातुभ्यः परस्य च्लेः परस्मैपदेषु परतो अङादेशो भवति ॥

55. अङ् is the substitute of च्लि, after the verbs पुष् 'to nourish', and the rest, द्युत 'to shine', and the rest, and the verbs having an indicatory लृ, when the affixes of the Parasmaipada follow.

The verbs classed as पुषादि, are a sub-division of the 4th conjugational verbs; and द्युतादि, verbs belong to the 1st conjugation. As पुष्, अपुषत् 'he nourished'; द्युत, अद्युतत् 'he shone', गम्लृ, अगमत् 'he went'. But not so in the Atmanepada; as अद्योतिष्ट, अलोटिष्ट.

सर्त्तिशास्त्यर्त्तिभ्यश्च ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्त्ति-शास्ति-अर्त्तिभ्यः, च, (च्लेः, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सृ गतौ, शासु अनुशिष्टौ, ऋ गतौ, इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य च्लेरङादेशो भवति ॥

56. **After the verbs सृ 'to go', शास् 'to order', and ऋ 'to go', अङ् is the substitute of च्लि in the Parasmaipada as well as in the Atmanepada.**

Thus असरत् 'he went'; अशिषत् 'he ordered'; आरत् 'he went'. This sûtra has been separately enunciated in order to make the rule applicable to Atmanepada; as समरत (I. 3. 29). The च in the text is for the sake of drawing the anuvritti of the phrase 'in the Parasmaipada' of the last sûtra, into the present and its anuvriti will extend to future sûtras also.

इरितो वा ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इर्-इतः, वा, (च्लेः, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इरितोधातोः परस्य च्लेरङादेशो वा भवति ॥

57. **अङ् is optionally the substitute of च्लि after that root which has an indicatory इर्, when the Parasmaipada terminations are employed.**

Thus from भिदिर् (भिद्) 'to divide', we derive अभिदत् or अभैत्सीत्. But we have अभित्त in the Atmanepada. So from छिदिर्—अच्छिदत् or अच्छैत्सीत्.

जॄस्तम्भुम्रुचुम्लुचुग्रुचुग्लुचुग्लुञ्चुश्विभ्यश्च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ जॄ-स्तम्भु-म्रुचु-म्लुचु-ग्लुचु-ग्लुञ्चु-श्विभ्यः, (च्लेः, अङ्, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जॄ, स्तम्भु म्रुचु म्लुचु ग्रुचु ग्लुचु ग्लुञ्चु श्वि, इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः परस्य च्लेर्वा अङादेशो भवति ॥

58. **And, optionally अङ् is the substitute of च्लि after the verbs जॄ 'to grow old', स्तम्भ् 'to stiffen' म्रुच् and म्लुच् 'to go', ग्रुच् and ग्लुच् 'to steal, ग्लुञ्च् 'to go' and श्वि 'to grow', when the terminations of the Parasmaipada are emyloyed.**

Thus अजरत् or अजारीत् 'he grew old'; अस्तंभत् or अस्तंभीत् 'he stiffened'; अम्रुचत् or अम्रोचीत् 'he went'; अम्लुचत् or अम्लोचीत् 'he went'; अग्रुचत् or अग्रोचीत् 'he stole'; अग्लुचत् or अग्लोचीत् 'he stole': अग्लुचत् or अग्लुंचीत् 'he went'; अश्वत्, अश्वयीत् or अशिश्वियत् 'he grew'. The roots ग्लुच् and ग्लुंच् both give rise to the same three forms, viz.; अग्लुचत्, अग्लुचत् and अग्लोचीत्. The use of one root would, therefore, have served the purpose. The employment of both indicates separateness of their meanings. Others say that the use of both roots indicates that in the case of ग्लुंच, the nasal is never elided. Thus the Aorist of ग्लुंच will be अग्लुंचत् and अग्लुंचीत्.

कृमृदृरुहिभ्यश्छन्दसि ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृ-मृ-दृ-रुहिभ्यः, छन्दसि (च्लेः, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृ मृ दृ रुहि इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य च्लेः छन्दसि विषयेऽङादेशो भवति ॥

59. After the verbs कृ 'to do', मृ 'to die', दृ 'to tear', and रुह 'to rise', अङ् is the substitute of च्लि when used in the Chhandas.

Thus अकरत् 'he did'; अमरत् 'he died'; अदरत् 'he tore'; आरुहत् 'he rose'. See Rig Veda X. 85. 17, X. 44. 6. The classical Aorist of these verbs are अकार्षीत्, अमृत, अदारीत् and अरुक्षत्.

चिण् ते पदः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ चिण्, ते, पदः, (च्लेः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पद गतौ अस्माद्धातोः परस्य च्लेश्चिणादेशो भवति तशब्दे परतः ॥

60. चिण् is the substitute of च्लि after the verb पद् 'to go', when the affix त follows.

The affix त here means the third person singular tense-affix of the Atmanepada; as अपादि 'he went'; but not so in the dual and plural; as अपत्साताम् 'they two went'; अपत्सत 'they went', अट्+पद+चिण्+त=अ+पाद्+इ=अपादि (the affix त being elided by rule VI. 4. 104).

दीपजनबुधपूरितायिप्यायिभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीप-जन-बुध-पूरि-तायि-प्यायिभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (च्लेः, चिण्, ते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीप जन बुध पूरि तायि प्यायि एतेभ्यः परस्य च्लेस्तशब्दे परतोऽन्यतरस्यां चिणादेशो भवति ॥

61. चिण् is optionally the substitute of च्लि, when त, the third person singular of the Atmanepada follows, after the verbs दीप् 'to shine', जन् 'to be produced', बुध् 'to teach or know, पूर् to be full,' ताय् 'to extend or protect' and प्याय 'to smell'.

Thus अदीपि or अदीपिष्ट, he shone; अजनि or अजनिष्ट 'he was produced'; अबोधि or अबुद्ध 'he knew'; अपूरि or अपूरिष्ट 'he was full'; अतायि or अतायिष्ट 'he extend'; अप्यायि or अप्यायिष्ट 'he grew'.

अचः कर्मकर्त्तरि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, कर्म-कर्त्तरि, (च्लेः, ते, चिण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्ताद्धातोः परस्य च्लेः कर्मकर्तरि तशब्दे परतश्चिणादेशो भवति ॥

62. चिण् is optionally the substitute of च्लि when त the third person singular of Atmanepada follows, after a root which ends with a vowel, and when the object itself is spoken of as the agent.

A reflective verb is one in which the object is spoken of as the agent. In reflective verbs therefore, चिण् is employed after roots ending in

vowels; as अकारि कटः स्वयमेव 'the mat became made of itself. This is an optional rule (प्राप्तविभाषा). Therefore we have also अकृत कटः स्वयमेव; similarly अलावि or अलविष्ट केदारः स्वयमेव 'the embankment broke of itself.

But in verbs other than those that end in vowels, *i. e.*, in those which end with a consonant, the चिण् is obligatory in the reflective voice, and not optional; as अभेदि काष्ठम् स्वयमेव 'the wood split of itself.' So also in verbs other than reflexives; as अकारि कटो देवदत्तेन.

दुहश्च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दुहः, च, (च्लेः, चिण्, अन्यतरस्याम्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुह प्रपूरणे, अस्मात्परस्य च्लेश्चिणादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

63. चिण् is optionally the substitute of च्लि after the verb दुह 'to milk', when it is used reflexively, and when त follows.

Thus अदोहि or अदुग्ध गौः स्वयमेव 'the cow milked of itself. In verbs other than reflexive, the चिण् is compulsory, *e. g.*, अदोहि गौर्गोपालकेन 'the cow was milked by the cowherd'.

न रुधः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, रुधः, (च्लेः, चिण्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुधिर् आवरणे, अस्मात्परस्य च्लेः कर्मकर्त्तरि चिणादेशो न भवति ॥

64. चिण् is not the substitute of च्लि, after the verb रुध् 'to obstruct', when used in the reflexive sense in the third person singular of the Atmanepada.

Thus अन्ववारुद्ध गौ स्वयमेव 'the cow was obstructed of itself'. In verbs other than reflexive, चिण् is employed, *e. g.*, अन्ववारोधि गौर्गोपालकेन.

तपोऽनुतापे च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तपः, अनुतापे, च, (न, च्लेः, चिण्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तप सन्तापे, अस्मात्परस्य च्लेश्चिणादेशो न भवति कर्मकर्त्तरि अनुतापे च ॥

65. चिण् is not the substitute of च्लि after the verb तप् 'to suffer', when used reflexively, and when the sense is that of experiencing remorse.

This prohibition applies even to the passive and impersonal voices of the verb तप्; as अतप्त तपस्तापसः 'the ascetic performed austerity'; अन्वतप्त पापेन कर्मणा 'he repented from evil deeds'.

चिण् भावकर्मणोः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिण्, भाव-कर्मणोः, (च्लेः, चिण्, ते)

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः परस्य च्लेश्चिणादेशो भवति भावे कर्मणि त परतः ॥

66. चिण् is the substitute of च्लि when त of the third person singular Atmanepada follows, denoting the action (भाव) or the object कर्म.

A verb is said to denote an action when it is used impersonally; and it is said to denote an object when used in the Passive sense. As अशायि भवता 'it was lain by you, *i. e.*, you lay', अकारि कटो देवदत्तेन 'the mat was made by Devadatta'. The repetition of चिण् here is for the sake of distinctness.

सार्वधातुके यक् ॥६७॥ पदानि॥ सार्वधातुके यक्, (भाव-कर्मणोः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावकर्मवाचिनि सार्वधातुके परतो धातोर्यक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix यक् comes after a root, when a सार्वधातुक (III. 4. 113) follows, denoting the action or the object.

In forming Impersonal and Passive verbs, this affix is employed in the conjugational tenses. Thus in Impersonal verbs आस्यते भवता 'you sit', शय्यते भवता 'you lie'. So in passive verbs; as क्रियते कटः and गम्यते ग्रामः. The क of यक् is servile, and prevents guṇa and vriddhi. This affix is also used in reflective voice (कर्मकर्त्तरि); as क्रियते कटः स्वयमेव 'the mat becomes made of itself.

कर्त्तरि शप् ॥६८॥ पदानि॥ कर्त्तरि, शप्, (सार्वधातुके, धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्त्तृवाचिनि सार्वधातुके परतो धातोः शप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix शप् comes after a root, when a सार्वधातुक follows, signifying the agent.

In active voice, शप् is employed in the conjugational tenses. This affix, which is technically called a विकरण comes after roots of the भू class and after compound roots formed by सन् &c. (III 1. 32). The indicatory श makes it a सार्वधातुक affix by III. 4. 113, the प् indicates that the vowel has *anudâtta* accent (III. 1. 4). As भू+शप्+तिप्=भू+अ+ति=भो+अ+ति=भवति. (VII. 3. 84). So also पचति.

दिवादिभ्यः श्यन् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिव्-आदिभ्यः, श्यन्, (सार्वधातुके, कर्त्तरि,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिव् इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix श्यन् comes after a root of the Divadi class, when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting the agent follows.

This debars शप्. The servile न of श्यन् is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 197), showing that the *udâtta* accent falls on the radical verb and not on the affix; and the indicatory श makes the affix sârvadhâtuka; as दिव्+श्यन्+

तिप् = दीव् + य + ति (VII. 2. 77) = दीव्यति; so also सीव्यति. The *Divadi* verbs belong to the Fourth conjugation.

वा भ्राशभ्लाशभ्रमुक्रमुक्लमुत्रसित्रुटिलषः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, भ्राश-भ्लाश-भ्रमु-क्रमु-क्लमु-त्रसि-त्रुटि-लषः, (सार्वधातुके, कर्त्तरि, श्यन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्राश भ्लाश भ्रमु क्रमु क्लमु त्रसि त्रुटि लष एतेभ्यो वा श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

70. The affix श्यन् is optionally employed in the active voice after the following verbs; भ्राश् 'to shine', भ्लाश् 'to shine', भ्रम् 'to whirl' क्रम् ' to walk', क्लम् to be sad', त्रस् 'to fear', त्रुट् 'to cut' and लष् 'to desire'.

Thus भ्राशते or भ्राश्यते 'he shines; भ्लाशते or भ्लाश्यते 'he shines'; भ्रमति or भ्राम्यति 'he whirls'; क्रामति or क्राम्यति 'he walks'; क्लामति or क्लाम्यति 'he is sad'. So also त्रस्यति or त्रसति; त्रुट्यति or त्रुटति; लष्यति or लषति.

यसोऽनुपसर्गात् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यसः, अनुपसर्गात्, (श्यन्, वा, सार्वधातुके, कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यसोऽनुपसर्गाद्वा श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affix श्यन् is optionally employed after the verb यस् 'to strive', when it is employed, without a preposition, and when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus यस्यति or यसति 'he strives'. But no option is allowed in आयस्यति, प्रयस्यति. The root यस् belongs to the *Divadi* class.

संयसश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सं-यसः, च, (श्यन्, वा) ॥ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वाच्च यसेर्वा श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix श्यन् is optionally employed after the root यस् 'to strive', when it is preceded by the preposition सम्, and when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus संयस्यति or संयसति 'he strives'.

स्वादिभ्यः श्नुः ॥७३॥ पदानि ॥ सु-आदिभ्यः, श्नुः, (सार्वधातुके कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षुञ् अभिषवे इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः श्नुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix श्नु comes after the roots of Svâdi class when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

This debars शप्. As सु + श्नु + तिप् = सु + नु + ति = सुनोति 'he presses out'. These are roots of the Fifth class.

श्रुवः शृ च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रुवः, शृ, च, (श्नुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रुवः श्नुप्रत्ययो भवति तत्सन्नियोगेन श्रुवः शृ इत्ययमादेशो भवति ।

74. And शृ is the substitute of श्रु, and there is the affix श्नु after it, when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus श्रु + श्नु + तिप् = शृ + नु + ति = शृणोति 'he hears'; शृणुतः 'they two hear'.

अक्षोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥७५॥ पदानि॥ अक्षः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (श्नुः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अक्षू व्याप्तौ भ्वादिकः अस्मादन्यतरस्यां श्नुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

75. The affix श्नु is optionally employed after the root अक्ष 'to pervade', when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus अक्ष्णोति or अक्षति 'he pervades or obtains'.

तनूकरणे तक्षः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तनू-करणे-तक्षः, (अन्यतरस्यां, श्नुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तक्षू त्वक्षू तनूकरणे, अस्मात्तनूकरणे वर्त्तमानादन्यतरस्यां श्नु प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

76. The affix श्नु is optionally employed after the root तक्ष 'to bore or hew' when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus तक्षति or तक्ष्णोति काष्ठं 'he hews the wood'. But सन्तक्षति वाग्भिः 'he cuts with speech'.

तुदादिभ्यः शः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुद-आदिभ्यः, शः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुद व्यथने, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

77. The affix श is employed after the roots of the Tudâdi class, in denoting the agent when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows.

This debars शप्. The indicatory श makes this affix a sârvadhâtuka affix. As तुद + श + ति = तुद + अ + ति = तुदति (I. 2. 4) 'he pains or torments'.

रुधादिभ्यः श्नम् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुध-आदिभ्यः, श्नम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुधिर् आवरणे, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो श्नम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

78. The affix श्नम् comes after the roots of the Rudhâdi class, in denoting an agent when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows.

This debars शप्. The indicatory म् of the affix श्नम् shows that the affix न is to be placed after the last vowel of the root ; see sûtra I. 1. 47. As रुध्+श्नम्+ति=रुध्+न+ति=रु+न+ध्+ति=रुणद्धि 'he obstructs'. So also भिनत्ति 'he splits'. The indictory श is for the sake of sûtra VI. 4. 23.

तनादिकृञ्भ्य उः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तन-आदि-कृञ्भ्यः, उः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनु विस्तारे, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः कृञश्च उप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

79. The affix उ comes after the roots of the Tanâdi class and after the verb कृ 'to make' when a sârvadhâtuk affix follows, signifying the agent.

This debars शप्. As तन्+उ+ति=तनोति 'he expands'; कृ+उ+ति=करोति 'he makes'. Though the root कृ is included in the list of the Tanâdi verbs, for which see Dhâtupâtha, yet its separate enunciation in the present sutra is for the sake of making a restrictive rule with regard to this verb; that is to say, the root कृ is a Tanâdi root only for the purposes of taking the affix उ ; all the other operations of Tanâdi verbs are not to be performed upon it. Thus the rule II. 4. 79. does not apply to कृ. Thús अकृत and अकृथाः ; the सिच् elision being compulsory and not optional.

धिन्विकृण्व्योर च ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ धिन्वि-कृण्व्योः, अ, च; (उः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिवि धिवि जिवि प्रीणनार्थाः कृवि हिंसाकरणयोः इत्येतयोर्धात्वोरुप्रत्ययो भवत्यकारश्चान्तादेशः ॥

80. The affix उ comes after the roots धिन्व 'to please', and कृण्व 'to hurt' when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting the agent follows ; and in these verbs अ is the substitute of the final व.

The root धिन्व or धिन्वि belongs to the Bhuâdi class Thus धिन्व+उ+ति=धिन्+अ+उ+ति=धिन्+उ+ति (VI. 4. 48) =धिनोति 'he pleases,. It might be asked, why there is no *guṇa* of the उ of धिनु by rule VII. 3. 86 which requires the base to be *guṇated* before a sârvadhâtuka or an ârdhadhâtuka affix. The answer is to be found in sûtra I. 1. 57 ; the substitute of अ which is a blank, is iike the former occupant (*sthânivat*), and thus prevent guṇa.

क्र्यादिभ्यः श्ना ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्री-आदिभ्यः, श्ना ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डुक्रीञ् द्रव्यविनिमये इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः श्नाप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix श्ना comes after the roots of the Kryâdi class when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows denoting the agent.

This debars शप्. As क्री+श्ना+तिप्=क्रीणाति 'he buys'. So also प्रीणाति 'he pleases'.

स्तम्भुस्तुम्भुस्कम्भुस्कुम्भुस्कुञ्भ्यः श्नुश्च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्भु-स्तुम्भु-स्कम्भु-स्कुम्भु-स्कुञ्भ्यः, श्नुः, च, (श्ना) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्भु स्तुम्भु स्कम्भु स्कुम्भु स्कुञ् एतेभ्यः श्नाप्रत्ययो भवति श्नुश्च ॥

82. And there is the affix श्ना after स्तंभ, स्तुम्भ, स्कुम्भ or स्कम्भ 'to hinder', 'to be dull or insensible' 'to support', and स्कु 'to go by leaps', as well as the affix श्नु, when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows, in denoting the agent

As स्तभ्नाति or स्तभ्नोति, स्तुभ्नाति or स्तुभ्नोति, स्कभ्नाति or स्कभ्नोति, स्कुभ्नाति or स्कुभ्नोति, स्कुनाति or स्कुनोति. The first four of these roots are not found in the Dhâtupâtha and are to be found in the sûtras, and hence called Saûtra roots.

हलः श्नः शानज्झौ ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, श्नः, शानच्,हौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरस्य श्नाप्रत्ययस्य शानजादेशो भवति हौ परतः ॥

83. The affix शानच् is the substitute of श्ना after a root ending with a consonant, when हि follows.

The affix हि is the 2nd person singular of लोट् or the Imperative mood. Thus पुषाण 'do thou nourish', गृहाण do thou take', from roots पुष् and ग्रह which end with consonants. But we have क्रीणीहि 'do thou buy'; here there is no substitution of शानच्, because the root ends with a vowel. The repetition of श्ना in the sûtra shows that शानच् is a mere substitute and not an independent affix.

छन्दसि शायजपि ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, शायच्, अपि, (हलः; श्नः; शानच्, हौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये श्नः शायजादेशो भवति शानजपि ॥

84. In the Chhandas, शायच् is also the substitute of श्ना after roots ending in consonants, when हि follows.

Thus गृभाय जिह्वया मधु (Rig Veda VIII. 17. 5.) The affix शानच् is also employed; as बधान पशून् 'kill the beasts'.

व्यत्ययो बहुलम् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यत्ययः, बहुलम्; (छन्दसि; शबादयः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथायथं विकरणाः शबादयो विहितास्तेषां छन्दसि विषये बहुलं व्यत्ययो भवति ॥

85. In the Chhandas there is diversely an interchange of the various vikaraans शप् and the rest

which have been previously ordained under special circumstances.

The word व्यत्यय means transgression of the fixed rule, or interchange, taking of two vikaraṇas at a time, and so on. Thus भेदति = भिद + शप् + ति) instead of भिनत्ति from the root भिद 'to split', belonging to the Rudhâdi class; *e. g.* शुष्णस्य चाण्डानि भेदति (Rig. VIII. 40. 11) 'He (Indra) breaks the eggs (children) of Shushma'; so also, जरसा मरते पतिः (Rig. X. 86. 11); here there is मरते = (मृ + शप् + ते) instead of म्रियते; the root मृ belonging to the Tudâdi class. So also there are two vikaraṇas at one and the same time, in the following. इन्द्रो वस्ते न नेषतु 'May Indra lead by this abode'; here there is नेषतु 3rd. per. sing. of the Imperative लोट् of the root नी 'to lead'; there are two vikaraṇas सिप् and शप् instead of नयतु = नी + शप् + तु); इन्द्रेण युजा तरुषेम वृत्रम् (Rig. VII. 48. 1). The word तरुषेम (तृ + उ + सिप् + शप् + मस्) is the 1st per sing. of the Optative (लिङ्) of the root तृ, the classical form being तरेम or तीर्यास्म 'may we cross'.

In the Vedic literature we have many apparent irregularities with regard to the rules of declension of nouns, conjugation of verbs, application of Parasmaipada or Atmanepada affixes; rules of gender, person or tense, rules of interchange of consonants, or of vowels, rules of accent, rules relating to कृत and तद्धित affixes and rules relating to the affixes included in the pratyâhâra यक् (III. 1. 22 to III. 1. 86).

लिङ्याशिष्यङ् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङि, आशिषि, अङ्, (छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि विषये यो लिङ् तस्मिन्परतश्छन्दसि विषयेऽङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दृशेरग्वक्तव्यः ॥

86. The affix अङ् is employed in the Chhandas when the affixes of the Benedictive (आशीर्लिङ्) follow.

This debars शप्. The affixes of the Benedictive are ardhadhâtuka by III. 4. 116; but in the Vedas they are sârvadhâtuka as well; see Rule III. 4. 117. The scope of the present rule is confined to the Benedictive of the verbs स्था, गा, गम्, वच्, वद्, शक् and रुह; as उपस्थेयम्; सत्यमुपगेयं; गमेम जानतो गृहान्, मन्त्रं वोचेमाग्नये; विदेयमेनां मनसि प्रविष्टां; व्रतं चरिष्यामि तच्छकेयम्; स्वर्गं लोकमारुहेयम्.

The affix अक् is employed in the Chhandas after the verb दृश् in the Benedictive. Had there been अङ्, it would have caused *guṇa* by rule VII. 4. 16; to prevent this, अक् is ordained; as पितरं च दृशेयं मातरं च 'May I see the father and the mother'.

कर्मवत्कर्मणा तुल्यक्रियः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मवत्, कर्मणा, तुल्य-क्रियः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि क्रिया कर्म कर्मस्थया क्रियया तुल्यक्रियः कर्त्ता कर्मवद्भवति ॥

87. The ल denoting the agent, when the action affecting the agent is similar to the action which affects the object, is treated as if it were a ल denoting the object.

This rule applies to reflexive verbs. "This direction implies the substitution for the operations incident to a tense-affix or ल, denoting an agent, of all the operations, which fall to be performed when the tense-affix or ल denotes the object. Hence there shall be the affixing of यक् (III. I. 67) the employment of Atmanepada terminations (I. 3. 13), the substitution of चिण् for च्लि (III. I. 66), and the treatment of the word as directed in sûtra VI. 4. 62." (Dr. Ballantyne). Thus भिद्यते काष्ठं स्वयमेव 'the wood splits of itself'; अभेदि काष्ठं स्वयमेव 'the wood splits of itself.

When an action is participated by or affects the agent in the same way as is done by the object, the agent is treated like an object.

When in an object, though it stands as an agent, the action is perceived to take place as in an object, then that agent becomes like an object; and all grammatical rules applicable to the object apply to such an agent.

The word वत् 'like' in the sûtra signifies that the rules which apply to an agent also come into operation; thus भिद्यते कुसूलेन.

The word कर्मणा 'with the object' in the sûtra indicates that the *tulya-kriya* or similarity of action must be with the object, and not with the instrument or the location. Thus साध्वसिश्छिनत्ति 'the sword cuts well'; here 'sword' is not agent but instrument. So also साधु स्थाली पचति 'the pot cooks well" here स्थाली is a location.

This '*karma-vad-bhâva*, the passive-like-construction takes place only in cases of some verbs.

तपस्तपः कर्मकस्यैव ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तपः, तपः, कर्मकस्य, एव, (कर्मवत्, कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तप सन्तापे, अस्य कर्त्ता कर्मवद्भवति, स च तपः कर्मकस्यैव नान्य कर्मकस्य ॥

38. The agent of the verb तप् 'to heat,' becomes similar to the object, only when the object is the word तपस् itself

Thus तप्यते तपस्तापसः 'the devotee performs austere devotion'; but not so in उत्तपति सुवर्णं सुवर्णकारः 'the goldsmith heats the gold'.

न दुहस्नुनमां यक्चिणौ ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दुह-स्नु-नमां, यक्-चिणौ, (कर्मकर्त्तरि, कर्मवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुह स्नु नम इत्येतेषां कर्मकर्तरि यक्चिणौ कर्मवद्भावप्राप्तौ न भवतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यक्चिणोः प्रतिषेधे णिश्रन्थिग्रन्थिब्रूञात्मनेपदाकर्मकाणामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

89. The affix यक् (III. 1. 67.) and चिण् (III. 1. 62) are not employed in the reflexive voice of the verbs दुह् 'to milk', स्नु 'to fall in drops' and नम् 'to bow.'

The affixes यक् and चिण् are used in forming the reflexive verbs, when the action affecting the agent is similar to the action which affects the object. With regard to the root दुह्, the affix यक् is only prohibited by the present sûtra; the चिण् being optionally employed by rule III. 1. 63, as दुग्धे, अदुग्ध or अदोहि गौः स्वयमेव 'the cow flows or flowed of istelf' प्रस्नुते or प्रास्नोष्ट गौः स्वयमेव 'the cow flows or flowed of istelf'; नमते or अनंस्त दण्डः स्वयमेव 'the stick bends or bent of itself'.

This prohibition of the employment of the affixes यक् and चिण् is extended to the verbs that take the affix णि (such as causatives &c.), to the verbs श्रन्थ 'to loosen', ग्रन्थ 'to compose' and ब्रू 'to speak', and to the Atmanepadi Intransitive verbs. As कारयते 'it is caused to be made of itself; अचीकरत 'it was caused to be made of itself; श्रथ्नीते 'it loosens of itself; अश्रन्थिष्ट 'it loosened of itself'; ग्रथ्नीते or अग्रन्थिष्ट 'it composes or composed of itself; ब्रूते and अवोचत 'it speaks and spoke of itself'; आहते and आवधिष्ट मायकः स्वयमेव.

कुषिरञ्जोः प्राचांश्यन्परस्मैपदं च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ कुषि-रञ्जोः, प्राचाम्, श्यन्, परस्मैपदं, च, (कर्मकर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुष निष्कर्षे, रञ्ज रागे, अनयोर्धात्वोः कर्मकर्तरि प्राचामाचार्याणां मतेन श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति परस्मैपदं च ॥

90. The affix श्यन् comes after the roots कुष् 'to pull', and रञ्ज 'to colour', in the reflexive voice, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, and these verbs take the affixes of the Parasmaipada.

Thus debars the affix यक् and the Atmanepada terminations. As कुष्यति पादः स्वयमेव 'the foot draws up of itself; रज्यति वस्त्रं स्वयमेव 'the cloth colours of itself'.

The phrase 'in the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians' shows that it is an optional rule; so that we have also the forms कुष्यते and रज्यते.

धातोः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरित्ययमधिकारो वेदितव्यः, आ तृतीयाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेर्यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामो धातोरित्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

91. As far as the end of tne Third Book

reckoning from the present aphorism, the affixes treated of are to be understood as coming after some verbal root.

This is an Adhikâra Sûtra. All these verbal affixes are broadly divided into two parts कृत् and कृत्य् affixes, which will be described later on.

तत्रोपपदं सप्तमीस्थम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, उपपदं, सप्तमीस्थम्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रैतस्मिन्धात्वधिकारे तृतीये यत्सप्तमी निर्दिष्टं तदुपपदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

92. Here in this Third Book of Grammar referring to verbal roots, the word implied in a term exhibited in the locative case, is called 'upapada' or dependent word.

Thus in sûtra III. 2. 1. कर्मण्यण् the word कर्मणि is exhibited in the 7th case; therefore the word implied by the word कर्मणि, namely, the word having the accusative case, will be called उपपद. Thus कुम्भम्+कृ+अण्=कुम्भकारः 'a potter'; here the word कुम्भम् is an upapada.

कृदतिङ् ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृद्, अ-तिङ्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मिन्धात्वधिकारे तिङ्वर्जितः प्रत्ययः कृत्संज्ञको भवति ॥

93. In this portion of the Sûtras in which there is a reference to verbal roots, any affix except तिङ् (tense-affixes), is called कृत.

Thus the affixes तव्यत् &c. are कृत. All affixes up to the end of this Book belong to this class. These are affixes by which substantives are formed from verbal roots; and they have, therefore, most aptly been termed primary affixes. Words formed by these affixes will be Prâtipadikas or crude forms or nominal bases (1. 2 46). Thus कृ+तव्यं=कर्तव्यं. Why do we say 'except तिङ् affixes'? Observe चीयात् 'may he collect', स्तुयात् 'may he praise' which form verbs and not nouns.

वाऽसरूपोऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, असरूपः, अस्त्रियाम्, (धातोः

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मिन्धात्वधिकारे असमानरूपः प्रत्ययो अपवादो वा बाधको भवति स्त्र्यधिकारविहितप्रत्ययं वर्जयित्वा ॥

94. In this portion of the Sûtras, in which there is a reference to verbal roots, an affix which is calculated to debar a general one, not being of the same form,

optionally debars it; but not so in the case of feminine affixes (III. 3. 94 &c.)

Thus the affixes ण्वुल् and तृच् (III. 1. 133) are general affixes applicable to all roots in forming nouns of agency; and the sûtra III. 1. 133 which ordains these affixes, is an *utsarga* or a general rule; while the sûtra III. 1. 135 ordaining the affix क after verbs having a penultimate इक् vowel, and the roots ज्ञा, प्री and कॄ is an apavâda or a special aphorism. In the latter case, therefore, optionally we may have the affixes ण्वुल् and तृच् also. Thus विक्षिप् is a root that has a penultimate इ belonging to the pratyâhâra इक्; and therefore, in forming the noun of agency from it, the affix क will have to be applied by rule 135 of this chapter already mentioned; thus विक्षिप्+क= विक्षिप्+अ=विक्षिपः; but this special rule however, does not debar the operation of the general rule, and we have optionally विक्षिप्+ण्वुल्=विक्षेपकः; and विक्षिप् +तृ=विक्षेप्तृ nom. sing. विक्षेप्ता.

Why do we say 'not being of the same form'? Because if two affixes have the same form, the present rule will not apply: and in the case of such affixes, the special affix will debar the general affix. Thus the affixes अण् and क are, when stripped of their indicatory letters, affixes having the same form, *i. e.*, अ; and therefore the sûtra III. 2. 1. ordaining अण् as a general rule, will be always debarred by sûtra III. 2. 3 ordaining क, as the latter is a special sûtra applicable only to those roots which end in long आ, or which are simple roots not compounded with any preposition. Thus गो+दा+क=गोदः 'giver of cows'. So also कम्बलदः 'blanket-giver'. In these cases we cannot have the affix अण्.

It follows from this sûtra as a necessary corollary, that the addition of indicatory letters does not make two or more affixes dissimilar in form (असरूप) when their essential effective element is the same. Thus the affixes क, अण्, अच्, ण &c. are similar.

Why do we say 'but not so in the case of feminine affixes'? Because in the case of feminine affixes, a special affix will debar a general affix, though they may be dissimilar in form. Thus sûtra III. 3. 94 ordaining क्तिन् in forming feminine nouns from roots is a general or *utsarga* rule, while sûtra III. 3. 102 ordaining अ after roots that have already taken some affix is a special or *apavâda* rule, and though अ and ति are dissimilar in form, they being feminine affixes, the former will always debar the latter. Thus the compound desiderative roots चिकीर्ष and जिहीर्ष will form feminine nouns in आ and not by क्तिन्. Thus चिकीर्षा and जिहीर्षा and not चिकीर्षति &c

कृत्याः प्राङ्ण्वुलः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्याः, प्राक्, ण्वुलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्वुल्तृचाविति वक्ष्यति प्रागेतस्मात्ण्वुल्संशब्दनाद्यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः कृत्यसंज्ञकास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

95. From this aphorism, as far as the aphorism ण्वुल्तृचौ (III. 1. 133), all the affixes treated, will get the name of Kritya.

This defines the class of affixes known as *kritya*, a sub division of *krit* affixes. These are certain affixes like तव्य, अनीय &c, which may be treated as declinable verbal terminations. (III. 4. 70.). The following 38 sûtras treat of these affixes. These verbal adjectives correspond in meaning to the Latin participles in *udus* conveying the idea that the action expressed by the verbs ought to be done or will be done. The word formed by them may be called Passive Potential Participles or Future Passive Participles. The illustrations will be given hereafter under each affix as taught. The word *kritya* occurs in sûtras II. I. 33, II. 3. 71 &c.

तव्यत्तव्यानीयरः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तव्यत्-तव्य-अनीयरः, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोस्तव्यत्तव्यानीयर् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वसेस्तव्यत् कर्त्तरि णिच्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ केलिमर उपसंख्यानम् ॥

96. The affixes तव्यत्, तव्य and अनीयर् come after verbal roots.

The phrase 'after verbal roots' is understood in this aphorism by anuvritti from sûtra 91. The final letters त् of तव्यत् and र् of अनीयर् are for the sake of indicating accent, being merely diacritical letters. The letter त् indicating svarita accent (VI 1. 185. and the letter र indicating penultimate udâtta accent (VI. 1. 217); these being exceptions to the general rule of accent given in sûtra 3 *ante* of this chapter.

Thus कृ+तव्यत्=कर्तव्यत्, and कृ+तव्य=कर्तव्यम् 'must be done'; कृ+अनीयर =करणीयम् 'must be done'. In these cases the sense being that of the action itself, there is neuter gender singular number.

Vart:—The affix तव्यत् when coming after the verb वस् 'to dwell' in marking the agent, is treated as if it had an indicatory ण्. The force of ण्. is to cause vriddhi. Thus वस्+तव्यत्=वास्तव्यः 'a dweller'. Here the word is in the masculine gender, as the force of the affix is that of the agent, and not as it generally has that of an act or object (III. 4. 70).

Vart :—The affix केलिमर् should be enumerated in addition to those already enumerated in this aphorism. Thus पचेलिमा माषाः : kidney beans fit toeb

cooked'; भिदेलिमानि काष्ठानि 'the woods are apt to be split, *i. e.*, fragile'. This affix is to be employed when it is intended to express an object alone (*i. e.* in the passive and reflexive sense) and cannot be employed like those enumerated above, to denote also the action.

अचो यत् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, यत्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्ताद्धातोर्यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तकिशसिचतियतिजनीनामुपसंख्यानम् हनो वा वध च ॥

97. The affix यत् comes after a root that ends in a vowel.

The letter त् of this affix is indicatory showing that the udâtta accent falls on the first vowel (VI. 1. 213); thus गा+यत्=गेय, noun sing, गेयम् 'what is to be sung'; so also पेयम् 'what is to be drunk'; जेयम् 'what is to be conquered'. The आ of गा and पा is changed into ए by VI. 4. 65. Why do we say 'that ends in a vowel'? By sûtra 124 of this chapter, a root ending in a consonant takes ण्यत् affix instead of यत्; reading these two aphorisms together, the conclusion to be drawn is that the affix यत् comes after roots which *primarily* end in a vowel, though in the course of development they may end in a consonant by the application of other rules. Thus from दो 'to cut', we have the desiderative root दित्स, which ends in a vowel अ. This अ is elided before ârdhadhâtuka affixes and thus the root becomes दित्स्, which ends in a consonant; nevertheless we shall have the affix यत् and not ण्यत्. Thus दित्स्यम् 'what is wished to be cut'; धित्स्यम् 'what is wished to be placed'. Similarly लू before ârdhadhâtuka affixes becomes लो, the ओ is changed into अव् before य (VI. 1. 79) and the form then is लव्. The root लव् however takes यत् and not ण्यत्; as लव्येत, लव्यम् &c.

Vart :—The verbs तक् 'to fly', शस् 'to leap', चत् 'to ask', यत् 'to attempt' and जन् 'to be born', should be enumerated in addition; that is to say, these verbs, though ending in a consonant, take यत् and not ण्यत्; as तक्यम्, शस्यम्, चत्यम्, यत्यम्, and जन्यम्.

Vart :—And of the verb हन् 'to kill' वध is the substitute when it optionally takes the affix यत्. Thus we have वध्यम् or घात्यम्. The latter form is evolved by sûtras VII. 3. 32 and 54. The affix यत् comes only after the वध् substitute; after हन् the affix ण्यत् comes which changes the ह into घ, and न into त and causes vriddhi.

पोरदुपधात् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पोः, अदु-उपधात्, (धातोः यत्,)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पवर्गान्ताद्धातोरकारोपधाद् यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix यत् comes after a root, which ends in a labial letter preceded by a short अ.

This debars ण्यत्; thus शप्+यत्=शप्यं 'to be sworn'; लभ्+यत्=लभ्यम् 'to be acquired'.

Why do we say 'which ends in a labial'? Because if a root ends in any other consonant, though preceded by a short अ, the root will take ण्यत्; thus पच्+ण्यत्=पाक्यम् 'what is to be cooked'; वाच्यम् 'speech.'

Why do we say 'when preceded by a short अ'? When preceded by any other vowel, it will take ण्यत्; thus कुप्+ण्यत्=कोप्यम् 'to be angry'; so also गोप्यम् 'to be concealed'.

The word अत् is used in the sûtra in the original. The force of त् here is, by I. 1. 70, that short अ having one mâtrâ or prosodial length is to be taken and not long आ. Therefore, after the root आप् 'to obtain', we have ण्यत् and not यत्; thus आप्यम् 'to be reached' *i. e.* 'attainable'.

शकिसहोश्च ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शकि-सहोः, च, (धातोः, यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्लृ शक्तौ, षह मर्षणे, अनयोर्धात्वोर्यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

99. The affix यत् comes after the roots शक्लृ 'to be able', and षह 'to bear'.

Thus शक्यम् 'possible'; सह्यम् 'endurable.'

गदमदचरयमश्चानुपसर्गे ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ गद-मद-चर-यमः, च, अनुपसर्गे, (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गद मद चर यमः, एतेभ्यश्चानुपसर्गेभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चरेराङि चागुरौ ॥

100 The affix यत् comes after the roots गद् 'to speak', मद 'to be mad', चर 'to go, to eat', and यम to restrain', when these roots do not take any preposition.

Thus गद्यम् 'what is to be spoken, *i. e.* prose'; मद्यम् 'wine'; चर्यम् 'what is to be followed; यम्यम् 'what is to be restrained'.

Why do we say 'when not preceded by a preposition'? When compounded with an upasarga, these roots will take ण्यत्; thus प्रगाद्यम्; प्रमाद्यम् &c.

The root यम् would have taken the affix यत् by sûtra 98 also, as it ends in म and is preceded by अ: its separate enumeration in this sûtra is in order to show, that the compound verb यम् will not take the affix यत्. Therefore with regard to यम्, this is a *niyama* or restrictive rule and not a *vidhi* or original rule.

Vart:—The roots चर when preceded by the preposition आङ् takes the यत् affix when the sense is not that of a preceptor; thus आचर्यो देशः 'an approachable or communicable country'. But when the sense is that of a teacher the root takes ण्यत्; thus आचार्यः 'a preceptor'.

अवद्यपण्यवर्या गर्ह्यपणितव्यानिरोधेषु ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवद्य-पण्य-वर्याः, गर्ह्य-पणितव्य-अनिरोधेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवद्य पण्य वर्या इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते गर्ह्य पणितव्य अनिरोध इत्येतेष्वर्थेषु यथासंख्यम् ॥

101. The words अवद्य, पण्य and वर्या are irregularly formed, having the sense of 'condemnable', 'saleable' and 'unobstructable' respectively.

Thus, अवद्यं पापं 'censurable sin'. Another and regular form is अनुद्यम्. This is formed by adding the affix क्यप् to the root वद् by III. 1. 106. So also पण्यः कम्बलः 'saleable blanket'; पण्याः गौः 'saleable cow'. The other and regular form is पाण्यम्, formed by the addition of ण्यत्. So also शतेन वर्या 'unobstructed by hundred'; सहस्रेण वर्या 'unobstructed by thousand'. The other and regular form is वृत्या from the root वृ 'to choose', वर्या means a girl choosing her own husband and is non-obstructable by any body. The word वर्या in the sûtra is in the feminine gender, and it is in this gender only that the word is so formed. In the masculine gender, the word is regularly formed; thus वार्याः ऋत्विजः.

वह्यं करणम् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वह्यं, करणम्, (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वहेर्धातोः करणे यत्प्रत्ययो निपात्यते ॥

102. The word वह्यं is irregularly formed, when the meaning of the word is an instrument of carrying.

The word वह्य is derived from root वह 'to carry' and means 'a vehicle', *i. e.*, that by which a thing is carried; as वह्यं शकटम्. When it does not mean a carriage, the root takes the affix ण्यत्, thus वाह्यः 'an ox'.

अर्यः स्वामिवैश्ययोः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्यः, स्वामि-वैश्ययोः॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋ गतौ, अस्मादण्यति प्राप्ते, स्वामिवैश्ययोरभिधेययोर्यत्प्रत्ययो निपात्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यतो ऽनाव इत्याद्युदात्तत्वे प्राप्ते, स्वामिन्यन्तोदात्तत्वं च वक्तव्यम् ॥

103. The word अर्य is irregularly formed when meaning 'lord' and a 'Vaisva'.

The root ऋ 'to go', would have taken ण्यत् by sûtra 124 of this chapter; but it takes यत् when the sense of the word formed by it is that of a 'lord' or a man of 'Vaiśya' caste. As अर्यः स्वामी, 'honored lord', अर्या वैश्यः 'honored Vaiśya'.

Vart:—Though by VI. 1. 213, the affix यत् makes the udâtta accent fall on the first syllable of the word, yet in the case of the word अर्य, when it means 'lord', the accent falls on the last syllable.

Why do we say 'when it means a lord or a Vaiśya'? Otherwise the root takes the affix ण्यत्; as आर्यो ब्राह्मणः 'the respectable Brâhmaṇa'.

उपसर्या काल्या प्रजने ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्या. काल्या, प्रजने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्येति निपात्यते काल्या चेत्प्रजने भवति ॥

104. The word उपसर्या is irregularly formed when meaning what has reached the time favorable to conception, or ripe for fruition.

The word उपसर्या is formed by adding यत् affix to the root सृ 'to move', compounded with the preposition उप. The word काल्या means having reached the time. The word प्रजन means the first conception. Thus उपसर्या गौः 'the cow fit for the bull'; उपसर्या वडवा 'the mare fit for the horse.'

Why do we say 'when meaning what has reached the time favorable to conception'? Otherwise the affix ण्यत् will be used; as उपसार्या शरदि मथुरा 'Madhura is approachable in Sarat season'.

अजर्यम् संगतम् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजर्यम्, संगतम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजर्यमिति निपात्यते संगतं चेद्भवति ॥

105. The word अजर्यम् 'imperishable' is irregularly formed when qualifying the word संगतम् 'friendship' expressed or understood.

The word अजर्यम् is formed from the root जॄ by the addition of यत्, and affixing the negative particle अ; as अ+जॄ+यत्=अजर्यं

Thus अजर्यं नोऽस्तु संगतम् 'let our friendship be imperishable'. So also अजर्यमार्यसंगतम्.

Why do we say 'when qualifying the word संगतम्'? Observe अजरिता कम्बलः 'undecaying blanket'.

वदः सुपि क्यप् च ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वदः, सुपि, क्यप्, च, (यत्, अनुपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वदेर्धातोः सुबन्तउपपदे अनुपसर्गे क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यच्च ॥

106. After the root वद् 'to speak', governing a case-inflected word as its upapada, and not having a preposition annexed to it, there comes the affix क्यप् also.

The phrase 'not having a preposition' is to be read into this sûtra by *anuvritti* from sûtra 100 *ante*. The force of the word 'also' is to indicate that the affix यत् is also employed. The word सुपि means 'in construction with an upapada that ends in case-affix'.

Thus ब्रह्म+वद्+क्यप्=ब्रह्म+वद्+य=ब्रह्मोद्यम् ; ब्रह्म+वद्+यत्=ब्रह्मवद्यम् 'told by the Vedas or Brahman'. Similarly सत्योद्यम् or सत्यवद्यम् 'truth-mouthed'.

Why do we say 'when it has a case-inflected word as upapada'? Otherwise वद्+ण्यत्=वाद्यम् a 'musical instrument'.

Why do we say 'not having a preposition'? Observe प्रवाद्यम् 'a rumour' formed by the affix ण्यत् and not by यत् or क्यप्.

भुवो भावे ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, भावे, (अनुपसर्गे, सुपि, क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्धातोः सुबन्त उपपदे अनुपसर्गे भावे क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

107. After the root भू 'to be', in construction with a case-inflected word as its upapada and when used without a preposition, the affix क्यप् is employed to denote condition (bhâva).

The words सुपि and अनुपसर्गे of previous sûtras are understood in this. The *anuvritti* of यत् does not cover this aphorism. As ब्रह्मभूयं गतः = ब्रह्मत्वं गतः 'gone to or arrived at Brahmahood; देवभूयं = देवत्वं गतः 'gone to divinity'.

The word *bhâva* of this sûtra governs the succeeding ones.

Why do we say 'in construction with a case-inflected word'? Otherwise it will take यत्; as भू + यत् = भो + यत् = भव्यम् (VI. 1. 79).

Why do we say 'not taking a preposition'? Observe प्रभव्यम्

हनस्त च ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, त, च, (सुपि, अनुपसर्गे, क्यप्, भावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्धातोः सुबन्त उपपदे अनुपसर्गे भावे क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति तकारश्चान्तादेशः ॥

108. After the root हन् 'to kill', when in construction with a case-inflected word as its upapada, and when used without a preposition, comes the affix क्यप् in denoting condition, and the letter त is the substitute of its final.

The phrases सुपि अनुपसर्गे and भावे are understood in this sûtra.

As ब्रह्म + हन् + क्यप् = ब्रह्म + हत् + य = ब्रह्महत्य, (VI. 1. 71) ब्रह्महत्या 'Brahman-murder'. So also अश्वहत्या 'killing a horse'.

When not in construction with a noun, the form is घातः 'a blow' (हन् + णिच् + घञ्). This verb does not take the affix क्यप् in denoting condition, there being no example of such formation.

Why do we say 'when not taking a preposition'? Observe प्रघातो वर्तते 'there is a combat'.

एतिस्तुशास्वृदृजुषः क्यप् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एति-स्तु-शास्-वृ-दृ-जुषः, क्यप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एति स्तु शास् वृ दृ जुष इत्येतेभ्यः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शंसिदुहिगुहिभ्यो वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आङ्पूर्वादञ्जेः संज्ञायामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

109. After the verbs इ 'to go', स्तु 'to praise', शास् 'to govern', वृ 'to choose', दृ 'to respect' and जुष् 'to please', comes the affix क्यप्.

The anuvritti of ऋदि, अनुपसर्गे and भावे does not extend to this aphorism. The present sûtra ordains generally the affix क्यप् after the above verbs. Thus इ+क्यप्=इ+त+य (VI. 1. 71) =इत्यः 'to be gone'. The letter त being added by Rule VI. 1. 71 which declares 'त is the augment of a short vowel when a कृत् affix, with an indicatory प् follows'. So also स्तु+क्यप्=स्तुत्यः 'to be praised'; शास्+क्यप्=शिष्+य (आ being changed into इ by VI. 4. 34) =शिष्यः 'to be instructed i. e. a pupil'. So also वृ+क्यप्=वृत्यः 'to be chosen'; आदृ+क्यप्=आदृत्यः 'to be honoured'; जुष्+क्यप्=जुष्यः 'to be served'.

Though the anuvritti of क्यप् was coming from the previous sû tra too, its repetition in this aphorism is to indicate that other rules, such as 125 of this chapter, should not take effect in the above verbs. Thus Rule 125 requires ण्यत् 'after the verb स्तु but the present rule prohibits that. Thus we have अवश्य स्तुत्यः 'must be praised'.

By वृ in the sûtra the root वृञ् is intended to be taken, and not the root वृङ्. The equivalent derivative of the latter is वार्यः as वार्या ऋत्विजः.

Vart:—The roots शंस् 'to praise' दुह् 'to milk' and गुह 'to cover' optionally take the affix क्यप्. As शस्यम् or शंस्यम् (VI. 4. 37); दुह्यम् or दोह्यम्, गुह्यम् or गोह्यम्.

Vart:—The verb अंज 'to anoint', preceded by the preposition आङ् takes the affix क्यप् when used as an appellative. As आ+अंज+क्यप्=आज्यम् meaning clarified butter. The nasal is elided by VI. 4. 24.

Obj. :--How do you explain the form उपेयम् which is evidently formed from the root इ by adding यत्? According to the present sûtra. the affix क्यप् ought to have been added. Ans. The इ in उपेयम् is a different root from that taken. The root in this sûtra is इण् of the Adâdi class.

ऋदुपधाच्चाक्लृपिचृतेः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋद्-उपधात्, च, अक्लृपि-चृतेः, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारोपधाच्च धातोः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति क्लृपिचृती वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पाणौ सृजेर्ण्यद्वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ समवपूर्वाच्च ॥

110. After verbs having a penultimate short ऋ, the affix क्यप् is employed, with the exception of the verbs क्लृप् 'to be able', and चृत 'to hurt'.

Thus वृत्+क्यप्=वृत्यम्; so also वृध्यम्. But क्लृप् and चृत will form कल्प्यम्, and चर्त्यम्.

Why have we used the letter त् in ऋत्? It is to indicate that short ऋ

is meant and not long ॠ (I. 1. 70). Therefore the root कॄत् will take ण्यत् and form कीर्त्यम्.

Vart:—The root सृज् takes the affix ण्यत् when compounded with the word पाणि. Thus पाणिसर्ग्या रज्जुः 'a rope'.

Vart:—The root सृज् when preceded by both सम् and अव takes ण्यत् as समवसर्ग्या.

ई च खनः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, च, खनः, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खनेर्धातोः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवतीकारश्चान्तादेशः ॥

111. The affix क्यप् is employed after the root खन् 'to dig,' and long ई is substituted for the final of the root.

Thus खन्+क्यप्=ख+ई+य=खेय 'to be dug'. The long ई is used in the sûtra for the sake of euphony. The same purpose would have been served by using short इ, thus 'इ च खनः'. But the long ई indicates that the rule VI. 4. 43 does not apply here. By that rule the अ of खन् would have been lengthened into आ before the affix क्यप्.

भृञोऽसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृञः, अ-संज्ञायाम्, (क्यप्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृञो धातोरसंज्ञायां विषये क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संपूर्वाद्विभाषा ॥

112. The affix क्यप् is employed after the verb भृञ् 'to bear' when not used as a name.

Thus भृ+क्यप्=भृत्य Pl. भृत्याः 'those who ought to be supported' i. e servants'. Why do we say 'when not used as an appellative'? Observe भृ+ण्यत्=भार्यः 'a Kshatriya'.

Vart:—The use of *kyap* is optional when this verb takes the preposition सम्. Thus संभृत्याः or संभार्याः.

मृजेर्विभाषा ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मृजेः, विभाषा, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मृजेर्धातोर्विभाषा क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

113. The affix क्यप् optionally comes after the root मृज् 'to cleanse'.

This is an example of *Prápta-vibháshá*. By rule 110 *ante*, the root मृज् having a penultimate ऋ would have necessarily taken *kyap*; this sûtra declares an option. As परिमृज्यः or परिमार्ग्यः 'to be cleansed'. The second form is thus evolved :—

परिमृज्+ण्यत् (III. 1. 124)=परिमृग्+य (VII. 3. 52)=परिमार्ग्य (VII. 2. 114)

राजसूयसूर्यमृषोद्यरुच्यकुप्यकृष्टपच्याव्यथ्याः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥
राजसूय-सूर्य-मृषोद्य-रुच्य-कुप्य-कृष्ट-पच्य-अव्यथ्याः, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजसूय सूर्य मृषोद्य रुच्य कुप्य कृष्ट पच्य अव्यथ्य इत्येते शब्दाः क्यपि निपात्यन्ते ॥

114. The words राजसूय सूर्य मृषोद्य रुच्य कुप्य कृष्ट पच्य and अव्यथ्य are irregularly formed by the addition of the affix क्यप्.

Thus राजा सोतव्यः or राज्ञा वा इह सूयते, राज+सू+, क्यप्=राजसूयः 'the Rajasûya or coronation sacrifice.

Similarly सृ or सू + क्यप् = सूर्यः 'the sun', literally that which moves (सरति) in the sky; or that which impels (सुवति) creation to action. मृष+वद+क्यप्= मृषोद्यम् 'false speech', this is an exception to rule 106, by which यत् would also have been applied. This rule prevents it Thus रोचतेऽसौ, रुच् + क्यप् = रुच्य. 'an agreeable lover'. So also गुप् + क्यप् = कुप्यम् 'a base metal (other than gold and silver)'; the other form is गोप्यम् । कृष्ट+पच् = कृष्टपच्याः 'that which ripens of itself in cultivated ground'. न व्यथते = अव्यथ्यः 'a snake (what does not move by legs)'.

भिद्योद्ध्यौ नदे ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिद्य-उद्ध्यौ, नदे, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिदेरुज्झेश्च क्यप् निपात्यते नदेऽभिधेये ॥

115. The words भिद्य and उद्ध्य are irregularly formed by the affix क्यप्, when meaning a 'river'.

Thus भिद्+क्यप् = भिद्यः 'a river that breaks its banks by the rush of its water', the name of the Bhidya river.

उज्झ् + क्यप् = उद्ध्य 'a river whose waters overflow the banks', name of the Uddhya river; the झ is changed into ध.

When not meaning or qualifying the river, the regular forms are used; thus भेत्ता and उज्झिता.

पुष्यसिद्ध्यौ नक्षत्रे ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुष्य-सिद्ध्यौ, नक्षत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुषे सिधेश्चाधिकरणे क्यप् निपात्यते नक्षत्रेऽभिधेये ॥

116. The words पुष्य and सिद्ध्य are irregularly formed by the affix क्यप्, when used as names of asterisms.

Thus पुष्+क्यप् = पुष्यः 'the Pushya asterism'. It is so called because objects are nourished under the influences of this asterism. सिध्+क्यप्=सिद्ध्यः 'the asterism Siddhya' another name of Pushya, so-called because things are accomplished under the influence of this star.

When not the names of asterisms, the forms are पोषणं 'nourishing', सेधनम् 'accomplishing'.

विपूयविनीयजित्या मुञ्जकल्कहलिषु ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि । विपूय-विनीय-जित्याः, मुञ्ज-कल्क-हलिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विपूय विनीय जित्य इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते यथासंख्यं मुञ्जकल्कहलि इत्येतेष्वर्थेषु बोध्येषु ॥

117. The words विपूय, विनीय and जित्य are irregularly formed when they mean, the 'muñja grass', the 'sediment' and the 'plough' respectively.

Thus वि+पू+क्यप्=विपूयः etymologically 'that which has *to be purified* to make rope'; वि+नी+क्यप्=विनीय 'a sediment or sin'; जि+क्यप्=जित्य a plough that which is *to be conquered* by strength'.

The regular derivatives are विपाव्यम्, विनेयम् and जेयम्

प्रत्यपिभ्यां ग्रहेश्छन्दसि ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-अपिभ्यां, ग्रहेः, छन्दसि, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रति अपि इत्येवं पूर्वाद् ग्रहेः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

118. The verb ग्रह 'to seize', preceded by the prepositions प्रति and अपि, takes the affix क्यप् in the Vedic literature.

Thus मत्तस्य न प्रतिगृह्यम् ; तस्मान्नापिगृह्यम् ॥

In the classical Sanskrit the proper forms are प्रतिग्राह्यम् and अपिग्राह्यम्

पदास्वैरिबाह्यापक्ष्येषु च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद-अस्वैरि-बाह्या-पक्ष्येषु, च, (ग्रहेः, क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदेऽस्वैरिणि बाह्यायां पक्ष्ये चार्थे ग्रहेर्धातोः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The root ग्रह takes the affix क्यप्, when it means a 'word', a 'dependent', 'outside', or a 'partisan'.

Thus प्रगृह्यम् 'the Pragrihya words that do not admit of sandhi, already defined in sûtra I. 1. 11. So also अवगृह्यम्.

The word अस्वैरि means dependent upon others, not free to provide for himself. Thus गृह्यकाः शुकाः 'the captive parrots'.

The word बाह्य means 'situated outside'. Thus ग्रामगृह्या सेना 'an army lying outside the village'. The word बाह्या being in the feminine gender indicates that the derivative word formed from ग्रह must also be feminine in gender to have this sense.

The word पक्ष्य is derived from पक्ष 'a side, a party', and means a partisan, follower or friend. Thus वासुदेवगृह्याः 'siding with or being the partisans of Vâsudeva', So also अर्जुनगृह्याः 'belonging to the party of Arjuna'.

विभाषा कृवृषोः ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कृ-वृषोः, (क्यप्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृञो वृषश्च विभाषा क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. After the verbs कृञ् 'to do', and वृष् 'to rain' the affix क्यप् is optionally employed.

The root कृ would have taken the affix ण्यत् by 124, and the verb वृष् would necessarily have taken क्यप् by 110; the present sûtra therefore declares an optional rule. Thus: कृ+क्यप्=कृत्यम् 'to be done'; or कृ+ण्यत्=कार्यम्. So also वृष्यम् or वर्ष्यम् 'stimulating'.

युग्यं च पत्रे ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ युग्यम्, च, पत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युग्यमिति निपात्यते पत्रं चेद्भवति ॥

121. The word युग्यम् is irregularly formed meaning a vehicle.

The word पत्र means that by which a thing is carried. Thus युग्यो गौः 'the carrier bull or the yoked bull'. युग्यो हस्ती 'the harnessed elephant ready to carry'. युज्+क्यप्=युग्यम्. The ज is changed into ग. When not meaning a carried or a carriage, it has the form योग्यं.

अमावस्यदन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अमावस्यत्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमाशब्दः सहार्थे वर्त्तते, तस्मिन्नुपपदे वसेर्धातोः कालेऽधिकरणे ण्यत्प्रत्ययो भवति अन्यतरस्यां वृद्ध्यभावो निपात्यते ॥

122. Optionally the word अमावस्या is irregularly formed.

The word अमा means 'along' or 'together'. अमा in composition with the root वस् 'to dwell', takes the affix ण्यत् in the sense of location of time. Optionally the *Vriddhi* is not substituted in such a case. The time or the day on which the sun and the moon dwell together in the same constellation is called अमावास्या or अमावस्या.

The final त in अमावस्यत् is indicatory and is for the sake of shewing where should the proper accent fall.

The two forms अमावस्या or अमावास्या are the same word, and *a fortiori* a rule made with regard to one will be made applicable to the other. And to this effect there is a paribhâshâ which declares एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवत्; 'that which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place'. Therefore sûtra IV. 3. 30, though it, in terms, says अमावास्याया वा is made applicable to the form अमावस्या also.

छन्दसि निष्टर्क्यदेवहूयप्रणीयोन्नीयोच्छिष्यमर्यस्तर्याध्वर्यखन्यखान्यदेवयज्यापृच्छ्यप्रतिषीव्यब्रह्मवाद्यभाव्यस्ताव्योपचाय्यपृडानि ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, निष्टर्क्य-देवहूय-प्रणीय-उन्नीय-उच्छिष्य-मर्य-स्तर्या-ध्वर्य-खन्य-खान्य-देवयज्या-आपृच्छ्य-प्रतिषीव्य-ब्रह्मवाद्य-भाव्य-स्ताव्य-उपचाय्य-पृडानि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्टर्क्यादयः शब्दाश्छन्दसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हिरण्य इति वक्तव्यम्

123. In the Vedas the following words are found which are formed irregularly :— निष्टर्क्य, देवहूय, प्रणीय, उन्नीय, उच्छिष्य, मर्य, स्तर्या, ध्वर्य, खन्य, खान्य, देवयज्या, आपृच्छ्य, प्रतिषीव्य, ब्रह्मवाद्य, भाव्य; स्ताव्य, and उपचाय्यपृड.

The formation of the above words are extremely irregular and they are all met with in the Vedic literature only. Thus the word निष्टर्क्य is derived from the root कृत 'to cut', with the preposition निस्, and the affix ण्यत्, instead of क्यप् which is the regular affix, by 110; निः+कृत+ण्यत्=निः+तृक्+य (the root कृत transformed into तृक् by transposition)=निष्टर्क्य. As निष्टर्क्यं चिन्वीत पशुकामः.

The above is apparently a guess-work etymology of grammarians.

So also देवहूय is formed by adding to the root ह्वये 'to call' or हू 'to invoke, the affix क्यप् and the upapada देव; the vowel of the root is then lengthened and the augment त (VI. I. 71), is not allowed, देव+ह्वे or हू+क्यप्=देवहूयः So also प्र+नी (to lead)+क्यप्=प्रणीयः; उत+नी+क्यप्=उन्नीयः, उत+शिष् (to leave)+क्यप्=उच्छिष्यम् ; मृ (to die)+यत=मर्यः ; स्तृ (to cover)+यत=स्तर्या ; it is always feminine. ध्वृ (to bend) +यत=ध्वर्यः ; खन् (to dig) +यत=खन्यः ;खन्+ण्यत्=खान्यः ; देव (God)+यज् (to sacrifice) +यत=देवयज्या ; always used as feminine. आ+पृच्छ (to ask) +क्यप्=आपृच्छ्यः , प्रति+सीव (to sew) +क्यप्=प्रतिषीव्यः ब्रह्म+वद् (to speak) +ण्यत=ब्रह्मवाद्यः ; भू (to be) +ण्यत=भाव्यः ; स्तु (to praise) +ण्यत=स्ताव्यः ; उप+चि (to collect) +ण्यत+पृडं=उपचाय्यपृडम्. The last word is formed then only when the word पृड follows : and when the sense is that of 'gold.' When it does not mean 'gold' the form is उपचेयपृडम् '

ऋहलोर्ण्यत् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋ-हलोः, ण्यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋवर्णान्ताद्धातोर्हलन्ताच्च ण्यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

124. The affix ण्यत् comes after a verb that ends in ऋ (long or short), or in a consonant

The phrase ऋहलोः is in the genitive case dual number, the force of genitive here being that of ablative. As कृ+ण्यत्=कार्यम् 'to be made'; हृ+ण्यत्=

हार्य nom. sing. हार्यम् 'to be taken'; धृ+ण्यत्=धार्य; 'to be held'; वच्+ण्यत्=वक्+ण्यत् (VII. 3. 52) =वाक्य (VII. 2. 116) 'to be spoken'; पच्+ण्यत्=पाक्यम्.

ओरावश्यके ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, आवश्यके (ण्यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्ताद्धातोर्ण्यत्प्रत्ययो भवति आवश्यके द्योत्ये ॥

125. The affix ण्यत् comes after a root that ends in the letter उ long or short when the sense is that of necessity.

This debars the affix यत्. Thus लु+ण्यत्=लौ+य=लाव्यं (VII. 2. 115 and VI. 1. 79) 'must be cut'; so also पु+ण्यत्=पाव्यम् 'must be purified'.

When 'necessity' is not indicated we have the form लव्यं 'to be cut'. The sûtra as given in the original is rather ambiguous; it may be construed to mean, 1st when the word आवश्यक or a word having the sense of this term is in construction as upapada the affix ण्यत् is employed: or 2ndly when the sense of the affix is that of 'necessity', the ण्यत् is employed. There are objections to both these interpretations taken separately. For in the first case, though we could form the words अवश्यलाव्यं &c., we could not form the word लाव्य by itself. In the second case, though we could form the single word लाव्यं, we could not form the compound. The best solution is to take the second interpretation and form the compound by the universal rule of *Tatpurusha* contained in II. 1. 72, which would also regulate the accent.

आसुयुवपिरपिलपित्रपिचमश्च ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आसु-यु-वपि-रपि-लपि-त्रपि-चमः, च, (ण्यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वक सुनोतेः यु वपि रपि लपि त्रपि चम इत्येतेभ्यश्च ण्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

126. The affix ण्यत् comes after the verbs आसु 'to distil' यु 'to join', वप् 'to sow', रप् 'to speak distinctly' लप् 'to prate', त्रप् 'to be ashamed', and चम् 'to drink.'

The verb आसु is a compound verb formed by the preposition आङ् and the root सु. This sûtra debars यत् that would otherwise have come by sûtra 97 and 98.

Thus आसु+ण्यत्=आसाव्यम्, (VII. 2. 115 and VI. 1. 79); so also याव्यम्, वाप्यम्, राप्यम्, लाप्यम्, त्राप्यम् and आचाम्यम्.

The force of the word च 'and' in the sûtra is to indicate that roots not included in the above enumeration should also be taken. Thus दभ्+ण्यत्=दाभ्यम् ॥

आनाय्योऽनित्ये ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आनाय्यः, अनित्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आनाय्य इति निपात्यते अनित्येऽभिधेये । नयतेराङ् पूर्वाण्ण्यदायादेशौ निपात्यते ॥

127. The word आनाय्यः is irregularly formed when meaning 'impermanent'.

This word is thus formed :—आङ् + नी + ण्यत् = आ + नै + य = आनाय्य, (the ऐ being changed into आय् by the analogy of VI. 1. 79).

As आनाय्यो दक्षिणाग्निः. This is a species of Dakshiṇâgni fire. As this fire is *brought* from the Gârhapatya fire and is not permanently kept alive, therefore, it is called ânâyya. This, however, is not co-extensive with Dakshiṇâgni. It is that fire which is brought from the Gârhapatya, and has the same *source* with the Dakshiṇagni and Ahavaniyâgni. A Dakshiṇâgni fire may be taken from different sources, as from the family of a well-to-do Vaishya, or from a frying place, or from Gârhapatya fire. When it is taken from the last *i. e.* from Gârhapatya fire, it is ânâyya Dakshinâgni. Ahavaniya is also taken from Gârhapatya.

It is not every thing, that is not lasting, which is called ânâyya ; for a fragile pot will not be called so. It applies only to the consecrated fire. When it has not this sense, the form is आनेय meaning 'what ought to be brought'.

प्रणाय्योऽसम्मतौ ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रणाय्यः, असम्मतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रणाय्य इति निपात्यते ऽसंमतावभिधेये ॥

128. The word प्रणाय्यः is irregularly formed when meaning 'disapproved'.

The word असंमति is a negative word meaning 'non-agreement'. It means also 'disrespect'.

Thus प्रणाय्यश्चोरः 'the thief is to be disliked'.

Why do we say when meaning 'disapproved'. Because otherwise the regular form is प्र + नी 'to lead' + यत् = प्रणेयः 'tractable'.

The word in the sûtra is असंमति which we have translated as 'disapproved'. But the word सम्मति also means अभिलाष or 'desire'; and असम्मति would, therefore, mean 'free from desire or worldly attachment'. Therefore the word असम्मति means also 'free from attachment', as in the following sentence :—

ज्येष्ठाय पुत्राय पिता ब्रह्म प्रब्रूयात्, प्रणाय्याय अन्तेवासिने नान्यस्मै कस्मैचन 'let the father teach the Secret Doctrine to his eldest son, or to such pupil who is free from worldly attachment, and to no one else'.

पाय्यसांनाय्यनिकाय्यधाय्या मानहविर्निवाससामिधेनीषु ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाय्य-सांनाय्य-निकाय्य-धाय्याः, मान-हविः-निवास-सामिधेनीषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाय्यादयः शब्दा निपात्यन्ते यथासंख्यं माने हविषि निवासे सामिधेन्यां चाभिधेयायाम् ॥

129. The words पाय्य, सान्नाय्य, निकाय्य and धाय्या are irregularly formed meaning 'a measure', 'an oblation to fire', 'a dwelling', and 'a sacrificial prayer', respectively.

These words are supposed to be formed thus:—मा (to measure)+ण्यत्= पाय्यम्, the म being changed into प and another य being added by VII. 3. 33. The regular form is मेयम् 'to be measured' (मा+ण्यत्=मे+य VI. 4 65=मेय). सम्+नी (to lead)+ण्यत्=सान्नाय्यम् 'the oblation'. It being a crude form applies to a particular kind of oblation. The regular form is सन्नेयम् । नि+चि (to collect) +ण्यत्=नि+चै+य=नि+चाय+य=निकाय्यः 'a dwelling'. The regular form is निचेय । धा (to put)+ण्यत्=धाय्या (fem) The sâmadheni is the name of certain *Rik* hymns used as supplemental verses in a Litany. The other form is धेय ।

क्रतौ कुण्डपाय्यसंचाय्यौ ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रतौ, कुण्डपाय्य-संचाय्यौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुण्डपाय्य संचाय्य इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते क्रतावभिधेये ॥

130. The words कुण्डपाय्यः and संचाय्यः are irregularly formed meaning a sacrifice.

These words are thus formed: कुण्ड+पा (to drink)+यत्=कुण्ड+पा+य+य (VII. 3. 33)=कुण्डपाय्यः 'the sacrifice in which Soma is drunk with a bowl'. The accent falls on the first syllable by VI. 1. 213. सम्+चि (to collect)+ण्यत्= संचाय्यः 'the sacrifice in which Soma is collected'.

If not applied to sacrifices, the forms will be कुण्डपानम् and संचेयः.

अग्नौ परिचाय्योपचाय्यसमूह्याः ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नौ, परिचाय्य-उपचाय्य-समूह्याः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिचाय्य उपचाय्य समूह्य इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते अग्नावभिधेये ॥

131. The words परिचाय्यः, उपचाय्यः and समूह्यः are irregularly formed when they are names of fire.

These words are thus formed:—परि+चि+ण्यत्=परि+चै+य=परि+चाय+य=परिचाय्यः 'sacrificial fire arranged in a circle' (the ऐ being changed into आय् by the analogy of VI. 1. 79. This peculiar sandhi before the semivowel य has been illustrated in the previous examples also). So also उपचाय्यः 'a kind of sacred fire'. सम्+वह+ण्यत्=सम्=ऊह्+य=समूह्यः 'a kind of fire'. समूह्यं चिन्वीत पशुकामः let him kindle the Samûhya fire desirous of a victim'.

Why do we say 'when they are names of fire'? Observe otherwise, परिचेयम् 'to be heaped', उपचेयम् 'to be increased', संवाह्यम् 'to be carried'.

चित्याग्निचित्ये च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्य-अग्निचित्ये, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चित्यमग्न्योऽग्निचित्याशब्दश्च निपात्यते ॥

132. The words चित्य and अग्निचित्य are also irregularly formed.

The word चित्यः comes from the root चि 'to collect', and means fire *i. e.* that which is collected. As चित्योऽग्निः 'the funeral pile fire'. The word अग्निचित्या means, arranging the fire. The affix य has been added to denote condition, together with the augment तुक्(त्). These words have *uddtta* accent on the last vowel. The regular form is चेयम् 'to be gathered'.

ण्वुल्तृचौ ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ण्वुल-तृचौ, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वधातुभ्यो ण्वुलतृचौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

133. The affixes ण्वुल् (अक) and तृच् (तृ) are placed after all verbal roots, expressing the agent.

The word 'root' is understood in the above aphorism. Thus कृ 'to do' + ण्वुल् = कार + वु (VII. 2 115) = कार + अक (VII. 1. 1) = कारक nom. sing. कारकः 'doer' कृ + तृच् = कर्+तृ (VII. 3. 84) = कर्तृ nom, sing, कर्ता. So also हारकः and हर्ता.

The च् of तृच् is not indicatory, but distinguishes this affix from तृन्; the simple तृ includes both तृच् and तृन्, as in V. 3. 59, and V. 4. 154.

नन्दिग्रहिपचादिभ्यो ल्युणिन्यचः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नन्दि-ग्रहि-पचादिभ्यः, ल्यु, णिनि, अचः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रिभ्यो नन्द्यादिभ्यस्त्रयः प्रत्यया यथासंख्यं भवन्ति, नन्द्यादिभ्यो ल्युः, ग्रहादिभ्यो णिनिः, पचादिभ्योऽचः ॥

134. After the verbs classed as नन्द् 'to be happy', ग्रह 'to take' and पच् 'to cook' there are the affixes ल्यु (अन) णिनि (इन्) and अच् (अ) respectively.

The word *ádi* meaning *etcetra*, is to be joined with every one of the above three words. These three affixes come respectively after the verbs of the above three classes. Thus after the verbs of नन्द् class, comes the affix ल्यु; after the verbs of ग्रह class, comes the affix णिनि; after the verbs of पच् class, comes the affix अच्.

The नन्दादि verbs will not be found in one place in Dhátupaṭha. The list of the words formed by these affixes have, however, been collected in the Gaṇapaṭha, Thus नन्द् + ल्यु = नन्द् + यु (I. 3. 8) = नन्द् + अन (VI. 1 1) = नन्दन nom. sing. नन्दनः 'son' (lit what gladdens). So also from the following caus-

tive roots, nouns are formed, meaning names:—वाशि—वाशनः or वाशनः; मदि—मदनः; दूषि—दूषणः (or भूषणः); साधि—साधनः; वर्धि—वर्धनः; शोभि—शोभनः and रोचि—रोचनः.

The following derivatives are names:—सहि—सहनः; तपि—तपनः. दमि—दमनः

So also the following words:—जल्पनः, रमणः, दर्पणः संक्रन्दनः, संकर्षणः, संहर्षणः, जनार्दनः, यवनः, पवनः, मधुसूदनः, विभीषणः. लवणः (the ण in लवण is irregular), चित्तविनाशनः, कुलदमनः and शत्रुदमनः.

The ग्रहादि verbs are also nowhere enumerated in a group. The following are however, those verbs.—ग्रह्—ग्रहिन् nom ग्राही; उत्सह—उत्साहिन् nom. उत्साही; उद्दस्—उद्दासिन्; उद्भास्—उद्भासिन्; स्था—स्थायिन्; मन्त्र—मन्त्रिन्; सम्मर्द—सम्मर्दिन्. So also the verbs रक्ष, श्रु, वस्, वप्, and शा preceded by नि; as, निरक्षिन्, निश्राविन्, निवासिन्, निवापिन्, and निशायिन्. The verbs याचि, व्याहृ, संव्याहृ व्रज, वद and वस take णिन् when preceded by the negative particle; as, अयाचिन्, अव्याहारिन्, असंव्याहारिन्, अव्राजिन्, अवादिन् and अवासिन्. So also after verbs ending in a vowel when agents are non-conscious beings: as, अकारिन्, अहारिन्. So also, अविनायिन्, अविशायिन्, विशयिन्, विषयिन् (meaning a place) विशायिन् and विषायिन्, अभिभाविन्, अपराधिन्, उपरोधिन्, परिभविन् and परिभाविन।

The following are पचादि words:—पच, वच, वप, वद, चल, तप, पत नदट्, भषट्, प्लव्, गरट्, प्लवट्, तरट्, चोरट्, ग्राहट्, जर, मर, चर, सम, सूदट्, देवट्, मोरट् सेव, मेष, क्रोध, व्रण, दंश, दश, दम्भ, जारभर, श्वपच, मेघ, कोप, सर्प, मद, रज, दोषट्, चरट्।

The ट् in नदट् &c., shows that the feminine of these is formed by long ई (IV. I. 15). The पचादि class is an आकृतिगणः।

अजिविधिः सर्वधातुभ्यः पठ्यन्ते च पचादयः।
अण् बाधनार्थमेवं स्यात् सिध्यन्ति श्वपचादयः॥

In fact the affix अच् comes after all verbs, and is not exclusively confined to the verbs above enumerated. The affix अच्, therefore, debars अण् and may be taken to be the universal affix, and by its help the form like श्वपच &c. may be explained.

इगुपधज्ञाप्रीकिरः कः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इग्-उपध-ज्ञा-प्री-किरः, कः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगुपधेभ्यो जानातेः प्रीणातेः किरतेश्च कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135. After a verb ending in a consonant but preceded by इ, उ or ऋ (long or short), and after the verbs ज्ञा 'to know', प्री 'to please', and कॄ 'to scatter', comes the affix क (अ).

Thus लिखिन्+क=लिखिच nom. sing लिखिचः. So also लिखिशः 'inscription'; बुधः 'who knows'; कृशः 'lean'; ज्ञा+क=ज्ञः 'who knows' (VI. 4. 64); प्री+क=

प्रियः 'what pleases'; कॄ+क=कि+अ (VII. 1. 100) =किर्+अ (I. 1. 51)=किरः 'who scatters' i. e. 'a hog'.

The words देव 'God', सेव 'service' and मेघ 'rain', should be read in the पचादि class of the last sûtra, being formed by the affix अच् and not by क.

आतश्चोपसर्गे ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, च, उपसर्गे, (कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्य उपसर्ग उपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

136. Also after a verb ending in long आ when there is a preposition along with it, the affix क is placed.

This is an *apavâda* of III. 1 40, and debars the affix ण. Thus प्रस्था+क=प्रस्थ+अ=प्रस्थः (VI. 4. 64). सुग्लै+क=सुग्ल+अ=सुग्लः 'very weary' (आ substituted for ऐ by VI. 1. 45. सुम्लै+क=सुम्ला+अ=सुम्लः 'very languid'.

The final आ is dropped before the affix क by rule VI. 4. 64. There is elision of long आ when an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows beginning with a vowel and having an indicatory क or ङ.

पाघ्राध्माधेट्दृशः शः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पा-घ्रा-ध्मा-धेट्-दृशः, शः, (उपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादिभ्यो धातुभ्य उपसर्ग उपपदे शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ जिघ्रतेः संज्ञायां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

137. The affix श (अ) is employed after the roots पा 'to drink', घ्रा 'to smell', ध्मा 'to blow', धेट् suck', and दृश 'to see' when there is a preposition along with these roots.

Thus उद्+पा+श=उत्+पिब् +अ (VII. 3 78)=उत्पिब nom. sing. उत्पिबः; so also विपिब; उज्जिघ्रः and उद्+ध्मा+श=उद्+धम्+अ= (VII. 3. 78); उद्धमः; विधमः; उद्+धे+श=उद्धयः; विधयः; so also उद्+दृश्+श=उत्पश्यः, (VII. 3. 78). so also विपश्यः;

Some commentators do not read the word 'upasarga' into this sûtra. According to them the forms like पश्यः &c., can be formed also.

The affix श, of which श् is indicatory, the real affix being अ, causes the root to undergo all those changes, which it undergoes in special tenses; for it is a sârvadhâtuka affix there; see sûtra III. 4. 113 and VII. 3. 78.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of the root घ्रा, when the word to be formed is a name. As वि+आ+घ्रा+क=व्याघ्रः 'tiger' (an animal that goes about smelling), Here there is क and not the affix श.

अनुपसर्गाल्लिम्पविन्दधारिपारिवेद्युदेजि चेतिसातिसाहिभ्यश्च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गात्, लिम्प-विन्द-धारि-पारि-वेदि-उदेजि-चेति-साति-साहिभ्यः, च (शः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गेभ्यो लिम्पादिभ्यः शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नौ लिम्पेरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गवादिषु विन्दे संज्ञायाम् ॥

138. The affix श is employed after the following verbs when used without a preposition : लिम्प, विन्द and the causatives धारि, पारि, वेदि, उदेजि, चेति, साति and साहि.

Thus लिम्पः 'smearing'; विन्दः 'acquiring'; धारयः 'holding'; पारयः 'ferrying; वेदयः 'knowing'; उदेजयः 'shaking'; चेतयः 'perceiving'; सातयः, and साहयः.

Why do we say 'when used without a preposition'? Observe प्रलिपः; here the affix is क.

Vart:—The verb लिप् with the preposition नि takes the affix श. As निलिम्पा 'the name of certain deities', 'a cow'.

Vart:—The affix श is employed after विन्द when compounded with the words गो &c. and when the word to be formed is a proper noun. As गोविन्दः 'Krishṇa' (protector of cows), अरविन्दः 'a lotus' (having petals like spokes).

ददातिदधात्योर्विभाषा ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ददाति-दधात्योः, विभाषा, (शः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाञो धाञश्च विभाषा शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

139. The affix श is optionally employed, after the root दा 'to give', and धा 'to hold', when used without a preposition.

This debars ण. Thus ददः 'giving'; or दायः 'inheritance'; दधः 'holding' or धायः 'having'.

When a preposition is used, the affix श is not employed; as प्रदः, प्रधः.

ज्वलितिकसन्तेभ्यो णः ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्वल-इति-कसन्तेभ्यः, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्वलदीप्तावित्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः कसगतावित्येवमन्तेभ्यो विभाषा णप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तनोतेर्ण उपसंख्यानम् ॥

140. After the verbs beginning with ज्वल 'to shine' and ending with कस 'to go', when used without a preposition, the affix ण is optionally employed

The word इति in ज्वलिति indicates beginning. These are about 56 verbs, all belonging to the *Bhvâdi* class. See No. 804 to 860 in the Dhâtupâtha, Bombay Edition in the Appendix to Siddhanta Kaumudi.

This debars the affix अच् ; as ज्वालः or ज्वलः ; चालः or चलः.

The affix ण (अ) having an indicatory ण् causes the vṛiddhi of the penultimate अ. When the affix ण is not used, then अच् is used and we have the other form. But compound verbs take अच् ; as प्रज्वलः 'luminous'.

Verb.—The verb तन 'to stretch' must be included in this list, and it takes the affix ण ; as अवतान. The conditions 'option' and ,without preposition' do not apply in this case. The verb तन् necess arily ta kes this affix, though compoundsed with an upasarga.

श्याऽऽद्व्यधास्रुसंस्र्वतीणवसावहृलिहश्लिषश्वसश्च ॥१४१॥ पदानि॥
श्या-आद्-व्यध-आस्रु-संस्रु-अतीण्-अवसा-अवहृ-लिह-श्लिष-श्वसः, च, (णः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्यैङ् आकारान्तेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यः व्यध आस्रु संस्रु अतीण् अवसा अवहृ लिह श्लिष श्वस इत्येतेभ्यश्च णप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix ण is employed after the following verbs also:—श्यै 'to go', verbs ending in long आ, व्यध 'to pierce', आस्रु 'to pain', संस्रु 'to flow', अतीण् 'to pass on', अवसा 'to complete', अवहृ 'to take away', लिह 'to lick', श्लिष 'to embrace', and श्वस 'to breathe'.

The root श्यै, before affixes, becomes श्या, (VI. 1 . 45) and is thus included in the phrase 'verbs ending in long आ'. What is then the use of its separate enumeration? The separate enumeration is for the sake of excluding the application of every other rule which might have prohibited ण. Thus III. 1. 136 enjoins क when a compound verb ends in आ. But that rule does not apply to the verb श्या,

Thns अवश्यायः 'frost', प्रतिश्यायः 'catarrh', दायः 'iuheritance', धायः 'having', व्याधः 'pain', आस्रावः' wouud', संस्रावः 'flow', अत्यायः 'transgression', अवसायः 'conclusion', अवहारः 'taken away', लेहः ' licking ', श्लेषः embracing श्वासः ' breath '. See VII. 3. 33.

दुन्योरनुपसर्गे ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दु न्योः, अनुपसर्गे, (णः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुनोतेर्नयतेश्चानुपसर्गे णप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

142. The affix ण is employed after the verbs दु 'to burn', and नी 'to lead', when used without a preposition.

Thus दु + ण = दौ + अ (VII. 2. 115) = दावः (VII. 1. 78) 'burning'. So also नी + ण = नै + अ = नावः 'leading'.

Why do we say 'when used without a preposition'? Observe प्रदवः, burning'; प्रणयः 'friendship'.

विभाषा ग्रहः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, ग्रहः, (णः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषा ग्रहेर्धातोर्णप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भवतेश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

143. The affix ण is optionally employed after the verb ग्रह् 'to seize'.

This debars the affix अच्. Thus ग्रह् + ण = ग्रह् + अ (VII. 2. 116) = ग्राहः 'seizing', 'a crocodile'; or ग्रह् + अच् = ग्रहः 'a planet'.

The option allowed by this aphorism is a *vyavasthita-vibhâshâ* or definite option, that is to say, the affix ण is *always* used when the word to be formed means a water-animal, such as a crocodile, shark &c., and in that sense the word is ग्राह But not so, when heavenly luminaries are meant; there the word is ग्रह.

Vart:—This rule should be extended to the root भू 'to be' also. Thus:—भावः 'condition' and भवः 'existence'.

गेहे कः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गेहे, कः, (ग्रहः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रहेर्धातोः कप्रत्ययो भवति गेहे कर्त्तरि ॥

144. The affix क is employed after the verb ग्रह when the agent so expressed denotes a house.

Thus ग्रह + क (VI. 1. 16) = गृहम् 'a house'. The र is changed into ऋ by the rule of *samprasarana*. The plural form गृहाः means 'wife', as she is especially the person that constitutes the house; while the plural of गृहं meaning 'house will be गृहाणि.

शिल्पिनि ष्वुन् ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिल्पिनि, ष्वुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः ष्वुन्प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्त्तरि ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नृतिखनिरञ्जिभ्यः परिगणनं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

145. The affix ष्वुन् (अक) comes after a verb when the agent so expressed denotes an artist.

Vart:—This affix should be confined to the verbs नृत् 'to dance', खन् 'to dig' and रञ्ज 'to dye'.

Thus नृत् + ष्वुन् = नर्त + अक (VII. 1. 1) नर्तकः 'dancer'. The letter ष is indicatory (I. 3. 6) and by Rule IV. 1. 41, it denotes that words formed by prefixes having indicatory ष् form their feminine by the affix ङीष्. Thus

the feminine of नर्तक is नर्तकी; so also खनकः 'miner', fem. खनकी; रजकः 'washerman', fem रजकी.

In the case of the root रंज the nasal is elided. According to the opinion of the author of *Mahâbhâshya*, only two verbs are governed by this sûtra namely नृत and खन्, According to him, the verb रञ्ज takes the affix क्वुन्, Thus रञ्ज+क्वुन्=रज्+वु (VI. 4. 37)=रज्+अक (VII. 1. 1.)=रजकः, feminine रजिका.

गस्थकन् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गः, थकन् (शिल्पिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गायतेस्थकन्प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्त्तरि ॥

146. The affix थकन् (थक) comes after the verb गै to 'sing', when the agent so expressed, denotes an artist.

As, गै+थकन्=गाथकः (VI. 1. 45) 'a singer', fem. गाथिका.

ण्युट् च ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ण्युट्, च (गः, शिल्पिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गायतेर्ण्युट् प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्त्तरि ॥

147. The affix ण्युट् is also employed after the verb गै 'to sing', when the agent so expressed denotes an artist.

By the word च 'also', the word गा of the last sûtra is drawn into this. Thus गै+ण्युट्=गा+अन (VII. 1. 1.)=गायनः fem. गायनी; the य is added by VII. 3. 33.

The separation of these rules (*yoga-vibhagâ*) relating to गै is for the purpose of the sûtras that follow. Had गस्थकन् and ण्युट् च been made one aphorism, the *anuvritti* of both these affixes would have run into the subsequent sûtras. But it is intended that the *anuvritti* of ण्युट् should only run, and hence this *yoga-vibhâga* or division of one sûtra into two.

हश्च व्रीहिकालयोः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, च, व्रीहि-कालयोः, (ण्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेर्जिहीतेश्च धातोर्ण्युट् प्रत्ययो भवति व्रीहौ काले च कर्त्तरि ॥

148. After the verb हा, also the affix ण्युट् is employed when the agent so expressed denotes 'rice' and 'time'.

The verb हा denotes two verbs हाक 'to abandon' and हाङ् 'to go' both belonging to the Third Conjugation, forming जहाति and जिहीते as 3rd per. sing. Thus हा+ण्युट =हायनः 'a kind of rice' (that which *jahâti* 'leaves off all water) हायनः 'a year' (that which *jihîte* 'goes through' all conditions.)

The accents are however different in the two. In one case the udâtta is on the middle; in the other, on the last.

प्रुसृ (स्रु) ल्वः समभिहारे वुन् ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रु-सृ-(स्रु)-ल्वः, समभिहारे, वुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रु सृ (स्रु) लू इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः समभिहारे वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

149. After the verbs प्रु 'to go', सृ 'to move', स्रु 'to flow and लू 'to cut', the affix वुन् is employed, when repetition is meant.

As, प्रु+वुन्=प्रो+अक (VII. 1. 1.)=प्रवकः, so also, सरकः, स्रवकः, and लवकः.

The word *samabhihâra* in the sûtra indicates that the action done by the agent must be well performed. The affix *vun* being thus ordained for the action, when it is well performed, it follows, that it will not be employed where the action is repeatedly ill performed. The affix will be employed even when there is no repetition, but the action is well performed even at the first attempt.

आशिषि च ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, च, (वुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि गम्यमानायां धातुमात्राद् वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

150. The affix वुन् is employed after all verbs, when benediction is intended.

As, जीव् + वुन्=जीवकः 'may he live'; नन्दकः 'may he be happy'.

The word आशीः means a sort of prayer; and it relates to action. The force of this affix is that of 'an agent with the addition that the action is simply the object of a prayer of some one who wishes that that may be the action of that agent'.

ओ३म्

अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयःपादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER II.

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कर्मण्यण् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, अण्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वत्र कर्मण्युपपदे धातोरण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शीलिकामिभक्ष्याचरिभ्यो णः पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वं च वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ईक्षिक्षमिभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

1. The affix अण् comes after a verbal root, when the object, (of whatever sort it may be), is in composition with it, (as an upapada).

The object or karma is of three sorts, namely *nivartya*, *vikârya* and *prâpya*.

The object which has a material cause, but such cause is however unexpressed in the sentence, is called *nivartya* object : as कुम्भं करोति 'he makes a pot'; here मृद् 'mud' the material cause of कुम्भ is unexpressed, therefore, कुम्भ is *nivartya* object. Where the material cause itself is changed, by a modification, into something else, such an object is called *vikarya* object ; as काण्डलावः 'the branch-cutter'. While the object which cannot be approached by any action, and is not affected by it, but is always constant, is called the *prâpya* object ; as वेदाध्यायः 'the reading of Veda'; the Veda is always the same.

They will be illustrated by the following examples :—Of the first kind, we have कुम्भकारः 'a potter' and नगरकारः 'a city-builder' ; of the second, we have काण्डलावः 'a branch-cutter' and शरलावः 'a reed-cutter'. Of the third, we have वेदाध्यायः 'the learning of Veda' and चर्चापारः 'the reading of Charchâ'. But compound nouns cannot be formed of such sentences as ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village', आदित्यं पश्यति 'he sees the sun', हिमवन्तं शृणोति 'he hears the Himavat'. The reason is that it is against the usage of the language to form nouns out of these.

Vart :—The affix ण comes after the verbs शील्, काम्, भक्ष and आचर and the noun in composition with it retains its original accent. As मांसशीलः 'addicted to flesh', fem. मांसशीला ; मांसकामः 'loving flesh', fem. मांसकामा ; मांसभक्षः 'carnivorous', fem. मांसभक्षा ; and कल्याणाचारः 'good-conducted', fem कल्याणाचारा।

Vart :—The affix क comes after the roots ईक्ष 'to look' and क्षम् 'to forbear' under similar circumstances. As सुखप्रतीक्षः, 'fem सुखप्रतीक्षा expecting happiness'; बहुक्षमः fem. बहुक्षमा' much forbearing'.

ह्वावामश्च ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्वा, वा, मः, च, (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्वेञ्, वेञ्, माङ् एतेभ्यश्च कर्मण्युपपदेऽण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

2. The affix अण् comes after the root ह्वेञ् 'to call', वेञ् 'to weave', माङ् 'to measure', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars the affix क (III. 2 3); as स्वर्ग+ह्वे+अण=स्वर्ग+ह्वा+अ= स्वर्ग+ह्वाय=अ(VII. 3 33)=स्वर्गह्वायः (the य is added by rule VII. 3. 33, 'when a krit affix with an indicatory ञ or ण folloows, the augment य is added after the verbs that end in long आ). So also तन्तुवायः, धान्यमायः ।

आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, अनुपसर्गे, कः, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽनुपसर्गेभ्यः कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

3. The affix क comes after a verbal root that ends in long, आ, when there is no upasarga preceding it, and when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अण्,; as गो+दा+क=गो+द्+अ=गोदः 'Giver of cows (the long आ is elided by VI. 4. 64) So also, कम्बलदः 'who gives a blanket' पार्ष्णित्रम् 'what protects the rear'; अङ्गुलित्रम् 'what protects the finger' (a thimble').

Why do we say 'when there is no upasarga'? Witness गोसंदायः 'whot ceremoniously gives a cow', अश्वसंदाय who ceremoniously gives a mare'. Here the compound verb संदा takes the affix अण्.

सुपि स्थः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपि, स्थः, (कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्त उपपदे तिष्ठतेः कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

4. The affix क comes after the root स्था when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, as an upapada.

In the three previous sûtras, the word in composition was always in the accusative case. This sutra declares that with regard to the verb स्था, the upapada may have any case, not necessarily the accusative. As समस्थः=समे तिष्ठति 'who dwells in accessible position'; and विषमस्थः 'having an inaccessible position.'

This sûtra should be divided into two sûtras (yoga-bibhâga). Thus:—(1) सुपि The affix क comes after every root ending in long आ, when in composition with a case-inflected word; as द्वाभ्यां पिबति = द्वि + पा + क = द्विपः (VI. 4. 64) 'who drinks with two organs' *i.e.* the proboscis and the mouth, an elephant. So also पादपः 'a plant' (what drinks through the foot.) कच्छपः 'a tortoise' (that always *protects* its *mouth* by drawing it in, at the approach of danger). (2) सुपि स्थः ॥ The affix क comes after the root स्था when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix. Why do we make this two-fold division, when we see the second rule is included in the first, as the verb स्था also ends in a long आ? The reason is that the first rule applies where the agent is indicated, while the second rule applies where condition is to be denoted. As आखूनामुत्थानम् = आखूत्थः 'a swarm of rats'; so also शलभोत्थः 'a swarm of locusts'.

Both the words कर्मणि and सुपि are understood in the sûtras that follow: *viz*: the word कर्मणि in sûtras that relate to transitive verbs, and the word सुपि everywhere else.

तुन्दशोकयोः परिमृजापनुदोः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुन्द-शोकयोः, परिमृज-अपनुदोः; (कर्मणि, कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुन्दशोकयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः परिमृजापनुदोर्धात्वोः कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आलस्यसुखाहरणयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कप्रकरणे मूलविभुजादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

5. The affix क comes after the verbs परिमृज् 'to wash out' and अपनुद् 'to drive away', when in composition with the words तुन्द 'navel' and शोक 'grief', as objects respectively.

As तुन्दपरिमृज आस्ते 'he lay lazy'. So also शोकापनुदः पुत्रो जातः 'a son, destroyer of sorrow is born'.

Vart:—This affix is to be applied only then, when the meaning of the word to be formed is 'lazy' and 'giver of happiness'.

Vart:—The epithet तुन्दपरिमृजः is applied to a lazy person; while तुन्दपरिमार्जः means who clears his navel. So शोकापनुदः means giver of happiness, while शोकापनोदः means 'removal of sorrow'.

Vart:—The words मूलविभुजः 'a chariot' and the rest should be included in the subdivision of words formed by the affix क. The words belonging to this head can only be recognised by their form, there being no list of them to be found anywhere. Thus मूलविभुजः 'a chariot,' नखमुचः 'a bow,' काकगुहा 'sesamums,' कुमुदम् ((कौ मोदते) 'a lotus'.

प्रे दाज्ञः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, दा-ज्ञः, (कर्मणि, कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ददातेर्जानातेश्च धातोः प्रेणोपसृष्टात् कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

6. The affix क comes after the root दा 'to give' and ज्ञा 'to know', when taking the preposition प्र and in composition with a word in the accusative case.

We applied by sûtra 3 the affix क after verbs that ended in long आ and had no *upasarga*. Now begins the case of verbs with upasarga. This debars the affix अण्; as सर्वप्रदः (VI. 4. 64) 'giver of all; liberal', पथिप्रज्ञः (VI. 4. 64) 'acquainted with road.' The long आ of दा and ज्ञा is elided by VI. 4. 64.

Why do we say 'when taking प्र'? With any other *upasarga* these verbs will take the general affix अण्; as गोसन्दाय.

समि ख्यः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ समि, ख्यः, (कर्मणि, कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्पूर्वात् ख्या इत्येतस्माद्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. The affix क comes after the root ख्या 'to tell', when preceded by the preposition सम्, and when the object is in composition with it.

The verb ख्या ends in long आ and by III. 2. 3. when compounded with an upasarga, it would have taken the affix अण्. This debars अण् as गोसंख्या (VI. 4. 64) 'a cowherd' ((गा सन्चष्टे).

गापोष्टक् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गा-पोः, टक्, (कर्मणि, अनुपसर्गे)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गायतेः पिबतेश्च धातोः कर्मण्युपपदेऽनुपसर्गे टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुराशीध्वोः पिबतेरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं छन्दसि इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. The affix टक् comes after the verbs गै 'to sing' and पा 'to drink' when used without a preposition, and when the object is in composition with it.

The phrase *anupasarga* is to be read again into this sûtra by *anuvritti* from sûtra 3, though this *anuvritti* had temporarily lain dormant in sûtras 6 and 7 as being unnecessary. This debars क; of this affix ट् and क are indicatory the ट् showing among others that the feminine is formed by the affix ङीप् (IV. 1. 14.)

As, शक्रं गायति=शक्र+गा+टक् =शक्रगः (VI. 4. 64) 'who sings Śakra hymns'. सामगः 'singer of Sâma'. fem. शक्रगी and सामगी ।

Vart:—The affix टक् comes after the verb पा when it means to drink and only when it is in composition with the] words सुरा and शीधु as its object,

This is an important modification of the general sûtra. Thus सुरापः fem. सुरापी 'wine-bibber'; सीधुपः fem. सीधुपी 'spirit-drinker'.

Why do we say 'when in composition with surâ and sidhu'? Observe क्षीरपा ब्राह्मणी 'the milk-drinking Brâhmaṇi'; formed by the affix क and the feminine, therefore, not formed by the affix ई but by आ.

Why do we say 'when पा means to drink'? When पा means 'to protect' this affix is not used; as सुरापा 'who protects wine'.

When these words are compounded with an *upasarga* they do not take टक् but अच्; सामसंगायः, सामसङ्गायः।

Vart.– There is diversity in the Chhanddas as to the employment of these affixes; as या ब्राह्मणी सुरापी or सुरापा भवति नैनां देवाः पतिलोकं नयन्ति the gods do not carry that Brâhmaṇi to the regions of her husband who drinks wine.

हरतेरनुद्यमनेऽच् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरतेः, अनुद्यमने, अच्, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतेर्धातोरनुद्यमने वर्त्तमानात् कर्मण्युपपदेऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अच्प्रकरणे शक्तिलाङ्गलाङ्कुशयष्टितोमरघटघटीधनुष्षु ग्रहेरुपसंख्यानम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सूत्रे च धार्य्यर्थे ॥

9. The affix अच् comes after the verb हृ when it does not mean 'to raise up', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अण्. The word उद्यमन means 'to raise a load'. Thus अंशं हरति = अंशहरः 'who takes a share, or sharer'; so रिक्थहरः 'an heir'. (हृ + अच् = हर् + अ = हरः) (VII. 3. 84)

Why do we say 'when it does not mean to raise up'? For then the affix अण् will be employed, as भारहारः 'a burden-bearer, porter'.

Vart.—This affix comes after the verb ग्रह् when in composition with the word शक्ति spear', लाङ्गल 'plough', अंकुश 'goad', यष्टि 'staff', तोमर 'an iron club', घट 'jar', घटी 'a small jar', धनुष् 'a bow'; as शक्तिग्रहः 'a lancer', लाङ्गलग्रहः 'a plough-man', अंकुशग्रहः 'an elephant driver', यष्टिग्रहः 'a staff-bearer', तोमरग्रहः 'a club-bearer', घटग्रहः, घटीग्रहः 'a jar-bearer', धनुग्रह 'a bow-bearer'.

Vart.—This affix comes after the verb ग्रह when the word सूत्र is in composition with it and the sense is that of 'holding'; as सूत्रग्रहः 'a thread-holder'. When it has not this meaning we have सूत्रग्राहः 'a thread-taker'.

वयसि च ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ वयसि, च, (हरतेः, कर्मणि, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वयसि गम्यमाने हरतेः कर्मण्युपपदे ऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

10. The affix अच् comes after the varb हृञ् when the object is in composition with it and when the meaning of the word to be formed is descriptive of age.

In this sûtra the verb हृञ् has the sense of *udyamana* which was specifically excluded in the last. The word वयस् means the condition of human body as dependent upon time. This rule applies to those words which indicate the attainment of appropriate age for the accomplishment of objects described by the *upapada*, or the reaching of that age in which the thing described by the *upapada* naturally takes place; as अस्थिहरः श्वा 'the dog that has reached the age when it can chew bones' (lit when it can raise it up); कवचहरः क्षत्रियकुमारः 'the Kshatriya boy old enough to wear (lit. 'to raise up or bear) the shield'; so that the verb here has the sense of 'raising up'.

आङि ताच्छील्ये ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङि, ताच्छील्ये, (कर्मणि; हरतेः, अच्)

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वाद्धरतेः कर्मण्युपपदेऽच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

11. The affix अच् comes after the verb हृञ् (when the object is in composition with it), the root taking the preposition आङ्, and the sense of the word to be formed is inclination or accustomed occupation.

The word ताच्छील्यं means a natural inclination or habitual occupation; as पुष्पाहरः 'पुष्प + आहरति = पुष्प + आहर) 'he who has a natural tendency towards reaching flowers, whose habitual occupation is to collect flowers'; so also फलाहरः ।

Why do we say 'when denoting inclination'? Otherwise the affix will be अण्; as भारमाहरति = भाराहारः 'who brings load.'

अर्हः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्हः, (कर्मणि, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्ह पूजायां, अस्माद्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदेऽच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

12. The affix अच् comes after the verb अर्ह 'to respect', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अण्. The words so formed are especially of feminine gender. As पूजार्हा 'deserving of respect', गन्धार्हा, मालार्हा ।

स्तम्बकर्णयो रमिजपोः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्ब-कर्णयोः, रमिजपोः, (सुपि, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्बकर्ण इत्येतयोः सुबन्तयोरुपपदयोर्यथासंख्यं रमिजपोर्धात्वोरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्तिसूचकयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

13. The affix अच् comes after the verb रम् 'to sport' and जप् 'to whisper' when the case-inflected words स्तम्ब 'a clump of grass' and कर्ण 'ear' are in composition with them respectively.

The verb रम् is intransitive and the verb जप् can take an object under very limited circumstances only, namely when the object denotes *Sabda* ; therefore in the case of both these verbs, the object cannot be in composition as an accusative case ; therefore, the *upapada* here must be a general case-inflected word. Hence we have read the anuvritti of the word सुप् from sûtra 4 into this, the anuvritti of the word कर्म being inapplicable here.

Vart:—The words to be formed must have the sense of 'elephant' and a 'tale-bearer'. Thus स्तम्बे रमते = स्तम्बेरमः 'an elephant (lit. who sports in cluster of grass)' कर्णे जपति = कर्णेजपः 'a slanderer (lit. who whispers in the ear)'.

The affix अच् is not employed when the words to be formed do not mean an 'elephant' and a 'traducer'. Thus स्तम्बे रन्ता 'who plays in clusters of grass'. कर्णे जपिता मशकः 'the mosquito that hums near the ear'.

शमि धातोः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शमि, धातोः, संज्ञायाम्, (अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शम्युपपदे धातुमात्रात्संज्ञायां विषये अच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

14. The affix अच् is employd after the verbal roots, when शम् 'well', is in composition, and the word to be formed denotes a name.

As शम् + कृ + अच् = शङ्करः lit. 'who does good'. So also शम्भवः शम्वदः । All these are proper nouns.

Why have we repeated the word *dhâtu* in this aphorism, when it was understood by anuvritti from sûtra III. 1 91 ? To this the reply is, that the repetition of the word *dhatu* shows that there is prohibition of the affix ट, that comes after the verb कृ in certain senses (III. 2. 20), when the word शम् is in composition. The affix अच् will be employed after the verb कृ and not the affix ट, when शम् is an upapada, even when the sense to be indicated is that of cause, habit &c. (III 2 20). The result is that the feminine of शङ्कर will be शङ्करा, and not शङ्करी, which, had the affix been ट, would have been the proper feminine (See IV. 1. 14). शङ्करा means 'a female-ascetic,' 'a vulture' and 'one having the habit of doing good'.

अधिकरणे शेतेः ॥१५॥पदानि॥ अधिकरणे, शेतेः, (सुपि, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेतेर्धातोरधिकरणे सुबन्तउपपदे अच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पार्श्वादिषूपसंख्यानम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दिग्धसहपूर्वाच्च ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उत्तानादिषु कर्त्तृषु ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गिरौ डश्छन्दसि ॥

15. The affix अच् comes after the verb शी 'to lie down' when in composition with a case-inflected word indicating location, i. e, in the locative case.

The word सुप् (III. 2. 4) a noun ending in a case-affix is understood in this aphorism. As खे शेते = खशयः 'who lies in the sky'.

Vart:—The affix अच् comes after the verb शी when in composition with the words पार्श्व 'ribs', &c., though not necessarily denoting location; as पार्श्वाभ्यां शेते = पार्श्वशयः 'who reclines on his sides', उदरशयः 'who lies on his stomach', पृष्ठशयः 'who lies on his back'.

Vart.—And when the verb शी is preceded by the word दिग्धसह; as दिग्धेन सह शेते = दिग्धसहशयः ॥

Vart.—So also when the words उत्तान &c. are in composition with it denoting agent and in the nominative case. As उत्तानः शेते = उत्तानशयः। अवमूर्द्धा शेते = अवमूर्द्धशयः.

Vart.—In the Chhandas the affix ड comes after the verb शी when in composition with the word गिरि in the locative. As गिरौ शेते = गिरिशः : 'who lies on the mountain'.

The letter ड of ड is indicatory denoting that there is elision of the final vowel with what follows it (I. 1. 64).

चरेष्टः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरेः, टः, (अधिकरणे, सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चरेर्धातोरधिकरणे सुबन्त उपपदे टप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix ट comes after the verb चर् 'to go' when a case-inflected word in composition with it, denotes location.

The word *adhikarana* of the last sûtra is understood in this. As कुरुषु चरति = कुरुचरः 'who goes among the Kurus. मद्रचरः 'who goes among the Madras'.

Of the affix ट the real affix is अ, the letter ट being indicatory, showing that the feminine of these words is formed by the affix ङीप्. (See. IV. 1. 41.) as, कुरुचरी, मद्रचरी।

भिक्षासेनादायेषु च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिक्षा-सेना-आदायेषु, च, (चरेः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिक्षा सेना आदाय इत्येतेषूपपदेषु चरेर्धातोष्टप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. The affix ट is employed after the verb चर् 'to go', when the words in composition with it are भिक्षा 'alms', सेना 'army' and आदाय 'having taken'.

The *anuvritti* of the words 'in the locative case' does not extend to this aphorism, and hence the necessity of making a distinct and separate sûtra.

Thus भिक्षाचरः 'a beggar' (who goes for alms); सेनाचरः 'one who goes with an army'; आदायचरः 'one who goes after having taken'.

पुरोऽग्रतोऽग्रेषु सर्त्तेः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरस्-अग्रतस्-अग्रेषु, सर्त्तेः, (टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरस् अग्रतस् अग्रे इत्येतेषूपपदेषु सर्त्तेर्धातोष्टप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix ट comes after the verb सृ 'to move' when the words in composition with it, are पुरः, अग्रतः and अग्रे, all meaning 'in front of or before'.

As पुरः सरति = पुरः सरः 'who goes in front, a harbinger'. So also अग्रतः सरः and अग्रसरः 'going in front, a leader'.

पूर्वे कर्त्तरि ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वे, कर्त्तरि, (सर्त्तेः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः पूर्वशब्दे कर्तृवाचिन्युपपदे सर्त्तेर्धातोष्टप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19 The affix ट comes after the verb सृ 'to go', when पूर्व is in composition with it, denoting the agent.

Thus पूर्वः सरति = पूर्वसरः 'going in front'.

Why do we say 'denoting the agent'? Otherwise the affix अच् will be employed. As पूर्वदेशं सरति = पूर्वसरः 'going to the east'.

कृञो हेतुताच्छील्यानुलोम्येषु ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृञः, हेतु-ताच्छील्य-आनुलोम्येषु, (कर्म्मणि, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे करोतेर्धातोष्टप्रत्ययो भवति हेतौ ताच्छील्ये आनुलोम्ये च गम्यमाने ॥

20. The affix ट comes after the verb कृञ् 'to make' when the object is in composition with it denoting cause, habit and going with the grain (concession).

The word हेतु of this sûtra means the final or conclusive cause, and is not the grammatical हेतु meaning agent. ताच्छील्य means habit, and literally, the

act of being accustomed to that. आनुलोम्य comes from अनुलोम meaning 'with the hair', that is to say, regular, in natural order, successive, and hence favourable, and agreeable complaisance, acquiescence &c Of हेतु, we have शोककरी कन्या 'the daughter that causes sorrow; यशस्करी विद्या 'honorable science'; कुलकरं धनं 'the family making wealth'. Of ताच्छील्य, we have श्राद्धकर: 'who performs obsequies', ; अर्थकर: 'who amasses wealth'. Of आनुलोम्य, we have प्रैषकर: 'who promptly does what he is directed'; वचनकर: 'who regularly does what he is told'.

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Otherwise the affix will be अण्. As कुम्भकार: 'potter', नगरकार: 'city-maker'.

दिवाविभानिशाप्रभाभास्कारान्तानन्तादिबहुनान्दीकिंलिपिलिबिबलिभक्तिकर्तृचित्रक्षेत्रसंख्याजङ्घाबाह्वहर्यत्तद्धनुररुष्षु ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवा-विभा-निशा-प्रभा-भास्-कार-अन्त-अनन्त-आदि-बहु-नान्दी-किं-लिपि-लिबि-बलि-भक्ति-कर्तृ-चित्र-क्षेत्र-संख्या-जङ्घा-बाहु-अहः-यत्-तत्-धनुस्-अरुष्षु, (कर्म्मणि, सुपि, करोतेः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवादिषूपपदेषु करोतेर्धातोष्टप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ किं यत्तद्बहुषु कृञोऽज्विधानम् ॥

21. The affix ट comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the following words are in composition with it:— दिवा 'by day', विभा 'light', निशा 'night', प्रभा 'splendour', भा: 'light', कार 'work', अन्त 'end', अनन्त 'endless', आदि 'beginning', बहु 'many', नान्दी 'benediction', किम् 'what', लिपि 'writing', लिबि 'writing', बलि oblation', भक्ति 'devotion', कर्तृ 'agent', चित्र 'painting', क्षेत्र 'field', words denoting numerals, जङ्घा 'thigh', बाहु 'hand', अह: 'day', यत् 'what', तत् 'that', धनुस् 'bow', and अरुस् 'wound'.

Both the words '*karma*' and '*sup*' are understood in this aphorism; that is to say, sometimes these upapadas stand as accusative case and sometimes they have other cases, as the construction may require. This affix ट comes when the sense is not that of cause &c., as it was in the last sûtra.

Thus दिवाकर: 'the sun.' The word दिवा is an indeclinable and means 'in the day time'. There the *upapada*, therefore, is in the locative case. The sun is so called, because it makes creatures active in the day time.

So विभाकर: 'the sun' (light-maker); निशाकर: 'the moon' (the night-maker); प्रभाकर: 'the sun'; भास्कर: 'the sun' (the letter स is not changed into *visarga*, as it has been so read in the sûtra); कारकर: 'agent'; अन्तकर: 'death' (end-maker); अनन्तकर: 'magnifying to any extent'; आदिकर: 'the creator'; बहुकर: 'the busy'; नान्दीकर: 'the speaker of benediction'; किङ्कर: 'a servant'; लिपिकर: 'a

scribe'; लिपिकर: 'a scribe'; बलिकर: 'offering sacrifice', भक्तिकर: 'a devotee'; कर्तृकर: 'an agent'; चित्रकर: 'a painter', क्षेत्रकर: 'a cultivator'; एककर: 'doing only one thing', द्विकर: doing two things'; त्रिकर: 'doing three things'; जङ्घाकर. 'a runner, an express', बाहुकर: 'a hero', 'a manual labourer'; अहस्कर: 'the sun', तत्कर: 'doing that'; यत्कर: 'doing that'; धनुष्कर: 'bow-maker'; अरुष्कर: 'causing or inflicting wounds'.

Vart.—The affix अच् comes after the verb कृ when किम्, यद्, तद् and बहु are in composition with it. The speciality of ट affix is that the feminine of words derived from it is formed by long ई; while the feminine of words derived by अच् is formed by long आ. Thus किङ्करा, यत्करा, तत्करा, and बहुकरा; these words might be said to belong to the अजादि class (See IV. 1. 31).

कर्मणि भृतौ ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, भृतौ, (कर्मणि, करोतेः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मशब्द उपपदे कर्मवाचिनि करोतेष्टप्रत्ययो भवति भृतौ गम्यमानायाम् ॥

22. The affix ट comes after the verb कृ 'to make', when the word कर्म is in composition with it, and the sense of the word to be formed is that of wages.

The word भृति means service for hire, wages. The word कर्म does not mean the grammatical object but the word-form कर्म; as कर्मकर: 'a hired labourer' (not a slave); otherwise the affix is अण्; as कर्मकार: 'an artisan'.

न शब्दश्लोककलहगाथावैरचाटुसूत्रमन्त्रपदेषु ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, शब्द-श्लोक-कलह-गाथा-वैर-चाटु-सूत्र-मन्त्र-पदेषु, (करोतेः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शब्दादिषूपपदेषु करोतेष्टप्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

23. The affix ट does not come after the verb कृ 'to make', when the following words are in composition with it:—शब्द 'sound', श्लोक 'verse', कलह 'quarrel', गाथा 'praise', वैर 'enmity', चाटु 'flattery', सूत्र 'thread', मन्त्र 'hymns' and पद 'word'.

This prohibition relates even when the sense is that of cause, habit &c. The affix ट being prohibited, the general affix अण् takes its place. As शब्दकार: 'sounding, sonorous'; श्लोककार: 'a verse-maker'; कलहकार: 'one who foments quarrels'; गाथाकार: 'a writer of Gâthâs or prakrita verses'; वैरकार: 'an enemy'; चाटुकार: 'flatterer'; सूत्रकार: 'an author of sûtras'; मन्त्रकार: 'a composer of Mantras'; पदकार: 'an author of Padapâtha'.

स्तम्बशकृतोरिन् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्ब-शकृतोः, इन्, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्ब शकृत् इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोरिन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ व्रीहिवत्सयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

24. The affix इन comes after the verb कृ when the objects in composition with it, are the words स्तम्ब 'a sheaf', and शकृत 'ordure',

Thus स्तम्ब+कृ+इन्=स्तम्बकरि nom. sing. स्तम्बकरिः ; so also शकृत्करिः.

Vart.—This rule is applicable when the sense of the words to be formed, is that of 'rice' and 'a calf respectively. Therefore स्तम्बकरिः means 'rice', and शकृत्करिः, 'a calf'.

When the words have not the senses of 'rice' and 'a calf' the affix अण् is employed. As स्तम्बकारः 'sheaf-maker', शकृत्कारः 'ordure-maker'.

हरतेर्दृतिनाथयोः पशौ ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरतेः, दृति-नाथयोः, पशौ, (कर्मणि, इन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृति नाथ इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः हरतेर्धातोः पशौ कर्तरि इन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. When the agent indicated is an animal, the affix इन comes after the verb हृ 'to take', the object in composition with it being the words दृति 'a leather-bag' and नाथ 'a master'.

Thus दृतिहरिः 'a dog' (a carrier of skin); नाथहरिः 'a beast' (that carries its master).

When the words formed do not denote an animal, the affix अण् is employed; as दृतिहारः 'a water-carrier' (a carrier of a leather-bag for holding water). नाथहारः 'a carrier of his master'.

फलेग्रहिरात्मम्भरिश्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ फलेग्रहिः-आत्मम्भरिः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलेग्रहिः आत्मम्भरिः इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते ॥

26. And the words फलेग्रहि and आत्मम्भरि are irregularly formed.

The word फलेग्रहिः is formed by adding the affix इन् to the verb ग्रह and making the upapada end in the vowel ए. Thus फलानि गृह्णाति=फलेग्रहिः 'the fruit-bearing *i. e.* a tree'.

The word आत्मम्भरिः is formed by adding the augment मुम् (म्) to the upapada आत्म, and the affix इन् to the verb भृञ्. Thus आत्मानं बिभर्ति = आत्मम्भरिः 'selfish' (one who feeds his own self).

The word 'and' indicates that there are other such irregularly-formed words. As कुक्षिम्भरिः 'gluttonous, selfish' (caring to feed his own belly). उदरम्भरिः 'gluttonous, selfish'.

छन्दसि वनसनरक्षिमथाम् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, वन-सन-रक्षि-मथाम्, (कर्मणि, इन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वन षण संभक्तौ, रक्ष पालने, मथ विलोडने, एतेभ्यः कर्मण्युपपदे छन्दसि विषये इन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. In the Vedic literature, the affix इन् comes after the verbs वन् 'to honor' सन् 'to worship' रक्ष् 'to protect' and मथ् 'to agitate', when the object is in composition.

Thus ब्रह्मवनिं त्वा क्षत्रवनिम् (Vaj. San. I. 17., V. 12., VI. 3); उत नो गोषणिं (Rig. Ved. VI. 53. 10) यौ ते श्वानौ पथिरक्षी (Rig. Ved. X. 14. 11) इन्द्रो यातूनामभवत् पराशरो हविर्मथीनाम (Rig. Ved. VII. 104. 21).

एजेः खश् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ एजेः, खश्, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एजृ कम्पने इत्यस्माद् ण्यन्तात्कर्मण्युपपदे खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ खश्प्रत्यये वातशुनीतिलशर्द्धेष्वजधेट्तुदजहातीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

28. The affix खश् comes after the verb एजृ 'to tremble' when ending in णि (III. 26.) and when the object is in composition with it.

This affix comes after the causative of एजृ. Of the affix खश् the letters ख् and श् are indicatory, the real affix is अ. The ख् indicates that the augment मुम् is added to the upapada ending in a vowel (VI. 3. 67). The श indicates that this is a Sârvadhâtuka affix (III. 4 113), and therefore the vikaraṇas like शप् &c. (III. 1. 68.) will be employed here. Thus अङ्गमेजयति = अङ्गमेजयः (अङ्ग + एजि + शप् + खश् = अङ्गम् + एजे + अ + अ) 'who awes the limbs'; जनमेजयः 'who awes mankind'.

Vart:—The affix खश् comes after the verbs अज् 'to go', धेट् 'to suck', तुद् 'to strike', हा 'to leave' when in composition with the words वात 'wind', शुनी 'a bitch', तिल 'sesamum' and शर्द्ध 'flatulence'. As वातमजाः मृगाः 'swift antelopes' (going with the wind); शुनिन्धयः 'a bitch-sucker', तिलंतुदः 'an oilman'; शर्द्धञ्जहा माषाः 'a kind of bean' (that causes or cures flatulence). The long ई of शुनी is shortened by VI. 3, 66.

नासिकास्तनयोर्ध्माधेटोः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नासिका-स्तनयोः, ध्मा-धेटोः, (कर्मणि, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नासिकास्तनयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्ध्माधेटोर्धात्वोः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्तने धेटः ॥ नासिकायांतु ध्मश्च धेटश्च ॥

29. The affix खश् comes after the verbs ध्मा 'to blow' and धे 'to suck' when नासिका 'nose' and स्तन 'breast, are in composition with them as object.

The rule of *yathâsankhyâ* as given in I. 3. 10 does not however, apply here. For स्तन is compounded with धेट्; as (स्तन+धे+खश्=स्तन+मुम्+धे+शप्+खश्=स्तन+म्+धय्+अ+अ)=स्तनंधयः 'an infant' (sucking the breast).

But नासिका is compounded with both ध्मा and धे; as नासिका+ध्मा+खश्=नासिक+म्+धम+अ (VI. 3. 66 and 67; VII. 3. 78=नासिकंधमः 'blowing and breathing through the nose. So also नासिकंधयः 'drinking through the nose'.

That the rule of *yathâsankhyâ* does not apply here, is indicated by the irregular construction of the *Dvandva* compound नासिकास्तनयोः. By rule II. 2. 34 the word स्तन containing fewer syllables ought to have stood first; one irregularity lets in another.

The feminine of स्तनंधयः is स्तनंधयी, as the verb धे has an indicatory ट्।

नाडीमुष्ट्योश्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नाडी-मुष्ट्योः, च, (कर्मणोः, ध्मा-धेटोः, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाडी मुष्टि इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्ध्माधेटोः खश् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. And when the words नाडी 'a tube' and मुष्टि 'fist' are objects in composition with the verbs ध्मा and धे, the affix खश् is employed.

Here also the irregularly-formed *Dvandva* compound नाडीमुष्टि shows the non-applicability of the rule of *yathâsankhyâ*; for मुष्टि being a घि ought to have stood first (II. 2. 32).

Thus नाडिंधमः 'blowing through the tube'; मुष्टिंधमः 'blowing through the fist'; नाडिंधयः 'sucking through the tube', an infant; मुष्टिंधयः 'an infant'.

The word 'and' in the aphorism indicates that there are other words also so formed. Thus घटिंधमः, घटिंधयः, खारिंधमः, खारिंधयः, वातंधमः, वातंधयः, 'a mountain'.

This sûtra is not Pâṇini's, but is really a Vârtika, raised to the rank of a sûtra by the author of the Kâsikâ. The Vârtikakâra divides the last sûtra in this way: (1) स्तने धेटः ॥ (2) ततो मुष्टौ ध्मश्च ॥ (3) नासिकायां ध्मश्च धेटश्च ॥ (4) नाडी मुष्टि घटीखारीष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

उदि कूले रुजिवहोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, कूले, रुजि-वहोः, (खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुजो भङ्गे, वह प्रापणे, एताभ्यामुत्पूर्वाभ्यां कूले कर्मण्युपपदे खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix खश् comes after the verbs रुज 'to break into pieces' and वह 'to carry', when preceded by the upasarga उद, and the word कूल 'bank' is in composition with them as the object.

Thus कूलमुद्रुजति = कूलमुद्रुजः 'breaking down banks' (such as a chariot, river, elephant, &c.); कूलमुद्वहः 'tearing up or carrying away the bank'.

वहाभ्रे लिहः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वह-अभ्रे, लिहः ॥ (खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वह अभ्र इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः लिहेर्धातोः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

32. The affix खश् comes after the verb लिह 'to lick' when the object in composition with it, is the word वह 'the shoulder of an ox' or अभ्र 'a cloud'.

As वहंलिहो गौः 'the shoulder-licking cow'; अभ्रंलिहो वायुः 'the cloud-licking wind'.

परिमाणे पचः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमाणे, पचः, (कर्मणि, खश्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणं प्रस्थादि, तस्मिन्कर्मण्युपपदे पचेः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

33. The affix खश् comes after the verb पच् 'to cook' when the object in composition with it denotes a measure.

Thus प्रस्थं पचति = प्रस्थंपचाः 'a pot having the capacity to cook a *prastha* of food'; so also द्रोणम्पचः, खारिम्पचः 'a kettle'.

मितनखे च ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मित-नखे, च, (पचः, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मित नख इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः पचेः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix खश् is employed after the verb पच्, when मित 'a measured partition' or नख 'a nail' is the word in composition with it as an object.

The aphorism has its scope when the words formed do not denote measures, which was the case in the last sûtra, Thus मितम्पचा ब्राह्मणी 'the Brahmani who cooks a little *i. e.* a niggardly Brâhmaṇi'; नखम्पचा यवागूः the nail-scorching barley gruel'.

विध्वरुषोस्तुदः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विधु-अरुषो, तुदः, (कर्मणि, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विधु अरुष इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः तुदेर्धातोः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35 The affix खश् comes after the verb तुद् 'to strike', when विधु 'the moon' or अरुस् 'a wound' is the word in composition with it as object.

As विधुन्तुदः राहुः 'the Râhu that eclipses the moon; अरुन्तुदः 'corrosive, wounding the vital parts'. For the addition of the augment मुम् after the word अरुस्, see VI. 3. 67.

असूर्यललाटयोर्दृशितपोः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ असूर्य-ललाटयोः, दृशि-तपोः, (कर्मणि, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असूर्यललाट इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः दृशितपोर्धात्वोः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix खश् comes after the verb दृश् 'to see' and तप् 'to heat' when असूर्य and ललाट are the words in composition with it as object.

Thus असूर्य + दृश् + खश् = असूर्यम्पश्यः; as असूर्यम्पश्या राजदाराः 'the king's wives not even see the sun' (being shut up in the harem, and so having no opportunity of seeing the sun, that is, they are so well protected that even the sun cannot see them much less any irreverent gaze).

So also ललाटन्तपः 'heating the fore-head' (such as the sun).

The word असूर्य is an incomplete or impossible compound as the negative अ applies to the verb दृश and not to the word सूर्य. This is in opposition to the rule of *samaratha pada vidhi* (II 1. 2.)

उग्रम्पश्येरम्मदपाणिन्धमाश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उग्रम्पश्य-इरम्मद-पाणिन्धमाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उग्रम्पश्य इरम्मद पाणिन्धम इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते ॥

36. The words उग्रम्पश्य, इरम्मद and पाणिन्धम are irregularly formed.

Thus उग्रं पश्यति = उग्रम्पश्यः 'fierce-looking'; इरया माद्यति = इरम्मदः 'delighting in drinking an epithet of Agni, a flash of lightning'. So पाणिन्धमाः पन्थानः chilly roads'.

प्रियवशे वदः खच् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रिय-वशे, वदः, खच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रिय वश इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्वदेर्धातोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ खच्प्रकरणे गमेः सुप्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विहायसो विह च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ खच्च डिद्वा वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ डे च विहायसो विहादेशो वक्तव्यः ॥

38. The affix खच् comes after the verb वद् 'to speak' when प्रिय or वश is the word in composition with it as an object.

Thus प्रियं वदति=प्रियंवदः 'who speaks kindly'; वशंवदः 'who professes submission'.

Of the affix खच्, the letters ख् and च् are indicatory; ख् indicates the insertion of the augment मुम् (VI. 3. 37), and च् shows that there is shortening of the vowel in certain cases (VI 4. 94).

In the case of प्रिय and वश with वद्, the affix खश् would have given the same result as the affix खच्. Making a separate affix in this sûtra is for the sake of the aphorisms that follow, where this affix will produce different effects than खश्.

Vart:—The affix खच् comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when a word ending in a case-affix is in composition with it. As मितंगमो हस्ती 'the slow-moving *i. e.*, an elephant'; मितंगमा हस्तिनी 'the slow-moving *i. e.* a she elephant'.

Vart:—This affix comes under similar circumstances when the word in composition with गम् is विहायस्; and the latter is then replaced by the word विह. As विहायसा गच्छति=विहंगमः 'a bird (that which goes through the sky).

Vart:—In the *Vartikas* above given, the affix खच् may optionally be considered as if it had an indicatory ड. The force of ड is to cause elision of the final vowel with what follows it. As विहंगः or विहंगमः 'a bird'. So also भुजंगमः or भुजंगः 'a serpent' (what goes crookedly)'.

Vart:—विहायस् is replaced by विह when the affix ड (III. 2. 48) comes after the verb गम्; as विहगः 'a bird'. Thus we have three forms: विहग, विहङ्ग, विहङ्गम ।

द्विषत्परयोस्तापेः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषत्-परयोः, तापे, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विषत्परयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोस्तापेर्धातोः खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix खच् comes after the verb ताप् 'to heat' when द्विषत् or पर is the word in composition with it as an object.

The verb तप् belongs both to *Bhu* and *Chur* classes. Both are meant in the sûtra. In the case of *Bhvâdi*, the verb तापि is the causative ending in णि of तप्; while in *Churâdi*, all verbs take णिच्.

Thus द्विषन्तं तापयति=द्विषन्तपः (VI. 4. 94) 'one who destroys his enemies' so also परन्तपः 'one who subdues his enemies. a hero'.

This affix however, will not apply when the above upapadas are in the feminine gender. In this case the general affix अण् will be employed; as द्विषतीं तापयति = द्विषतीतापः।

वाचि यमो व्रते ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ वाचि, यमः, व्रते, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाक्शब्दे कर्मण्युपपदे यमेर्धातोः खच् प्रत्ययो भवति व्रते गम्यमाने ॥

40. The affix खच् comes after the verb यम 'to curb' when the word वाक् 'speech' is in composition with it as object, and the sense indicated is that of a vow.

The word व्रत means a vow taken according to the rules of Dharma-sâstra. Thus वाचंयम आस्ते 'he has taken the vow of rigid silence.'

Why do we say 'vow'? Otherwise the form is वाग्यामः 'restrraining speech' (VI. 3. 69).

पूःसर्वयोर्दारिसहोः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूः-सर्वयोः, दारि-सहोः, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुर् सर्व इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्यथासंख्यं दारिसहोर्धात्वोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भगे च दारेरिति ॥

41. The affix खच् comes after the verb दारि 'to split' and सह् 'to bear' when respectively in composition with the words पुर् 'a city' and सर्व 'all', as objects.

As पुरं दारयति = पुरन्दरः 'name of Indra (who splits asunder cities)' (VI. 3. 69 and VI. 4. 94); सर्वंसहो राजा 'the king who is all-forbearing'.

Vart:—So also when the word भग is in composition with the verb दारि; as भगन्दरः 'a fistula in the anus'.

सर्वकूलाभ्रकरीषेषु कषः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्व-कूल-अभ्र-करीषेषु, कषः, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्व कूल अभ्र करीष इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपपदेषु कषेर्धातोः खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

42. The affix खच् comes after the verb कष् 'to rub' when the words सर्व 'all', कूल 'bank', अभ्र 'cloud', and करीष 'a dry cow-dung', are in composition with it as object.

As सर्वंकषः खलः 'a villain, a rogue'; कूलंकषा नदी 'a river'; अभ्रंकषो गिरिः 'mountain'; करीषंकषा वात्या 'a strong wind'.

मेघर्त्तिभयेषु कृञः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मेघ-ऋति-भयेषु, कृञः, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मेघ ऋति भय इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपपदेषु कृञः खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उपपदविधौ भयादिग्रहणं तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयति ॥

43. The affix खच् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the words मेघ 'cloud' ऋति 'misfortune' and भय 'fear' are in composition as objects.

As मेघंकरः 'producing clouds'; ऋतिंकरः 'giving pain', भयंकरः 'frightful'

Vart.—The *tadanta vidhi* applies in the case of upapadas like भय. &c, This is an exception to the *vârtika* under 1. 1 72. by which, in the case of affixes *tadadta-vidhi* was prohibited. Thus we have अभयंकरः 'who causes security'.

क्षेमप्रियमद्रेऽण् च ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षेम-प्रिय-मद्रे, अण्, च, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेम प्रिय मद्र इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपपदेषु करोतेरण्प्रत्ययो चकारात् खच्च ॥

44. And the affix अण् as well as खच् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the words क्षेम 'happiness', प्रिय 'pleasant' and मद्र 'joy' are in composition as objects.

The word 'and' denotes that the affix खच् is also to be included.

Thus क्षेमकारः or क्षेमंकरः 'propitious'; प्रियकारः or प्रियंकरः 'showing kindness,; मद्रकारः or मद्रंकरः 'causing delight'.

The repetition of the affix अण्, when its *anuvritti* could have been read into this sûtra by using the word वा 'optionally', indicates that these words never take the affix ट of sûtra 20 though cause, habit, &c., may be denoted; so that the feminine of those words is formed by आ and not by ई; as अल्पारम्भाः क्षेमकराः 'small beginnings lead to or cause prosperity'.

आशिते भुवः करणभावयोः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिते, भुवः, करणभावयोः, (खच्, सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशितशब्दे सुबन्ते उपपदे भवतेर्धातोः करणे भावे चार्थे खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

45. The affix खच् comes after the verb भू 'to be' when in composition with the case-inflected word आशित 'satisfied by eating' and the sense is that of instrument or condition.

The word 'सुपि' of sûtra 4 is understood here.

Thus आशितंभवः meaning 'food', literally that by which one is satiated. आशितो भवती अनेन. Here the word denotes instrument. And आशितंभवः also means 'satiety', which denotes condition.

संज्ञायां भृतॄवृजिधारिसहितपिदमः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां, भृ-तॄ-वृ-जि-धारि-सहि-तपि-दमः, (कर्मणि, सुपि, खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृ तॄ वृ जि धारि सहि तपि दम इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः संज्ञायां विषये खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

46 The affix खच् comes after the following verbs when the words to be formed denote a name:—viz. भृ 'to bear', तॄ 'to cross over', वृ 'to choose', जि 'to conquer', धारि 'to hold', सहि 'to bear', तपि 'to heat' and दम 'to subdue'.

Both the words कर्मणि and सुपि of sûtra 1 and 4 are understood here and should be applied as the occasion requires Thus विश्वंभरा 'earth' (that which supports all); रथंतर 'the Rathantara Sâma'; पतिंवरा 'a girl' lit (who is about to choose a husband); शत्रुंजयः 'an elephant' lit. (who conquers the enemy); युगंधरः 'a mountain' or the pole of a carriage to which the yoke is fixed'; शत्रुंसहः 'Satrunsaha' (withstanding an enemy); शत्रुंतपः 'Satruntapa' (destroying an enemy); अरिंदमः 'Arindama' (victorious).

Why do we say 'when denoting a name'? Observe कुटुम्बभारः 'he who supports his family'.

गमश्च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गमः, च, (सुपि, संज्ञायां, खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गमेर्धातोः सुप्युपपदे संज्ञायां विषये खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. And the affix खच् comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, and when the word to be formed denotes a name.

As सुतंगमः 'Sutangama'. Though the verb गम् could well have been included in the last aphorism, the separation serves the purpose of carrying the *anuvritti* of गम् into the subsequent sûtras.

अन्तात्यन्ताध्वदूरपारसर्वानन्तेषु डः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्त-अत्यन्त-अध्वन्-दूर-पार-सर्व, अनन्तेषु, डः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त अत्यन्त अध्वन् दूर पार सर्व अनन्त इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपपदेषु गमेर्डप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ड प्रकरणे सर्वत्रपन्नयोरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उरसो लोपश्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुदुरोरधिकरणे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निरो देशे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ डप्रकरणेऽन्येष्वपि दृश्यते ॥

48. The affix ड comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when in composition with the following words as its objects :— अन्त 'end', अत्यन्त 'excessive', अध्वन् 'road', दूर 'far', पार 'across', सर्व 'all' and अनन्त 'endless'.

The anuvritti of the word संज्ञायाम् does not extend to this. As अन्तगः 'having gone to the end, thorougly conversant'; अत्यन्तगः 'going too fast'; अध्वगः 'a way-farer'; दूरगः 'going to a distant place'; पारगः 'completely familiar'; सर्वगः 'going everywhere, the Supreme Being'; अनन्तगः going to infinity, moving for ever'.

Of the affix ड the letter ड् is indicatory, the real affix being अ. The ड indicates that the टि portion of the word to which this is added, must be elided (VI. 4. 143); as अन्त+गम्+ड=अन्त+ ग्+अ (the टि portion अम् of गम् is elided). Now though the rule VI. 4. 143 says 'when that which has an indicatory ड, follows, there is elision of the टि of a भ'; yet in the present case, such elision takes place, although the word गम् here is not one of those called भ (I. 4. 18); because the presence of ड as an indicatory letter must not be unmeaning.

Vart:—The ड is also employed when the words in composition are सर्वत्र 'everywhere'; and पन्न 'creeping'; as सर्वत्रगः 'Supreme Spirit'; पन्नगः 'a snake'.

Vart:—So also when the word in composition is उरस् 'breast', and there is elision of its final. As उरस्+गम्+ड=उरगः 'moving on breast, a snake'.

Vart:—So also with the words सु 'well'-and दुर् bad'. when the resulting words denote location. As सुगः 'that in which one goes easily, easy of access'. दुर्गः 'difficult of access, a fort'.

Vart:—So also with the preposition निर्, the word to be formed meaning country; as निर्गः 'a country'.

Vart:— Others say, that this ड is added when other words besides the above stand as upapadas. Thus स्त्र्यगारगः (स्त्री+अगार+गम्+ड) 'who goes to the women's compartment'; ग्रामगः 'going to the village'; गुरुतल्पगः 'who pollutes the bed of his guru'.

आशिषि हनः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, हनः, (डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि गम्यमानायां हन्तेर्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे ड प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दारावाहनोऽणन्तस्य च टः संज्ञायाम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चारौ वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कर्मणि समि च ॥

49. **The affix ड comes after the verb हन् 'to kill', when the object is in composition with it, and when benediction is intended.**

The affix ड is understood in this sûtra. Thus तिमिं वध्यात्=तिमिहः 'may he kill the whale'; शत्रुहः 'may he kill the enemy'.

Why do we say 'when benediction is intended'? Otherwise we have शत्रुघातः 'who kills his enemy'.

Vart:—The affix अण् comes after the verb आहन् when the word दारु 'wood' is in composition with it, and the final letter of the word so formed is changed into ट, when the word so formed denotes a name. As दारु आहन्ति=दार्वाघाटः (दारु+आहन्+अण्) 'the wood-pecker'.

Vart:—So also optionally when the word चारु 'beautiful' is in composition under circumstances detailed in the last *vârtika*: as चार्वाघाटः or चार्वाघातः।

Vart:—So also, when the verb हन् is preceded by the preposition सम्, and is in composition with a word in the objective case, the affix अण् is employed; and the final is replaced by ट; as वर्णान् संहन्ति=वर्णसंघाटः or वर्णसंघातः 'the alphabet'; पदानि संहन्ति=पदसंघाटः or पदसंघातः 'connecting the words that are separated, an annotator'.

अपे क्लेशतमसोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपे, क्लेश-तमसोः; (कर्मणि, हनः, डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपपूर्वाद्धन्तेः क्लेशतमसोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्डप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50. **The affix ड comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when it is compounded with the preposition अप्, and when the object in composition with it, is the word क्लेश 'pain' or तमस् darkness.**

As, क्लेशापहः पुत्रः 'the pain-allayer, *i. e.*, the son'; तमोपहः सूर्यः 'the darkness-destroyer, *i. e.*, the sun'.

This aphorism has its scope when the sense is not that of benediction.

कुमारशीर्षयोर्णिनिः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमार-शीर्षयोः, णिनिः, (हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमार शीर्ष इत्येतयोरुपपदयोः हन्तेर्णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. **The affix णिनि comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when the word in composition with it is कुमार 'a child' or शीर्ष 'head.'**

Thus कुमार+हन्+णिनि=कुमार+घात+इन् (VII. 3. 54 and VII. 3. 32)= कुमारघातिन् nom. sing. कुमारघाती 'child-killer'. So also शीर्षघातिन् nom. sing शीर्षघाती 'head-killer'.

The word शीर्ष is an irregular form of the word शिरस् ।

लक्षणे जायापत्योष्टक् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षणे, जाया-पत्योः, टक्, (हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्जायापत्योः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्लक्षणवति कर्तरि टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

52. The affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when it is in composition with the word जाया 'wife' or पति 'husband' as object, and when the word so formed denotes the agent possessed of that attribute (or when the word so formed denotes a mark).

The word लक्षण of this sûtra gives rise to the doubt whether it means लक्षणे कर्तरि or लक्षणवति कर्तरि. In the former case the meaning will be 'when the agent is itself the mark'; as जायाघ्नः 'a mole' (a mark on the body indicative of the death of one's wife). In the latter case the meaning will be 'when the agent is possessed of the attribute denoted by the word'; as जायाघ्नः 'the murderer of his wife'; पतिघ्नी 'the murderer of her husband'.

Of the affix टक् the letters ट् and क् are indicatory. The ट् shows that the feminine is formed by ङी, and क् causing elision of the penultimate अ of हन्. Thus जाया+हन्+टक्=जाया+घ्न्+अ (VI. 4. 98) =जायाघ्नः (VII. 3. 54).

अमनुष्यकर्तृके च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-मनुष्य-कर्तृके, च (टक्, हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमनुष्यकर्तृके वर्तमानाद्धन्तेर्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

53. And the affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when the object is in composition with it, and when the word to be formed denotes an agent other than a human being.

As जायाघ्नस्तिलकालकः 'the mole' (literally that which indicates the death of one's wife); पतिघ्नी पाणिरेखा 'the line of the palm of the hand' (that which indicates the death of one's husband). These two forms were deducible also from the last aphorism. श्लेष्मघ्नं मधु 'honey' (literally that which has the property of destroying the phlegm). पित्तघ्नं घृतं 'clarified btuter' (lit. that which destroys the bile).

Why do we say 'when tne agent is not a human being'? Observe आखुघातः शूद्रः 'a Sûdra' (literally one who kills mice). Here the affix is अण्.

Why is the affix टक् not employed in the following? चौरघातो हस्ती 'an elephant' (*i. e.* who kills a thief) Here the word is formed by the affix अण् on the analogy of sûtra III. 3. 113 which allows a diversity in case of *kritya* affixes, which diversity is extended in this case to a *krit* affix.

शक्तौ हस्तिकपा(वा)टयोः ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्तौ, हस्ति-कपा(वा)टयोः, (हनः, टक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तौ गम्यमानायां हस्तिकपा (वा) टयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्हन्तेष्टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

54. The affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when the word in composition with it as its object is हस्ती 'elephant' or कपाट 'gate' and when the sense indicated is that of power.

The sûtra applies where the agent is a human being. As हस्तिनं हन्तुं शक्तः = हस्तिघ्नः मनुष्यः 'a man who is strong enough to kill an elephant'; so also कपाटघ्नः 'a burglar' (who is capable of breaking open the doors).

Why do we say 'where power is indicated'? Observe विषेण हस्तिनं हन्ति = हस्तिघातः 'who kills the elephant by poison'. Here the affix is अण्.

पाणिघताडघौ शिल्पिनि ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाणिघ-ताडघौ, शिल्पिनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाणिघ ताडघ इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते शिल्पिनि कर्तरि ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ राजघ उपसंख्यानम् ॥

55. The word पाणिघ and ताडघ are irregularly formed when denoting an artificer.

These forms are thus evolved. The affix क is employed after the verb हन् in composition with पाणि 'hand' and ताड 'a blow' as object; then the टि portion of हन् *i. e.* अन् is elided, and ह is changed into घ irregularly. Thus पाणि + हन् + क = पाणि + ह् + अ = पाणिघः 'a drummer' (workman or handicraftsman); ताडघः 'a smith'.

Why 'when denoting an artificer'? Observe पाणिघातः 'boxing'; ताडघातः 'hammering'.

Vart:—The word राजघः should be enumerated in this connection; राज-घः 'a regicide'.

आढ्यसुभगस्थूलपलितनग्नान्धप्रियेषु च्व्यर्थेष्वच्वौ कृञः करणे ख्युन् ॥ ५६ पदानि ॥ आढ्य-सुभग-स्थूल-पलित-नग्न-अन्ध-प्रियेषु, च्वि-अर्थेषु, अच्वौ, कृञः, करणे, ख्युन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आढ्यादिषु कर्मसूपपदेषु, च्व्यर्थेष्वच्व्यन्तेषु करोतेर्धातोः करणे कारके ख्युन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

56. The affix ख्युन्, when the sense of the word to be formed is that of an instrumental agent, comes after the verb कृ 'to make', when the following words are in composition with it as objects :— आढ्य 'rich', सुभग 'fortunate', स्थूल 'big' पलित 'grey', नग्न 'naked', अन्ध 'blind' and प्रिय 'pleasent', provided that these words have the sense of the words formed by the affix च्वि, though not actually ending in the affix च्वि.

The affix च्वि (V. 4. 50.) is added to a noun when it is in composition with the verb भू 'to become', कृ 'to make' and अस् 'to be'; its force being that a thing attains to a condition in which it previously was not. The च्वि being an optional affix, its sense is two-fold ; namely, words ending in च्वि and words not ending in च्वि. Both may have the force of च्वि. In the present sûtra, however, the words that actually end in च्वि have been excluded, while words which do not take the affix च्वि, but have the force of च्वि are included in the present sûtra.

Thus आढ्यं + कृ + ख्युन् = आढ्यं + कर् + अन् = आढ्यंकरणं 'that by the instrumentality of which the poor becomes rich. viz., wealth, prosperity, means of enriching'; सुभगंकरणम् 'making happy'; स्थूलंकरणम् 'by which one becomes big'; पलितकरणम् 'rendering grey'; नग्नंकरणं 'making naked'; अन्धंकरणम् 'making blind'; प्रियंकरणम् 'showing kindness.

Why do we say 'when the force is that of the affix च्वि'? Otherwise आढ्य तैलेन कुर्वन्ति *i. e.*, अभ्यञ्जयन्ति 'they anoint with oil. Here though something is joined with what it previously was not joined, namely, with oil, yet as the radical word is not prominent here, the sense is not that of च्वि and hence this counter-example.

Why do we say 'when not ending in the affix च्वि'? Observe आढ्यी कुर्वन्ति अनेन 'they make rich by this'. Here the affix ख्युन् is not employed,

It might be objected : 'well if ख्युन् is not used then the affix ल्युट् must be used (III. 3. 117) as there is no difference between ख्युन् and ल्युट्; both having the efficient portion यु; what is then the use of prohibiting च्वि ? We reply, 'because there is this prohibition, when the affix ख्युन् is not employed the affix ल्युट् will also be not employed.' Thus by implication the affix ल्युट् is also prohibited. The prohibition of च्वि in this sûtra is for the sake of the aphorisms that follow'.

Pâtanjail observes this prohibition as superfluous, because there is no distinction between क्वुन् and क्वुन्. For the word formed by any one of these affixes have the same form and the same accent. Nor there is any distinction in the feminines of their derivatives. For the word formed by ष्ट्रन्, ष्वन्, ईकन्, ष्कन् and क्वुन् take ई in the feminine as the words तवन and तवन. Nor there is any distinction in their *samâsas*. For in both the cases it will be *nitya samâsas* Nor is the prohibition made for the sake of the augment मुम्. For it being an indeclinable, मुम् cannot come after it. The prohibition therefore is of no use to this sûtra but it is inserted here for the sake of the following sûtras.

कर्त्तरि भुवः खिष्णुच्खुकञौ ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, भुवः, खिष्णुच्-खुकञौ, (आढ्यादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आढ्यादिषु सुबन्तेषूपपदेषु च्व्यर्थेष्वच्व्यन्तेषु भवतेर्धातोः कर्त्तरि कारके खिष्णुच् खुकञ् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

57. The affixes खिष्णुच् and खुकञ्, when the word to be formed denotes an agent, come after the verb भू 'to become', when it is in composition with words आढ्य &c., provided that these have the sense of the words formed by the affix च्वि though not ending in च्वि.

Thus आढ्यम्भविष्णुः 'becoming rich (who was not rich before)'; आढ्यम्भावुकः 'becoming rich'; सुभगंभविष्णुः or -भावुकः 'becoming happy'; स्थूलंभविष्णुः or -भावुकः becoming big'; पलितंभविष्णुः or -भावुकः 'becoming grey'? नग्नम्भविष्णुः or -भावुकः 'becoming naked'; अन्धंभविष्णुः or -भावुकः 'becoming blind'; प्रियम्भविष्णुः or -भावुकः 'becoming an object of affection, amiable'.

Why do we say 'when denoting the agent'? Not so when it denotes the instrument. The affixes will apply when the sense of the upapada is that of च्वि, otherwise not; as आढ्यो भविता 'he will be rich'.

These affixes will not apply when the upapada ends in च्वि; आढ्यो भविता

स्पृशोऽनुदके क्विन् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्पृशः, अनुदके, क्विन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पृशेर्धातोरनुदके सुबन्तउपपदे क्विन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

58. The affix क्विन् comes after the verb स्पृश् 'to touch', when it is in composition with a case-inflected word other than उदक 'water.

By sûtra 4 of this chapter, the *anuvritti* of the word सुपि is to be read into this sûtra. It might be objected 'why do we not read the *anuvritti* of the word कर्म instead of सुपि, because the verb स्पृश is a transitive verb, and after

such verbs, the anuvritti of कर्म ought to come by sûtra 4'? To this we say there is no harm in reading the anuvritti of सुपि in this case; because the word कर्तरि of the last sûtra is also, in a way understood here, and indicates the collection of all sorts of agents whether objects, instruments, &c., and this can only be when the first member of the compound is a word in general.

Thus घृतं स्पृशति = घृतस्पृश्, nom. sing. घृतस्पृक् 'he who touches clarified butter.' स्पृश् + क्विन् + सु = स्पृश् + व् + o (VI. I. 68) = स्पृक् + o (VI. I. 57, and VIII. 2. 62). So also मन्त्रेण स्पृशति = मन्त्रस्पृक् 'who touches with hymns'; जलेन स्पृशति = जलस्पृक् 'who touches with water'. But उदकेन स्पृशति = उदकस्पर्शः; here we have the general affix अण्.

The न् of क्विन् is to distinguish this affixes from affixes like क्विप् &c. For, had it been merely क्वि, then in sûtra VIII. 2. 62. we should have used क्वि प्रत्ययस्य कुः, and it would have been ambiguous, for क्वि might be explained as meaning both क्वि and क्विप् as क्य means क्यष्, क्यप् &c. To remove this ambiguity, न् is added to make a distinctive affix. The न् cannot be for the sake of accent. (VI. I. 117), the verb being monosyllable would of itself have taken that accent.

ऋत्विग्दधृक्स्रग्दिगुष्णिगञ्चुयुजिक्रुञ्चां च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥
ऋत्विक्-दधृक्-स्रक्-दिक्-उष्णिक्-अञ्चु-युजि-क्रुञ्चाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋत्विगादयः पञ्चशब्दाः क्विन्प्रत्ययान्ता निपात्यन्ते अपरे त्रयो धातवो निर्दिश्यन्ते ॥

59. The words ऋत्विक् 'a domestic priest', दधृक् 'impudent', स्रक् 'a garland', दिक् 'direction' and उष्णिक् 'a quatrain' are irregularly formed by adding the affix क्विन्; and so also after the verbs अञ्चु 'to worship', युजि 'to join' and क्रुञ्चु 'to approach', the offix क्विन् is employed.

The first five words are irregular forms. Thus ऋतु + यज् + क्विन् = ऋत्विक् 'he who performs sacrifice in the reason (ऋतौ) or to the season (ऋतुम्). This word, however, is a रूढि word in which it is fruitless to search for its etymological meaning. धृष् + क्विन् = दधृक्. Here there is reduplication and the final has acute accent. सृज् + क्विन् = स्रक्. Here there is augment अम्. दृश् + क्विन् = दिक्. So also उत् + स्निह + क्विन् = उष्णिक्. All these are in fact crude nouns, their current meaning having little traces of their root meaning.

The affix क्विन् comes after the three roots युज्, अञ्चु, and क्रुञ्च. Being read along with the five above mentioned irregularly-formed words, there is some irregularity in the application of क्विन् to these verbs. Thus the affix क्विन् comes after अञ्चु only when a word ending with any case-affix precedes it in composition. As प्र + अञ्चु + क्विन् = प्राञ् nom. sing. प्राङ् (VI. 4. 24; VII. 1. 70, VIII. 2. 23 and 62) 'east'; so also प्रत्यङ् 'west; उदङ् 'north'.

The affix क्विन् comes after युजिर् and क्रुञ्च् when these are uncombined. Thus युज्+क्विन्=युज्. In nominative singular, युज्+सु=युञ्+स् (VII. I. 71)=युञ्+० (VI. I. 68)=युङ् (VIII. 2. 62) 'who joins'. When the root युज् is in compoposition with an *upapada*, it takes the affix क्विप् (see sûtra 61). As अश्वयुक् 'yoked with horses'.

So also क्रुञ्च्+क्विन्=क्रुञ्च्, nom. sing. क्रुङ्, 'a curlew'. The non-elision of the न (VI. 4. 24) of क्रुञ्च् is an irregularity, as this word has been taught in connection with other irregular words.

त्यदादिषु दृशोऽनालोचने कञ्च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यद्-आदिषु, दृशः, अनालोचने, कञ्, च, (क्विन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदादीषूपपदेषु दृशेर्धातोरनालोचनेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानात् कञ्प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात् क्विन्च ॥

60. **And the affix कञ् come after the verb दृश् 'to see' when it is in combination with त्यद् &c, and does not signify perception.**

The force of 'and' is that the क्विन् also comes under similar circumstances. त्यद् &c. are pronouns, for a list of which see I. I. 27. Thus त्यादृश् nom. sing. यादृक्, 'such-like' when it is formed by क्विन्; and त्यादृशः 'such like' when the affix is कञ्. So also तद्+दृश्+क्विन्=तादृश् (VI. 3. 91) nom. sing. तादृक् (VI. I. 68. VIII. 2. 36 and 62, VIII. 4. 56); and तादृशः when कञ् is the affix. So यादृक् or यादृशः 'what-like'.

What is the force of the letter ञ् of कञ्? It is for the sake of accent; the *udâtta* is on the first syllable of those words which are formed by an affix having an indicatory ञ् or न् (VI. I. 117), But the indicatory न् would have given the same accent, there being no difference between कञ् and कन् in this respect. The indicatory ञ् then serves only the purpose of distinguishing the affix कञ् from कन् in sûtra IV. I. 15 in which कञ् is taken and not कन्. Had we not formed this separate affix, then for कञ्क्रप् of that sûtra, we should have read कन् क्रप् so that the feminine of words formed by कन् would have also taken long ई, so that the feminine of यावकः (याव+कन् V. 4. 29) would have been यावकी instead of यावका.

Why do we say 'when not signifying perception'? See तं पश्यति=तद्दर्शः 'who sees that'. The words त्यादृक्, तादृश् &c. are crude nouns. in which the etymological sense of the root not being visible, the act of seeing can never be denoted by these words.

Vart:—This rule applies also when the words समान and अन्य are in composition with दृश्. 'As सदृक् or सदृशः 'like' (समान+दृश्+क्विन्=स+दृश् VI. 3. 89); so also अन्यादृशः or अन्यादृक् 'of another kind'.

Vart :—The affix क्स comes also after the root दृश्. As तादृक्षः, यादृक्षः, अन्यादृक्षः and कीदृक्षः। तद्+दृश्+क्स=ता+दृश्+क्स (VI. 3. 91)=तादृश्+स (VIII. 2. 36) =तादृक्+स (VIII. 2. 41) =तादृक्+ष (VIII. 3. 59) =तादृक्षः।

सत्सूद्विषद्रुहदुहयुजविदभिदच्छिदजिनीराजामुपसर्गेऽपि क्विप् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्-सू-द्विष-द्रुह-दुह-युज-विद-भिद-छिद-जि-नी-राजाम् ; उपसर्गे, अपि, क्विप्, (सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सदादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः सुबन्ते उपपदे उपसर्गेऽप्यनुपसर्गेऽपि क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The affix क्विप् comes after the following verbs when in composition with a word ending in a case affix, though it may be an upasarga, viz :—सद् 'to sit', सू 'to bring forth', द्विष् 'to hate', द्रुह् 'to bear malice', दुह् 'to milk', युज् 'to join', 'to concentrate the mind', विद् 'to know', 'to become', 'to consider', भिद् 'to divide', छिद् 'to cut', जि 'to conquer', नी 'to lead' and राज् 'to shine'.

The phrase 'the word ending with a case-affix' is understood in this sûtra. The *anuvritti* of कर्म is not to be taken in this sûtra for the same reasons as in sûtra 58 *ante.* The upasargas are also words ending in a case-affix *i. e.* they are also *subanta* words. Their special mention in this section, indicates by implication (*jnâpaka*) that wherever in the previous sûtras, the word *subanta* (a case-inflected word) is used, it does not inculude an upasarga (III 1. 106).

The root सू being read in conjunction with द्विष् shows that अदादि class verb is meant here, and not तुदादि class. The verb युज् includes, both युजिर् 'to join' and युज् 'to concentrate one's mind'. The verb विद् includes the three verbs having the sense of 'to know', 'to become' and 'to consider', but does not include the verb विद् 'to gain', becaase that root has an indicatory लृ (विद्लृ) while all these verbs have indicatory अ.

Thus, सद्—शुचिषद् 'dwelling in purity'; अन्तरिक्षसद् 'dwelling in the skies', 'epithets of Brahma' (Kath. 5. 2); उपसद् 'serving'. सू—अण्डसूः 'oviparous'; . शतसूः 'bringing forth hundred'; प्रसूः 'parent'. द्विष्—मित्रद्विट् 'treacherous'; प्रद्विट् 'hostile'. द्रुह—मित्रध्रुक 'treacherous'; प्रध्रुक् 'hostile' (VIII. 2. 37). दुह्—गोधुक् 'cow-milker'; प्रधुक् 'milker' (VIII. 2. 32. and 37. युज्—अश्वयुक् 'carriage'; प्रयुक् 'impulse'. विद्—वेदवित् 'knower; of Veda'; प्रवित् 'knower'; ब्रह्मवित् 'knower of Brahma'. भिद्—काष्ठभित् 'wood-cutter' प्रभित् 'cutter'. छिद्—रज्जुच्छिद् 'rope-cutter'; प्रच्छिद् 'a cutter'. जि—शत्रुजित् 'enemy-conqueror'; प्रजित् 'conqueror'. नी—सेनानीः 'leader of army'; प्रणीः 'a leader'; ग्रामणीः 'head-borough'; अग्रणीः 'first'. (Why is there cerebral ण in these words? Because the word ग्रामणी has a cerebral ण in

sûtra V. 2. 78 and that indicates that these words will have ष, as also by sûtra VIII. 4. 3). राज्—विराट् 'splendour'; सम्राट् 'emperor' (the letter म is added by sûtra VIII. 3. 25).

This sûtra is a continuation and expansion of sûtras 75 and 76 *sup.*

भजो ण्विः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भजः, ण्विः (उपसर्गे, अपि, सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भजेर्धातोः सुबन्त उपपदे उपसर्गेऽप्यनुपसर्गेऽपि ण्विप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

62. The affix ण्वि come after the verb भज् 'to share' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix whether it be an upasarga or not.

The words 'upasarga' and 'supi' are understood in this sûtra. As अर्द्धं भजते = अर्द्धभाज् nom. sing. अर्द्धभाक् 'sharing a half. So also when in composition with a preposition; as प्रभाक् 'division'.

छन्दसि सहः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, सहः, (उपसर्गे, सुपि, ण्विः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये सहेर्धातोः सुबन्त उपपदे ण्विप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

63. In the Chhandas, the affix ण्वि comes after the verb सह् 'to bear' when it is in composition with a word ending in a case-affix.

The words '*upasarga*' and '*supi*' are understood here. As तुर + सह् + ण्वि = तुराषाह् nom sing. तुराषाट् 'name of Indra'. The dental स is changed into cerebral ष by VIII. 3. 56, and the ह् into ट by VIII. 2. 31. The final अ of तुर is lengthened by VI. 3. 137. See Rig Veda. I 175. 2, III 48. 5.

वहश्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वहः, च, (छन्दसि, ण्विः, सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वहेर्धातोश्छन्दसि विषये सुबन्त उपपदे ण्विप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

64. The affix ण्वि after the verb वह् 'to carry', in the Chhandas, when a word ending with a case-affix is in composition with it.

As प्रष्ठवाह् 1st sing. प्रष्ठवाट् 'carrying a *prashtha* measure'; so दित्यवाट्।

The division of this sûtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sûtras, into which the anuvritti of वह् only is carried and not of सह्. See Yajur, Veda. XIV. 10, XVIII. 26.

कव्यपुरीषपुरीष्येषु ञ्युट् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कव्य-पुरीष-पुरीष्येषु, ञ्युट्, (छन्दसि, सुपि, वहः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कव्य पुरीष पुरीष्य इत्येतेषु उपपदेषु छन्दसि विषये वहेर्धातोर्ञ्युट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

65. In the Chhandas the affix ञ्युट् come after

the verb वह when it is in composition with the words कव्य 'oblation of food to deceased ancesters', पुरीष 'fæces' and पुरीष्य 'water'

As कव्यवाहनः पितॄणाम् (Yajur. Ved. II. 29) 'fire that carries the oblation to the *pitris*'; पुरीषवाहनः 'carrier of water'; पुरीष्यवाहनः (Yaj. Ved. XI. 44.) The feminine of these words is formed by adding long ई ।

हव्येऽनन्तःपादम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हव्ये, अनन्तः-पादम्, (छन्दसि, वहः, ञ्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हव्यशब्दे उपपदे छन्दसि विषये वहेर्धातोर्ञ्युट् प्रत्ययो भवति, अनन्तःपादं चेद्वहिर्वर्तते ॥

66. The affix ञ्युट् comes in the Chhandas, after the verb वह् 'to carry' when it is in composition with the word हव्य 'an oblation to gods', provided that the word so formed does not occur in the middle of a pâda (fourth part of a stanza).

As अग्निश्च हव्यवाहनः 'fire, the carrier of oblation to the gods'. (Rig. Ved. I. 44. 2.)

When this word occurs in the middle of a pâda, or at the beginning, the form is हव्यवाट्, which is derived by adding the affix ण्वि (sûtra 64). As हव्यवाडग्निरजरः पिता नः 'the never-decaying *agni* or fire that carries oblation to the gods, is our father'. (Rig. Veda III. 2. 2.)

जनसनखनक्रमगमो विट् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जन-सन-खन-क्रम-गमः, विट्, (छन्दसि, उपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः सुबन्त उपपदे छन्दसि विषये विट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix विट् (the whole of which is elided) comes in the Chhandas after the verbs जन् 'to be born', सन् 'to bestow', खन् 'to dig', क्रम् 'to pace' and गम् 'to go' when a word ending in a case-affix is in composition, and the final nasals are changed into long आ.

The words छन्दसि, उपसर्गे and सुप् are understood in this sûtra. The verb जन् includes two verbs meaning 'to be born' and 'to happen'; so also सन् means both 'to give' and 'to worship'.

Of the affix विट् the letter ट् is indicatory, and is qualifying, as in VI. 4. 41, by which rule the final nasal of जन्, सन् &c. is replaced by long आ when the affix विट् follows, and the whole affix is elided by VI. 1. 67.

As अप्+जन्+विट्=अब्जाः (Rig. Ved. VII. 34. 16) 'born in water' (VI. 4. 41); गोजाः 'born in the heaven *i. e.*, God' (Rig. Veda IV. 40. 5). So also from सन्—गोषाः 'acquiring or bestowing cows' (VIII 3. 108); गोषा इन्द्रो नृषा असि 'O Indra bestower of cows! thou art lover of mankind' (Rig. Veda IX 2. 10). From खन्—बिसखाः 'digger of lotus stalk'; कूपखाः 'digger of well'. From क्रम् दधिक्राः 'who gets milk' (Rig. IV. 39. 1 and 40. 5). From गम्—अग्रेगा उन्नेतॄणाम् 'the leader.'

अदोऽनन्ने ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदः, अनन्ने, (सुपि, विट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदेर्धातोरनन्न सुप्युपपदे विट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix विट् comes after the verb अद् 'to eat,' when in composition with a case-inflected word other than अन्न 'food'.

The *anuvritti* of the word 'Chhandasi' does not extend to this sûtra.

Thus आममत्ति=आमात् 'eating raw food'; सस्यात् 'granivorous'.

But with अन्न as an upapada, we have अन्नादः 'eating food', which is formed by the general affix अण् (III 2. 1)

क्रव्ये च ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रव्ये, च, (अदः, विट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रव्यशब्द उपपदे अदेर्धातोर्विट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix विट् comes after the verb अद् 'to eat' when the word क्रव्य is in composition with it.

As क्रव्यमत्ति=क्रव्यात् 'carnivorous'.

Why has it been made a separate sûtra, when this form could have been obtained by the last sûtra also? To this the vârtika replies: 'This has been made a separate sûtra in order to indicate that the rule of वासरूप (III. 1. 94) does not apply here. Therefore the affix अण् will not apply in the alternative. If the affix अण् does not apply, how then we get the form क्रव्यादः which is evidently formed by the affix अण्? The affix अण् comes after the root when the word formed means the eater of meat which has been cut, dressed and cooked'; thus क्रव्यादः means a man who eats meat cooked and prepared, *i. e.*, a meat-eater as opposed to a vegetarian, while क्रव्यात् means an animal which eats raw flesh; the word क्रव्यादः in fact may be regarded as an irregular form falling under पृषोदरादि class of sûtra VI. 3. 109.

दुहः कब्घश्च ॥ ७० ॥ दुहः, कप्-घः, च; (सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुहेर्धातोः सुप्युपपदे कप्प्रत्ययो भवति घकारश्चान्तादेशः ॥

70. The affix कप् comes after the verb दुह् 'to milk' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix and the letter घ replaces its final.

As कामदुघा धेनुः 'a milch cow, giving abundance of milk'; so also अर्थदुघा, धर्मदुघा ।

मंत्रे श्वेतवहोक्थशस्पुरोडाशो ण्विन् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मंत्रे, श्वेतवह-उक्थशस्-पुरोडाशः, ण्विन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वेतवह उक्थशस् पुरोडाश् इत्येतेभ्यो ण्विन् प्रत्ययो भवति मन्त्रे विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ श्वेतवहादीनां डस्पदस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

71. In the Mantra literature, the affix ण्विन् comes after the words श्वेतवह, उक्थशस् पुरोडाश्.

The above words contain both the verb and the upapada ; the fact of their being so given indicated that there is some irregularity in the application of the affix.

Thus the affix ण्विन् comes after the verb वह् preceded by the upapada श्वेत as denoting an agent, while the force of the whole word so formed denotes an object. As श्वेता एनं वहन्ति=श्वेतवाह् nom. sing. श्वेतवाः 'a name of Indra' (whom white horses carry).

The affix ण्विन् is applied to the verb शंस् 'to praise' when preceded by the word उक्थ as object or instrument ; and then the nasal is irregularly dropped. As उक्थानि उक्थैर्वा शंसति=उक्थशास्, nom. sing. उक्थशाः (Rig. Ved. II, 39. 1,) 'a reciter of hymns, the name of the sacrificer'.

The ण्विन् is applied after the verb दाश् 'to give', preceded by पुरो, and द is changed into ड, the force of the whole word denoting an object. As पुरो दाशन्ति एनं=पुरोडाश्, nom, sing. पुरोडाः (Rig. Ved. III. 28 2.) 'an offering'.

Vart:—The augment डस् is added to the words श्वेतवाह् &c., when the *pada* affixes follow. Thus before *pada* terminations श्वेतवाह् becomes श्वेतवस् । Therefore its instrumental dual is श्वेतवोभ्याम्, pl. श्वेतवोभिः ।

The augment डस् is not applied before सर्वनामस्थान and भ terminations. As श्वेतवाहौ, श्वेतवाहः ।

अवे यजः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, यजः, (ण्विन्, मन्त्रे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवे उपपदे यजेर्धातोर्ण्विन्प्रत्ययो भवति मंत्रे विषये ॥

72. In the Mantra literature, the affix ण्विन् comes after the verb यज् 'to sacrifice' when in composition with the word अव्.

As अवयाज्, nom. sing. अवयाः (Rig. Ved. I. 173. 12) 'name of a Vedic priest'; as त्वं यज्ञे वरुणस्यावया असि 'Thou art the priest of varuṇa in the sacrifice'.

The division of this aphorism from the last in which it could have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent sûtras in which the *anuvritti*

of वज only runs. This word is thus declined:—

	sing.	dual.	plural.
1st.	अवयाः,	अवयाजौ,	अवयाजः
2nd.	अवयाजं,	अवयाजौ,	अवयाजः
3rd.	अवयाजा,	अवयोभ्यां.	अवयोभिः

विजुपे छन्दसि ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विच्, उपे, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपउपपदे यजेश्छन्दसि विषये विच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix विच् comes after the verb यज when उप precedes, in the Chhandas.

As उपयड्भिरूर्ध्वं वहन्ति 'they carry it up with the उपयज् formulas'. उपयज् is the name of eleven formulas at a sacrifice.

The word 'Chhandas' has been repeated here though the anuvritti of the word 'mantra' was present in it, in order to include the Brâhmaṇa literature also.

The च् is indicatory and is useful in including the affix विच् in the larger group called वि (which includes क्विन्, क्विप्, ण्वि, विट्), as in the sûtra वेरपृक्तस्य (VI. I. 67).

Why has this sûtra been made, since the affix विच् would have been valid even by aphorism 75? The sûtra has been separately made to show that it is a restrictive rule here. The form उपयज् is found in the Chhandas only, and not in the ordinary literature.

आतो मनिन्क्वनिब्वनिपश्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, मनिन्, क्वनिप्-वनिपः, च, (छन्दसि, सुपि, विच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यः सुप्युपपदे छन्दसि विषये मनिन् क्वनिप् वनिप् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति चकाराद्विच् ॥

74. The affixes मनिन्(मन्), क्वनिप् (वन्), वनिप् (वन्) and विच् come in the Chhandas, after verbs which end in long आ, when a case-inflected word or an upasarga is in composition.

The force of 'and' is to include विच्. Thus सुदा+मनिन्=सुदामन्, Ist. sing. सुदामा (Rig. VI. 20. 7.) 'one who gives liberally'; अश्व+स्था+मनिन्=अश्वत्थामन्, 1st. sing. अश्वत्थामा 'the name of Asvatthâman'; सुधा+क्वनिप्=सुधी+वन् (VI, 4. 66)=सुधीवन्, 1st. sing. सुधीवा 'having good understanding'; सुपा+क्वनिप्=सुपीवन्, 1st sing सुपीवा 'a good drinker'. भूरि+दा+वनिप्=भूरिदावन्, Ist. sing. भूरिदावा (Rig. II. 27. 17) 'liberal'; घृतपावन् 1st sing. घृतपावा (Yaj. VI, 19) 'ghee-drinker'.

The affix विच् is also included in this aphorism. As कीलाल+पा+विच्=कीलालपाः (Rig. X. 91. 14) 'nectar-drinker', शुभंयाः (Rig. IV. 3. 6. and Pâṇini VII,

3. 46) ' beautifully going' ; रामस्योपदा: ' an offering of Râma. ' (see sûtra III. 3. 106 and Yajur. Ved. XXX. 9).

अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यंते ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यंते, (मनिन्, क्वनिप्, वनिप्, विच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योऽपि धातुभ्योऽनाकारान्तेभ्यो मनिन् क्वनिप् वनिप् इत्येते प्रत्यया दृश्यन्ते, विच्च ॥

75. These affixes viz. मनिन्, क्वनिप्, वनिप्, and विच् are seen after other verbs also besides those ending in long आ.

The word छन्दसि is not understood here. As सु + शॄ ' to injure' + मनिन् = सुशर्मन्, 1st. sing सुशर्मा ' who destroys well *i. e.* destroys sin or ignorance'. प्रातर् + इ 'to go' + क्वनिप् = प्रातर + इत् + वन् (VI. 1. 71) = प्रातरित्वन्, 1st. sing. प्रातरित्वा ' who goes early'. वि + जन् + वनिप् = वि + जा + वन् (VI. 4. 41) = विजावन्, 1st sing. विजावा ' who brings forth'. अग्रेगावा ' who goes before'. रिष् + विच् = रेष् (VII. 3. 86) 1st. sing. रेड् ' who injures'; as in रेडसि पंथं नयेः (Yajur Ved. VI. 18).

The word ' also' in this aphorism has the force of removing all conditions under which these affixes were employed in the previous aphorisms that is to say, these affixes come even when there is no upapada. As धीवा, पीवा.

The words are seen' in this sûtra show that all verbs do not admit of these affixes indiscriminately. It is only when we *see* a particular form that we can infer the existence of these affixes.

क्विप् च ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्विप्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वधातुभ्यः सोपपदेभ्यो निरुपपदेभ्यश्च छन्दसि भाषायां च क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

76. And the affix क्विप् is also seen after all verbs, whether having an upapad or not in the Vedic as well as in the modern Sanskrit.

As उखायाः स्रंसते = उखास्रत् (VI. 4. 24.) 'falling from the pot' ; पर्णध्वत् 'falling from the leaves' ; वाहाद् भ्रश्यति = वाहाभ्रश्, 1st sing. वाहाभ्रट् ' falling from car'. The हा is long by VI. 3. 137. See Rig. Ved, I. 3. 8.

स्थः क च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थः, क, च, (सुपि, उपसर्गे, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्था इत्येतस्माद्धातोः सुप्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति क्विप् च ॥

77. The affixes क and क्विप् come after the verb स्था when it is in composition with a word ending in a case-affix or an upasarga.

Why has this aphorism been made, when by rule III. 1. 4. स्था would have taken क and by rule III. 1. 75, it would have taken क्विप् also? This repetition is for the purpose of prohibiting the prohibition, that is to say, the

sûtra III. 2 14. prohibited the sûtra III. 2. 4, and the present sûtra removes that prohibtion. Thus शंस्थः and शंस्थाः। But for this sûtra, this form could not have been evolved; for, with the upapada शम्, the verb स्था would have taken the affix अच् by III. 2. 14.

सुप्यजातौ णिनिस्ताच्छील्ये ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपि, अजातौ, णिनिः, ताच्छील्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजातिवाचिनि सुबन्त उपपदे ताच्छील्ये गम्यमाने धातोर्णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उत्प्रतिभ्यामाङि सर्तेरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ साधुकारिणि च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ब्रह्मणि वदः ॥

78. When habit is to be expressed, the affix णिनि comes after a verb, provided the word with a case-affix in composition with it, does not mean a genus.

Thus उष्ण + भुज् + णिनि = उष्णभोजिन्, Ist sing. उष्णभोजी 'who eats his meal hot'. So also शीतभोजी &c

Why do we say 'when it does not mean a genus'? Witness ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रयिता 'the inviter of Brâhmaṇas'. We cannot form ब्राह्मणामन्त्री.

Why do we say 'when habit is to be expressed'? Witness उष्णं भुङ्क्ते कदाचित्' he sometimes eats hot'.

Though the anuvritti of the word 'supi' was understood in this aphorism, its repetition here declares that upasargas are not included. This is contested by the author of the Siddhânta Kaumudi. According to him this affix comes even with upasargas. As अनुयायिन्, अनुजीविन्, उपजीविन् &c,

Vart:—The verb सृ in composition with the prepositions उत् or प्रति should be enumerated as taking this affix. As उदासारिन्, fem. उदासारिणी, its. plural उदासारिण्यः. So also प्रत्यासारिणी, pl. प्रत्यासारिण्यः।

Vart:—So also when the sense is 'having skill in such and such action'. As साधुकारी 'excellent worker'; साधुदायी 'giving liberally'.

Vart:—So also after the verb वद preceded by ब्रह्म. As ब्रह्मवादिन् in ब्रह्मवादिनो वदन्ति 'the knowers of Brahma say'.

कर्त्तर्युपमाने ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, उपमाने, (णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृवाचिनि उपमान उपपदे धातोर्णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

79. The affix णिनि comes after a verb when it is in composition with a word deonting an object of comparison, expressing the agent, the sense of the affix being 'doing something like that', that is to say, when the

upapada agent is the standard of comparison of the agent denoted by the word to which the sense of the affix refers.

Thus उष्ट्र इव क्रोशति = उष्ट्रक्रोशिन् 'who makes a noise like a camel'; ध्वाङ्क्षराविन् 'who makes a noise like a crow'.

This sûtra applies where 'habit' is not indicated: or where 'genus' is denoted in opposition to the last aphorism.

Why do we say 'when expressing the agent'? Witness as अपूपानिव भक्षयति माषान् 'he eats *mâsha* like *apupa*'. Here अपूप is object and not agent, and hence no composition takes place.

Why do we say 'denoting a standard of comparison'? Otherwise there will be no composition. As उष्ट्रः क्रोशति 'the camel makes noise'. For the accents of these words, see VI. 2. 80.

व्रते ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ व्रते, (धातोः, सुपि, णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्रते गम्यमाने सुबन्त उपपदे धातोर्णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

80. The affix णिनि comes after a verb, in composition with a word ending in a case-affix.

The word व्रत means a 'vow' as regulated and ordained by the Scriptures. This condition 'when vow is expressed' applies to the completed word, that is to say, when the complete word made up of the root, the upapada, and the affix, denotes a vow. As स्थण्डिलशायिन् 'the vow of sleeping on bare ground (and nowhere e'se) or a person who has taken this vow'. अश्राद्धभोजिन् who has vowed not to eat during the performance of a Srâddha ceremony.

Why do we say 'when vow is to be expressed'? Otherwise there is no composition. As स्थण्डिले शेते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sleeps on bare ground'.

This sûtra is also an exception to III. 2. 78. applicable when habit is not meant, or when genus is to be expressed.

बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, आभीक्ष्ण्ये, (णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आभीक्ष्ण्ये गम्यमाने धातोर्बहुलं णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix णिनि comes after a verb diversely when continued repetiton of an action is to be expressed.

The word आभीक्ष्ण्य means continued repetition that is to say, zealous practice or assiduous performance of anything, but does not mean habit. As कषायपायिणो गान्धाराः 'the people of Gâadhâra are kashâya-drinkers'. कषाय + पा + णिनि = कषाय + पा + युक + णिनि (VII. 3. 33). So also क्षीरपायिण उशीनराः 'the people of Usinâra are milk-drinkers'. सौवीर-पायिणो बाह्लीकाः 'the people of Bâhlika are sauvira-drinkers'.

By using the word 'diversely' in the sûtra, this affix is not applied in other places, as in the following:—कुल्माषखादः 'a grain eater'.

मनः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनः, (सुपि, णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्यतेः सुबन्त उपपदे णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

82. The affix णिनि comes after the verb मन् 'to think' when there is a word with a case-affix in composition with it.

The word 'supi' is understood in this sûtra. As दर्शनीयमानी 'who thinks himself handsome'; शोभनंमानी 'who thinks himself beautiful'.

The verb मन् belonging to the 4th conjugation is taken here and not that belonging to the 8th conjugation; because the anuvritti of the word 'diversely' is understood here. In the present aphorism, whether we take the Divâdi or Tanâdi मन् the resulting form would be the same, namely मानिन्. But not so in the next aphorism, where before the affix खश् there would be difference of form owing to the vikaraṇa. *i. e.*, in the 4th conjugation श्यन् would be added, but not so if the verb belonged to the 8th class.

आत्ममाने खश्च ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्ममाने, खश्, च, (मनः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्ममाने वर्त्तमानान्मन्यतेः सुप्युपपदे खश्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराणिनिश्च ॥

83. And the affix खश् comes after the verb मन् 'to think' when the word in composition with it is a word with a case-affix, and when it is employed to signify thought, whereof the object is self (the sense of the affix being 'thinking himself as such').

The word आत्ममान means thinking of one's own self. By the word 'and' it is meant that the affix णिनि may be employed in the same sense. This rule applies where the agent, indicated by the sense of the affix, thinks himself possessed of the qualities of 'handsomeness' &c., denoted by the upapada. As दर्शनीयंमन्यः or दर्शनीयमानी 'who thinks himself hand some'; पण्डितंमन्यः or पण्डितमानी 'who thinks himself learned'.

Why do we say 'when employed to signify thought whereof the object is self'? Witness दर्शनीयमानी देवदत्तस्य यज्ञदत्तः 'Yajñadatta is thought handsome by Devadatta.

Of the affix खश् the letter ख् causes मुम् augment by VI. 3. 66; and श् makes it a sârvadhâtuka affix, which brings in the proper vikaraṇas. The affixes so far treated of are applicable in all tenses. The others that follow denote some particular time.

भूते ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूत इत्यधिकारो वर्त्तमाने लडिति यावत्, यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः भूत इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

84. **All the affixes to be treated of hereafter should be understood to come in the sense of past time.**

The phrase 'with the sense of past time' is an adhikâra or governing aphorism and exerts its influence up to aphorism 123 of this chapter; that is to say, these affixes give a signification of the past tense to the verb whose anuvritti is also understood throughout the subsequent sûtras; see III. I. 91.

Thus it will be taught in the next aphorism: 'after the vorb यज्, when the word in composition is in the instrumental case, the affix णिनि is employed'. Here to complete the sense we must read into the sûtra, the words 'with the sense of past time'. As अग्निष्टोमेनेष्टवां=अग्निष्टोमयाजिं 'who has sacrificed with an Agnishotma or a five-day series of offerings'.

Why do we say 'with the sense of past time'? Otherwise these affixes will not we employed. As अग्निष्टोमेन यजति 'he sacrifices with Agnishṭoma'.

करणे यजः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, यजः, (णिनिः, भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजतेर्धातोः करणउपपदे णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

85. **The affix णिनि comes after the verb यज् 'to sacrifice' with the sense of past time, when the word in composition is in the instrumental case.**

The anuvritti of णिनि and not of खश् is to be read into this sûtra. As अग्निष्टोमयाजिन् 'who has sacrificed with Agnishṭoma'. Here Agnisṭoma is the instrument for the attainment of the desired fruit.

कर्मणि हनः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, हनः, (णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि उपपदे हन्तेर्धातोर्णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति भूते काले ॥

86. **The affix णिनि comes after the verb हन् 'to kill', with the sense of past time, when the word in composition is in the accusative case.**

As पितृव्यघातिन् 'who has killed his paternal uncle'; मातुलघातिन् 'who has killed his maternal uncle', हन्+णिनि=घन्+णिनि (VII. 3. 54)=घत्+णिनि (VII. 3. 32)=घातिं (VII. 2. 116).

This affix is employed only when censure is implied. Therefore it is not employed in चोरं हतवान् 'he has killed the thief'.

The anuvritti of the word कर्मणि of this aphorism extends up to sûtra III. 2. 96.

ब्रह्मभ्रूणवृत्रेषु क्विप् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रह्म-भ्रूण-वृत्रेषु, क्विप्; (कर्मणि; हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रह्मादिषु कर्मसूपपदेषु हन्तेर्धातोः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

87. **The affix क्विप् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill'**

with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition: ब्रह्म 'a Brâhmana' भ्रूण 'a fœtus' and वृत्र 'Vṛitra'.

As ब्रह्महन्, 1st. sing ब्रह्महा 'who has killed a Brâhmana'; भ्रूणहा 'who has killed a fœtus'; वृत्रहा who has killed Vṛitra, a name of Indra'.

Since by sutra 76 *ante*, the affix क्विप् was ordained to come after all verbs and therefore would have come after the verb हन् also, where is the necessity of the present aphorism? This aphorism makes a niyam. *i. e* .the verb हन् takes the affix क्विप् only when it is in composition with the words ब्रह्म &c. Four-fold restriction is here intended.

(1) When हन् has, as upapada, the words ब्रह्म &c., and not any other word ; as पुरुषं हतवान् 'he has killed the man'.

(2 When the words ब्रह्म &c are upapadas of any other verb than हन्, then this affix is not employed ; so that the verb must be हन् ; thus ब्रह्माधीतवान् ' he has read the Veda'.

(3) The क्विप् is the only affix to denote past time in the case of हन् preceded by ब्रह्म &c , and no other affix can be employed in this sense.

(4) This is employed only in the past tense and not in any other tense ; as ब्रह्माणं हन्ति or हनिष्यति 'he kills or will kill the Brahmana'. This sutra anticipates the diversity taught in the next sutra, and is an example of बहुलं use of the affix.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (हनः, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये उपपदांतरेऽपि हन्तेर्बहुलं क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

88. In the Chhandas, the affix क्विप् diversely comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' with the sense of past time, even when the word in composition with it is other than those mentioned in the last aphorism.

This aphorism ordains क्विप् in cases which are not governed by the restrictive rule contained in the last aphorism. As मातृहा सप्तमं नरकं प्रविशेत् 'may the matricide enter the seventh hell'. so also पितृहा patricide.

Diversely we find also मातृघातः and पितृघातः ।

सुकर्मपापमंत्रपुण्येषु कृञः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-कर्म-पाप-मन्त्र-पुण्येषु, कृञः, (क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वादिषु कर्मसूपपदेषु करोतेर्भूतेः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

89. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition:—सु 'well', कर्म 'action', पाप 'sin', मंत्र 'hymn' and पुण्य 'virtue.'

The phrase 'in the accusative case' is understood in this aphorism, and applies to all the above-mentioned words, except सु, which being an attributive word, of course, cannot take any case-terminations. As सुकृत (VI. 1. 71) 'who has done well'; कर्मकृत 'who has done all works', पापकृत 'who has committed sins', मंत्रकृत 'who has made a mantra'; पुण्यकृत 'who has done virtuous actions'.

This sûtra also ordains a restrictive rule or niyama. Three-fold restriction is intended here: namely, restrictions with regard to time, upapada, and affix; but not with regard to verbs. See III. 2. 87. There being no restriction with regard to the root, this affix is employed when words other than there are upapadas. As, शास्त्रकृत 'who has made Scriptures; भाष्यकृत 'who has made a commentary,. The त is added to the root by VI. 1. 71.

सोमे सुञः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमे, सुञः, (कर्मणि, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोमे कर्मण्युपपदे सुनोतेर्धातोः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

90. the affix क्विप् comes after the verb सु 'to press out juice', with the sense of past time, when the word सोम, in the accusative case, is in composition.

As, सोमसुत 'who has pressed the soma juice, or soma-distiller'; 1st. dual सोमसुतौ; 1st. plural सोमसुतः।

This sûtra is also for the sake of making a niyama or restrictive rule. The four-fold restriction is here intended. *i. e.* as regard the verb, the tense, the upapada and the affix.

अग्नौ चेः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नौ, चेः, (कर्मणि, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्नौ कर्मण्युपपदे चिनोतेर्धातोः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. the affix क्विप् comes after the verb चि 'to collect' with the sense of past time, when the word अग्नि, in the accusative case, is in composition.

As, अग्निचित 'one who has kept the sacred fire'; 1st. dual अग्निचितौ; 1st. plural अग्निचितः।

Here also, as in the last aphorism, four-fold restriction is intented.

कर्मण्यग्न्याख्यायाम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, अग्नि-आख्यायाम्, (कर्मणि, चेः, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे चिनोतेः कर्मण्येव कारके क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति अग्न्याख्यायाम् ॥

92. In expressing an object the affix क्विप् comes after the verb चि 'to collect' with the sense of past time, when in compositoin with a word in the accusative case, provided the word so formed is the name of fire.

The words चेः and कर्मणि are understood in this sûtra. The name is

expressed by taking the complete word consisting of the verbal root, the upapada and the affix. As श्येनचित् 'a fire which has been arranged in the shape of a hawk'; कङ्कचित् 'fire arranged like a heron'.

The word आख्या indicates that these words are rudhi words, their sense depending upon usage rather than etymology. The arrangement of bricks for sacrificial purpose with regard to fire, gets these various names; that is, when the bricks are arranged like a falcon, it is called श्येनचित्, and so on.

कर्मणीनि विक्रियः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, इनि, विक्रियः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे विपूर्वात् क्रीणातेर्धातोरिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

93. The affix इनि comes after the compound verb विक्री 'to sell', in the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case.

The repetition of the word कर्मणि in the sûtra, though its anuvritti might have been drawn from the last aphorism, indicates that when the object carries with it a sense of censure on the agent then only this affix is employed and not with every and any object. As सोमविक्रयिन् 'the seller of soma plant'; रसविक्रयिन् 'the seller of liquors'; employing disapproval of the action of those persons who carry on these mean professions. But not so in धान्यविक्रायः 'the seller of paddy'.

दृशेः क्वनिप् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृशेः, क्वनिप्, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृशेर्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे क्वनिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

94. The affix क्वनिप् comes after the verb दृश् 'to see' in the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case.

As मेरुदृश्वं, 1st. sing. मेरुदृश्वा 'who has seen the meru'. परलोकदृश्वा 'who has seen the hereafter'.

Though the affix क्वनिप् was valid by sutra III. 2. 75, its repetition here shows that no other affix comes in this sense after this verb.

राजनि युधिकृञः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजनि, युधि-कृञः, कर्मणि, क्वनिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन् शब्दे कर्मण्युपपदे युध्यतेः करोतेश्च क्वनिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. The affix क्वनिप् comes after the verbs युध 'to fight' and कृ 'to make' with a past signification when the word राजन् 'king' is in composition, in the accusative case.

How can the verb युध्, which is an intransitive verb, govern an object? it is a transitive verb, inasmuch as it is taken to be a causative verb, with the णिच् affix latent. As राजयुध्वं, 1st. sing. राजयुध्वा (VIII. 2. 7) 'who has caused the king to fight'; राजकृत्वन्, 1st. sing. राजकृत्वा (VI. 1. 71.) 'who has made a king'.

सहे च ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहे, च, (युधि, कृञः, क्वनिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहशब्दे चोपपदे युधिकृञोर्धात्वोः क्वनिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

96. The affix क्वनिप् comes after the verbs युध् and कृ, with a past signification, when the word सह 'with', is in composition.

The word सह, being a particle, and not denoting a substance, is incapable of taking any case. As सहयुध्वा 'who has made to fight with'; सहकृत्वा 'who has done any thing along with another'.

सप्तम्यां जनेर्डः ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तम्यां, जनेः, डः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्त उपपदे जनेर्डःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

97. The affix ड comes after the verb जन् 'to be produced', with a past signification, when the word, in composition with it, is in the locative case'.

As उपसरे जातः=उपसरजः। जन्+ड=ज्+अ (VI. 4. 143) =ज 'born of the first conception'; मन्दुरजः 'born in the stable'.

पञ्चम्यामजातौ ॥९८॥पदानि॥ पञ्चम्याम्, अजातौ, (जनेः,डः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्यन्त उपपदे जातिवर्जिते जनेर्डःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix ड comes after the verb जन्, 'with a past signification, when the word in composition with it, is in the ablative case, which does not denote a genus.

As बुद्धिजः 'born through understanding'; संस्कारजः 'born of habit'; दुःखजः 'born through plain'.

Why do we say 'when not denoting a genus'? Observe हस्तिनो जातः 'born of elephant'; अश्वाज्जातः 'born of horse'.

उपसर्गे च संज्ञायाम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, च, संज्ञायाम्, (जनेः, डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे चोपपदे जनेर्डः प्रत्ययो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

99. The affix ड comes after the verb जन् with a past signification, when an upasarga is in composition and when the sense is simply appellative.

The term here being simply appellative, and not descriptive, cannot be explained by giving the signification of its component elements. As प्रजाः 'people', or 'a son'; as in the sentence अथेमा मानवी प्रजाः।

अनौ कर्मणि ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनौ, कर्मणि, (जनेः, डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वाज्जनेः कर्मण्युपपदे डःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

100, The affix ड comes after the verb जन् with a past

signification, when the root takes the preposition अनु and is compounded with a word in the accusative case.

As पुमनुजा 'a girl born after the male child, *i. e.*, a girl having an elder brother'; स्त्र्यनुजः 'a boy born after the female child, *i. e.*, a boy having an elder sister.

अन्येष्वपि दृश्यते ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येषु, अपि, दृश्यते, (जनेः, डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येष्वप्युपपदेषु कारकेषु जनेर्डः प्रत्ययो दृश्यते ॥

100. The affix ड is seen to come after the verb जन् with a past signification, though it be in composition with other nouns, having cases other than those mentioned in the previous sûtras.

Thus the locative case has been dealt with in sutra III. 2. 97; but the affix comes when the upapada has any other case than the seventh. As न जायते = अजः 'unborn'; द्विर्जातः = द्विजः 'twice-born'.

Thus, it is said in sutra III 2 98 that the upapada may be in the ablative case, when genus is not denoted. We see, however, the affix employed when genus is denoted. As ब्राह्मणजो धर्मः; क्षत्रियजं युद्धम् ।

It is declared in sutra III. 2. 98 that when appellative is meant, the affix ड comes after the componnd verb जन्. We find, however, the affix employed when the sense is not simply appellative; as अभिजाः or परिजाः 'born or produced all round *i. e.* hair'.

It is declared in sutra III. 2. 100. 'When an object is in composition with the verb अनुजं this affix is employed'. But it may also be employed when no object is in composition. As अनुजः 'born after *i. e.* younger brother'.

The force of the word अपि 'though' is to free this rule from all restrictions and conditions. So this affix comes after other verbs and other cases in composition with such verbs. As परितः खाता = परिखा 'a moat' (literally that which has been dug all round); आखा 'a pond'.

निष्ठा ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तक्तवतू निष्ठेत्युक्तं स निष्ठासंज्ञकः प्रत्ययो भूते भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आदिकर्मणि निष्ठा वक्तव्या ॥

102. The affixes called निष्ठा comes after a verbal root employed with the sense of past time.

The affix क्त and क्तवतु are निष्ठा (I. 1. 26). As कृ+क्त=कृतम् 'made'; कृ+क्तवतु=कृतवत्, 1st. sing कृतवान् 'done'; so also भुक्तम् and भुक्तवान् 'eaten'.

Vart:—The Nishthâ affixes come when *âdi-karma* is meant. For a fuller description of what constitutes *âdi karma* see sutra III. 4. 71, and the illustrations under it. Thus प्रकृतः कटं देवदत्तः, प्रकृतवान् कटं देवदत्तः ।

सुयजोर्ङ्वनिप् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-यजोः, ङ्वनिप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुनोतेर्यजतेश्च ङ्वनिप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix ङ्वनिप् comes after the verbs सु 'to press out or extract juice' and यज् 'to sacrifice,' with a past signification.

As सु+ङ्वनिप्=सुत्+वन् (VI. 1 71)=सुत्वन् 1st. sing. सुत्वा 'who has pressed out or extracted juice'; यज्वन्, 1st. sing. यज्वा 'who has sacrificed'. The त् is added by VI. 1. 71. See Rig. Ved. I. 3. 1.

जीर्यतेरतृन् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जीर्यतेः, अतृन्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीर्यतेरतृन् प्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

104. The affix अतृन् comes after the verb जॄ 'to grow old' with the sense of past time.

As जॄ+अतृन्=जर्+अत (VII. 3. 84)=जरत्, 1st. sing. जरन्, 1st. dl. जरन्तौ, 1st. pl. जरन्तः 'grown old' (VII. 1. 70).

By the rule of वासरूप (III. 1. 94), the Nishthâ affixes also come after this verb. As जीर्णः and जीर्णवान् । जॄ+क्त=जिर्+त (VII. 1. 100 and I. 1. 51)=जिर्+न (VIII. 2. 42)=जीर्ण (VIII. 2. 77 and VIII. 4. 1) 'grown old'.

छन्दसि लिट् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, लिट्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये धातोर्लिट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. In the Chhandas, the affix लिट् comes after a verb with a past signification.

As अहं सूर्यमुभयतो ददर्श 'I saw the sun from both sides'; अहं द्यावापृथिवी आततान 'stretched the heaven and the earth'. Here the words ददर्श and आततान have the force of nishthâ. See Yaj. Ved. VIII. 9.

Why this separate sûtra, when by aphorism III. 4. 61, in the Chhandas the *lun*, *lan* and *lit* come in all tenses? That rule is made with regards to two or more verbs when in syntactical relation (धातुसंबन्ध) with each other (III. 4. 1). The present rule is general, and without any such limitations.

Lit is the affix of the Present Perfect and will be fully treated of in the conjugation of verbs.

लिटः कानज्वा ॥१०६॥ पदानि॥ लिटः कानच्, वा, (छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि लिटः कानजादेशो भवति वा ॥

106. In the Chhandas the affix लिट् is optionally replaced by the affix कानच्।

As अग्निं चिक्यानः 'he consecrated the fire'; सोमं सुषुवाणः 'he pressed the *soma* juice'. This being an optional affix, is sometimes not employed; as in the examples in the last aphorism.

Why has the word *lit* been repeated in this sûtra, when its anuvritti could have been drawn from the last sûtra ? The substitute कानच् replaces not only the special लिट् of sûtra III. 2. 105, but the general लिट् which comes after the roots in forming the perfect tense ; so that the affix कानच् forms verbal adjectives as well as the perfect tense.

This affix comes after those verbs only which take Atmanepada terminations. See I. 4. 100. हुवान (Rig. Ved. 1. 3. 6).

क्वसुश्च ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्वसुः, च, (छन्दसि, लिटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि लिटः क्वसुरादेशो भवति ॥

107. In the Chhandas the affix क्वसु is optionally the substitute of लिट्.

As जक्षिवस् 1st. sing. जक्षिवान् 'eaten' (Yaj. VIII. 19); पपिवस् 1st. sing. पपिवान् 'drunk'.

Sometimes it does not come, as in the example under sûtra III. 2. 105; अहं सूर्यमुभयत ददर्श.

The division of this sûtra from the last, in which it could well have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent sûtras, into which the anuvritti of क्वसु only runs.

भाषायां सदवसश्रुवः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भाषायाम्, सद्-वस-श्रुवः, (लिटः क्वसुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सद वस श्रु इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य लिटो भाषायां विषये वा क्वसुरादेशो भवति ॥

108. In the modern Sanskrit, the affix क्वसु optionally replaces लिट् after the verbs सद्, वस् and श्रु with a past signification.

This being a substitute only, the original affix लिट् also comes after these verbs. As उपसेदिवान् कौत्सः पाणिनिम् 'Kautsa served Pânini'. In the alternative, the proper affixes of the past tense will be employed. As उपासदत् 'he served'; उपासीदत् and उपससाद.

So also अनूषिवान् कौत्सः पाणिनिम्. In the alternative we have अन्ववात्सीत्, अन्ववसत् and अनूवास.

So also उपशुश्रुवान् कौत्सः पाणिनिम् In the alternative we have उपाश्रौषीत्, उपाशृणोत् and उपशुश्राव.

The affix क्वसु is employed with the force of लुङ् and लङ् also.

उपेयिवाननाश्वाननूचानश्च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपेयिवान्-अनाश्वान्-अनूचानः, (च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपेयिवान् अनाश्वान् अनूचान इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते ॥

109. The forms उपेयिवान् अनाश्वान् अनूचान् are irregularly formed.

These forms are thus evolved :—To the verb इ 'to go' with the preposition उप, the affix क्वसु is added : as उप+इ+क्वसु. The root is reduplicated : as उप+ई+इ+क्वसु. The reduplicate is here long ई by VII. 4. 69. This long ई does not coalesce with the short इ by the rules of sandhi ; for then the rule by which this ई was introduced would have no scope. Now we add the augment इट् contrary and in opposition to the rule VII. 2. 67, and this is the irregularity. As उप+ई+इ+इट्+क्वसु. Then the root इ is replaced by य by sûtra VI. 4. 81. As उप+ई+य्+इट्+क्वसु = उपेयिवस् 1st. sing. उपेयिवान्, The augment इट् is however droppod in those cases (भ) where वस् is changed into उस् ; because the insertion of इट् was itself an exceptional case of limited scode :—for while the general rules VII. 2. 75 &c. ordained it, the special rule of VII. 2. 67 prohibited it ; and it was by prohibition of this prohibition that इट् was employed before वस्. Therefore in accusative plural we have उपेयुषः ; instrumental sing उपेयुषा &c.

This irregular participle is not limited to the upasarga उप ; we find such irregular forms with other upasargas and without them also ; thus समीयिवान्, and ईयिवान् as well.

By the anuvritti of the word वा read in this aphorism, we have लुङ् &c. in the alternative. As in Aorist उपागात्, Imperfect उपैत्, Perfect उपेयाय ।

The word अनाश्वान् is thus formed :—To the verb अश् 'to enjoy' we add the negative particle अन् ; apply the affix क्वसु and donot insert the augment इट् ; so, we have अन्+अश्+क्वसु = अनाश्वस्, 1st. sing. अनाश्वान्. In the alternative we have Aorist नाशीत्, Imperfect नाश्नात् and Perfect नाश.

The word अनूचानः is thus derived :—The affix कानच् is added in expressing the agent to the verb वच् preceded by अनु. In the alternative we have Aorist अन्ववोचत्, Imperfect अन्वब्रवीत्, Perfect अनूवाच.

लुङ् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङ्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाद्धातोर्लुङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वसतेर्लुङ् रात्रिशेषे जागरणसन्ततौ वक्तव्यः ॥

110. The affix लुङ् comes after a verb in the sense of past time,

The लुङ् forms what is known as aorist. It is in fact the name of the aorist, as the whole of this affix is replaced by other personal termination. See III. 1. 43 and subsequent sûtras.

'The aorist has reference to a past time indefinitely or generally, without reference to any particular time. An action done before today is expressed by the perfect or imperfect ; whatever remains for the aorist is, therefore, to express a past action, done very *recently*, say in the course of the current day or having reference to a present act. Aorist, therefore, merely implies the completion of an action at a past time *generally*, and also an action done at a

very recent time, as during the course of this day. The imperfect and perfect are used in narrating events of past occurrence, generally in remote psat times the aorist is used in dialogues and conversations which refer to recent past actions, but it is not used to denote past specified time or to narrate events'.— Apte's Composition. As अकार्षीत् 'he did'; अहार्षीत् 'he took'.

Vart:—The affix लुङ् comes after the verb वस् 'to dwell', when 'end of the present night' is indicated. Supposing a person rising from his bed at the proper time of rising (not in the middle of the night, but in the early morning) and finding another near him were to ask that one, 'where did you dwell *i. e.* pass the night'? That person so asked should answer in the लुङ् and not in लङ्. As अमुत्रावात्सम् 'I dwelt there'; and not अमुत्रावसम्.

Vart:—The above rule applies only in connection with waking after regular sleep. He who has not slept the whole night, but only for half an hour or so, should reply अमुत्रावसम्.

अनद्यतने लङ् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनद्यतने, लङ्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानाद्यतने भूतेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्धातोर्लङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ परोक्षे च लोकविज्ञाते प्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनविषये लङ् वक्तव्यः ॥

111. The affix लङ् comes after a verbal root employed in the sense of past before the commencement of the current day.

The word अनद्यतन is a Bahuvrihi compound, meaning that which has not occurred during the course of the current day (*adyatana*). The whole of this affix is replaced by conjugational terminations, and the affix लङ् by itself denotes the Imperfect tense. As अकरोत् 'he did'; अहरत् 'he took'.

Why have we explained *anadyatana* as a Bahuvrihi compound? Because when there is doubt as to the time, whether it was to-day or yesterday, there the Imperfect should not be used. As अद्य ह्यो वा अभुञ्ज्महि 'we ate to-day or yesterday'. In such a case the affix is लुङ्.

Vart:—The affix लङ् is also employed in signifying what is not witnessed by the narrator, when it relates to a well-know public event which can form the object of perception by the narrator. Thus in speaking of a recent public occurrence we may say:—अरुणद् यवनः साकेतम् 'the Yavanas have besieged Sâketa'; अरुणद् यवनः माध्यमिकाम् 'the Yavanas have besieged Mâdhyamika

Why do we say 'not witnessed by the speaker'? Observe उदगात् आदित्यः 'the sun arose'. Why do we say 'a popular public event'? Observe चकार कटं देवदत्तः 'Devadatta has made the mat'. Why do say 'which is the object of perception by the speaker'? Observe जघान कंसं किल वासुदेवः 'Vâsudeva killed Kansa'.

अभिज्ञावचने लृट् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिज्ञा-वचने, लृट्, (भूते, अनद्यतने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिज्ञा स्मृतिस्तद्वचन उपपदे भूतानद्यतने लृट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. When a word implying 'recollection' is in connection with it, a verb takes the affix लृट् (2nd future) in the sense of the past before the commencement of the present day.

The word अभिज्ञा means 'recollection'. This rule sets aside the affix लङ्. As अभिजानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरेषु वत्स्यामः 'rememberest thou, Devadatta, we were dwelling (lit. we will dwell) in Kashmir'.

The word वचन meaning 'signification' in the sûtra, denotes that the construction is the same when the synonyms of अभिज्ञा are used; as स्मरसि 'dost thou remember'; बुध्यसे 'dost thou know'; चेतयसे 'dost thou reflect'; and the like.

न यदि ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यदि, (अभिज्ञावचने, लृट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्द सहितेऽभिज्ञावचन उपपदे लृट्प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

113. The affix लृट् (the 2nd future) is not applied in the sense of the past when the upapada denoting recollection has in connection with it the particle यत्.

This prohibits लृट् which the verb वस् obtained from the last sûtra. As अभिजानासि देवदत्त यत् कश्मीरेष्ववसाम 'thou rememberest Devadatta how we did dwell in Kashmir'. Here the mere fact of dwelling is recollected, there being no other idea implied; therefore the subsequent aphorism has no scope here. That aphorism has its scope, when with recollection, is added another dependent idea or action, without which the sentence is not complete.

विभाषा साकांक्षे ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, साकांक्षे, (लृट्; अभिज्ञावचने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिज्ञावचन उपपदे यच्छब्दसहिते केवले च विभाषा लृट्प्रत्ययो भवति साकांक्षश्चेत्प्रयोक्ता ॥

114. The affix लृट् is optionally applied in the sense of the past, when a word implying 'recollection' is in connection with it, and whether such word has the particle यत् or is employed simply; provided that the two verbs, occurring in the same complex sentence, are so connected together, that each is necessary to the other, to complete the sense of the speaker.

The word साकांक्षा means the relation between the sign and the thing signified, whished for or wanted by the speaker, or in other words, when the first verb is related to another verb used in the same sentence, as a sign is to that which is indicated by the sign. As अभिजानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरान् गमिष्यामः, तत्र सक्तून्

गच्छाम or अभिजानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरान् गच्छाम, तत्र सक्तून् पिबाम, 'do you remember Devadatta we went to Kashmir and there did drink Saktu'.

This option is allowed whether the particle यद् is or is not used. As: अभिजानासि देवदत्त यद् कश्मीरान् गमिष्यामः (or यद् कश्मीरान् गच्छाम,) यत् तत्रौदनं भोक्ष्यामहे (or यद् तत्रौदनमभुञ्ज्महि) 'Do you recollect, Devadatta how we went to Kashmir and how we ate rice there'.

In the above examples, the verb 'to go' is the sign, and the 'eating' or 'drinking', in the second sentence, is the thing really signified; the first verb is necessary as an introduction to the thought of the speaker which dwells more upon the second verb. Here the second sentence or proposition is used as completion or complement of the first proposition.

परोक्षे लिट् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परोक्षे, लिट्, (भूते अनद्यतने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्धातोर्लिट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अत्यन्तापह्नवे च लिड्वक्तव्यः ॥

115. The affix लिट् comes after a verb in the sense of the past before the commencement of the current day and unperceived by the narrator.

The word परोक्ष 'unperceived' qualifies the words भूत 'past' and अनद्यतन 'non-current day' understood in this aphorism.

'Well, are not the senses of verbs *all* unperceived, since they are mere words, and words cannot be perceived? Exactly so; but in popular phraseology, the perception is imagined to attach to the agent with regard to certain verbs; this rule relates to cases where such perception does not take place. As, चकार 'he did'; जहार 'he took'.

'It is evident that the लिट् (perfect) should not be used in the first person, *i. e.* when the agent of the action is the speaker or writer himself; for it is impossibly that the action should not have been witnessed by him. But if by reason of some distracted, unconscious or absent state of mind, it is possible for the agent to speak of the action as one, of which he was not a a conscious witness, the perfect may be used even in the first person. As सुप्तोऽहं किल विललाप 'indeed I prated while asleep'.

Vart :—The perfect should be employed (in denoting past time simply, whether of the current day or otherwise, and whether the action has been witnessed personally or not) if the sense is total denial of the action. As कलिङ्गेषु स्थितोऽसि ? नाहं कलिङ्गान् जगाम 'did you live in the Kalinga country? I did not even go to the Kalinga country'; दक्षिणापथं प्रविष्टोऽसि ? नाहं दक्षिणापथं प्रविवेश.

हशश्वतोर्लङ् च ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह-शश्वतोः, लङ्, च (भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे, लिट) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षेऽर्थे लिटि प्राप्ते हशश्वतोरुपपदयोर्लङ्प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराल्लिट् च ॥

116. And the affixe लङ् comes after a verb when the particles ह and शश्वत् are in connection with it, and when the verb denotes past action unperceived by the speaker, and before the commencement of the current day.

The force of च 'and' is that the affix लिट् (perfect), may also be employed in similar construction. As इति हाकरोत् (imperfect),or इति ह चकार (perfect) 'Alas ! he did it'. शश्वदकरोत् or शश्वच्चकार 'again and again he did it'.

प्रश्ने चासन्नकाले ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रश्ने, च, आसन्नकाले; (भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे, लङ्, लिट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आसन्नकाले पृच्छ्यमाने भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्धातोर्लङ्लिटौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः॥

117. The affixes लङ् (imperfect) and लिट् (perfect) come after a verb (in expressing a past time not belonging to the current day and unperceived by the speaker) when the past time referred to is recent, and the sentence is interrogative.

This sûtra also qualifies the words भूत, अनद्यतन and परोक्ष understood in this sûtra. The word प्रश्न means 'what should be asked'; and आसन्नकाल 'time close at hand': As, some one may ask another, अगच्छद् देवदत्तः or जगाम देवदत्तः 'did Devadatta go or has Devadatta gone (just now)' ? अयजद् देवदत्तः or इयाज देवदत्तः 'Did Devadatta sacrifice or has Devadatta sacrificed' ?

Why do we say 'in asking question'? Otherwise there would be Perfect tense only. As, जगाम देवदत्तः 'Devadatta has gone'.

Why do we say 'when the past time referred to is imminently recent' ? Observe भवन्तं पृच्छामि, जघान कंसं किल वासुदेवः 'I ask you, did Krishna indeed kill Kansa in days of yore'.

लट् स्मे ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लट्, स्मे, (भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्मशब्द उपपदे भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षे लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

118. The affix लट् (present) comes after a verb, when the particle स्म is in connection with it, (and denotes a past time not belonging to the current day and unperceived by the speaker).

All the words within brackets are understood in this aphorism. This debars लिट् or the perfect tense. Thus यजति स्म युधिष्ठिरः 'Yudhishthira sacrificed'; so also नलेन स्म पुराधीयते । ऊर्जया स्म पराधीयते ॥

अपरोक्षे च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरोक्षे, च, (भूते, अनद्यतने, स्मे, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरोक्षे च भूतानद्यतनेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाद्धातोः स्मशब्दे उपपदे लट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The affix लट् (present) comes after a verb when the particle स्म is in connection with it, and denotes a past action not belonging to the current day, and when the action is perceived by the agent.

As एवं स्म पिता ब्रवीति 'thus said the father'; इति स्मोपाध्यायः कथयति 'thus said the preceptor'.

ननौ पृष्टप्रतिवचने ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ ननौ, पृष्ट-प्रतिवचने, (भूते, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ननुशब्द उपपदे प्रश्नपूर्वके प्रतिवचने भूतेऽर्थे लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. The affix लट् is employed after a verb in denoting past action, when the word ननु is in connection with it, and an answer is given to a question.

The anuvritti of the words '*anadyatana*' and '*paroksha*' does not extend to this sûtra. This declares a rule with regard to past time in general. This debars लुङ् (the Aorist tense). As अकार्षीः कटं देवदत्त?—ननु करोमि भोः 'Devadatta, did you make the mat? O, yes, I did make it'. अवोचस्तत्र किंचिद् देवदत्त,—ननु ब्रवीमि भोः 'Devadatta, did you speak there anything? O, yes, I did speak'.

Why do we say 'in reply to an interrogation'? Observe नन्वकार्षीन् माणवकः 'certainly, Mânavaka did it'.

नन्वोर्विभाषा ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-न्वोः, विभाषा, (भूते, पृष्ट-प्रति-वचने, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नशब्दे नुशब्दे चोपपदे पृष्टप्रतिवचने विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

121. The affix लट् comes optionally after a verb, in denoting past time, in reply to an interrogation, when the words न 'not' and नु 'what of that' are in connection with it.

As, अकार्षीः कटं देवदत्त—न करोमि भोः or नाकार्षम्;—अहं नु करोमि or अहं न्वकार्षम् 'Devadatta, did you make the mat?—No I did not;—what of that, I did'.

पुरि लुङ् चास्मे ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरि, लुङ्, च, अस्मे, (भूते, अनद्यतने, विभाषा लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुराशब्द उपपदे स्मशब्दवर्जिते भूतानद्यतनेऽर्थे विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति लङ् च ॥

122. Optionally the affixes लुङ् and लट् come after a verb, in denoting past time not belonging to the current day, when the word पुरा is used in the sentence, provided that the word स्म is not used.

The anuvritti of the word *anadyatana* which had come to a stop with III. 2. 120 manifests itself again in this sûtra by a process of jumping over the two intermediate aphorisms. This sort of anuvritti is technically called *manduka-pluti* 'the leap of a frog' *i. e.* skipping of several sûtras and supplying a word from a previous sûtra.

This is an optional rule, so that when *lat* and *lun* are not used, the proper tenses, as the case may be, must be employed. As अवसन्तीह पुरा छात्राः 'the pupils lives here formerly.' So also, Aorist, अवात्सुः पुरा छात्राः Imperfect, अवसन्निह पुरा छात्राः Perfect, ऊषुरिह पुरा छात्राः ।

Why do we say 'when the word स्म is not used'? Observe यजति स्म पुरा युधिष्ठिरः Yudhishthira did perform a sacrifice formerly'. Here rule 118 *ante* exerts its influence.

वर्तमाने लट् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्त्तमाने, लट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रारब्धोऽपरिसमाप्तश्च वर्त्तमानस्तस्मिन् वर्त्तमानेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाद्धातोर्लट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

123. The affix लट् comes after a verb when denoting a present action.

The word वर्तमान means that which is begun and which has not yet come to an end. The action denoted by a verb in the present tense is yet continuing and has not stopped. As पचति 'he is cooking'; पठति 'he is reading'. So also whatever is constant, regular, uniform, is represented by the Present Indefinite. As तिष्ठन्ति पर्वताः 'the mountains stand'; स्रवन्ति नद्यः 'the rivers flow'.

लटः शतृशानचावप्रथमासमानाधिकरणे ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लटः, शतृ-शानचौ, अप्रथमा-समानाधिकरणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लटः शतृशानचावित्येतावादेशौ भवतः अप्रथमान्तेन चेत्तस्य सामानाधिकरण्यं भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ माङ्याक्रोशे ॥

124. The affixes शतृ and शानच् are substitutes of लट्, when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix.

As पचन्तं देवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta who is cooking'; पचता कृतम् 'or पचमानेन कृतम् 'done by one who is cooking' पच्+शानच्=पच्+शप्+शानच् (III 4. 113, III. I. 68)=पच्+अ+मुक्+आन (VI.. 2. 82)=पचमान । So also पच्+शप्+शतृ=पच्+अ+अत्=पचत् ।

Why do we say 'when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix? Observe देवदत्तः पचति 'Devadatta cooks'.

Since the term लट् might have been supplied from the last aphorism, its double citation is for the sake of larger application of this rule; that is to say, this rule applies sometimes even when the word is in concord with a nominative case. As सन् ब्राह्मणः 'who is a Brâhmana'=अस्ति ब्राह्मणः; so also

विद्यते ब्राह्मणः and विद्यमानो ब्राह्मणः ; जुह्वत् and जुहोति ; and अधीयानः and अधीते ।

Vart.—These affixes are employed after a verb, when the particle माङ् is in composition, and censure or curse is implied. As मा पचन् and मा पचमानः 'may he not cook'; मा जीवन् यः परावज्ञादुःखदग्धो ऽपि जीवति 'cursed be he (lit. May he not live) who though smitten by the pain of the contempt of others, still lives'. Some commentators read the anuvritti of the word 'option' from sûtra 121 into this. That option, however, is a limited option (*vyavasthita-vibhasha*) and not of universal application. Whenever a particular form is found as differing from the general form, there it should be understood that the option has been allowed, and not everywhere.

सम्बोधने च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बोधने, च, (लटः, शतृशानचौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्बोधने च विषये लटः शतृशानचौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

125. The affixes शतृ and शानच् are substitutes of लट् even when agreeing with what ends with a first case-affix, provided that it is in the vocative case.

This aphorism declares when these participles may be employed even in the first case; as हे पचन् or हे पचमान 'O thou who art cooking',

लक्षणहेत्वोः क्रियायाः ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि॥ लक्षण-हेत्वोः, क्रियायाः, (लटः शतृ-शानचौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणे हेतौ चार्थे वर्त्तमानाद्धातोः परस्य लटः शतृशानचावादेशौ भवतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लक्षण हेत्वोः क्रियायाः गुण उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तत्वाख्याने च ॥

126. The affixes शतृ and शानच् are the substitutes of लट् and come after a verb, in expressing an attendent circumstonce or characteristic, and the cause of an action.

The word लक्षण means that by which a thing is recognised or known *i. e.* an attribute; हेतु means producer or canse. Both these words are attributes of the ward क्रिया. Of *lakshana*:—as, शयानाः भुञ्जते यवनाः 'the Yavanas take their meals lying down'. तिष्ठन्तोऽनुशासति गणकाः । Of *hetu*:—as हरिं पश्यन् मुच्यते 'by (reason of) seeing Hari, he gets absolution'; अधीयानो वसति 'for the sake of study he dwells here.'

Why do we say 'when denoting a characteristic or a cause? Observe पचति 'he cooks'; पठति 'he reads'.

Why do we say 'of the action'? Not so when the participle is the characteristic or cause of a substance or a quality. As यः कम्पते सोऽश्वत्थः 'that which is shaking is the Aswattha'; यदुत्प्लवते तल्लघु 'whatever floats is light'; यन्निषीदति तद्गुरु 'that which sinks down is heavy'.

Vart:—This participle also defines the agent of an action as, योऽधीयान आस्ते स देवदत्तः 'he is Devadatta who sits studying'.

Vart :—This participle is also used to state a general truth : as शयाना वर्धते दूर्वा 'the Dûrvâ grass grow in a recumbent position'; आसीनं वर्धते बिसं 'a lotus stalk grows in an upright position'. The compound लक्षणहेत्वोः of the sûtra contradicts the rule by which a word of fewer syllables stands first (II. 2. 14). This shows that the rule II. 2. 14. is not universal.

तौ सत् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तौ, सत्, (शतृ-शानचौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तौ शतृशानचौ सत्संज्ञौ भवतः ॥

127. These two शतृ and शानच् are called सत्.

These participial affixes get collectively this name ; and as such they are not limited by the conditions enumerated above ; so that they replace not only the affixes of the Present tense but sometimes of Future also (III. 3. 14.), as well as other tenses. Thus ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वन्, करिष्यन्, कुर्वाणः, करिष्यमाणः ।

The word सत्, occurs in sûtra II. 2. 11. &c.

पूङ्यजोः शानन् ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूङ्-यजोः, शानन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूङो यजेश्च धातोः शानन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्विषः शतुर्वा वचनम् ॥

128. The affix शानन् comes after the verbs पू 'to purify, and यज् 'to sacrifice'.

As पवमानः 'purifier (fire or air)'; यजमानः 'sacrificer.

It might be asked 'is the शानन् with others that follow, an affix *suo generis*, or is it merely a substitute of ल, as शतृ and शानच् ? Why we ask this questions is this. If they are affixes and not substitutes of ल, then they should govern genitive case by rule II. 3. 65. instead of nominative or the accusative. If, on the other hand, they are substitutes of ल, then by rule II. 3. 69. they should not govern the genitive case. But evidently they are not the substitutes of ल, as they are not so taught. How is it then that we have such forms as सोमं पवमानः 'drinking Soma'; and नडमाघ्नानः ? These forms can be explained on other grounds than supposing that शानन् &c. must be the substitutes of ल. The term तृन् in sûtra II. 3. 69. is not the affix तृन् taught in this Chapter sûtra 135 ; but it is a *pratyáhára* including several affixes. It is a *pratyáhára* formed by taking the तृ of शतृ in sûtra 124; and न् of तृन् in 135 ; and thus it means all the affixes from शतृ in 124 down to तृन् in 135. Thus though शानन्, चानश् &c. are not substitutes of ल, still the rule II. 3. 69. applies to them, as they are included in the term तृन्.

Vart :—The rule II. 3. 69. applies only optionally when the verb द्विष् takes the affix शतृ. As चोरस्य or चोरं द्विषन् 'hating the thief.'

ताच्छील्यवयोवचनशक्तिषु चानश् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ताच्छील्य-वयः-वचन-शक्तिषु, चानश् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ताच्छील्यादिषु धातोश्चानश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

129. The affix चानश् comes after a verb in expressing 'habit', 'standard of age' and 'ability'.

The word ताच्छील्य means 'habit' or 'disposition'; वयः means the condition of body such as 'infancy', 'youth' &c; शक्ति means 'capacity to do a thing'. As भोगं भुञ्जानः 'habituated to enjoy'; कवचं बिभ्राणः 'wearing an armour (of the age at which armour may be worn)'; शत्रुं निघ्नानः 'able to destroy his foe'. So also, कतीह मुण्डयमानाः, भूषयमाणाः, कवचं पर्यस्यमानाः, शिखण्डं वहमानाः and पचमानाः।

इङ्धार्योः शत्रकृच्छ्रिणि ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ इङ्-धार्योः, शतृ, अकृच्छ्रिणि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इङो धारेश्च धात्वोः शतृप्रत्ययो भवति अकृच्छ्रिणि कर्त्तरि ॥

130. The affix शतृ comes after the verb इङ् 'to go' and धारि 'to hold' in denoting that the agent does the action without trouble.

The word अकृच्छ्र means that which is accomplished by the agent with ease and facility. As अधीयन् पारायणम् 'the facile reading of the Purâna'; धारयन्नुपनिषदम् 'easily mastering the Upanishad'. The root धारि is causative of धृ and means here 'to master'.

Why do we say 'when facility is indicated'? Otherwise कृच्छ्रेणाधीते 'he reads with difficulty'; कृच्छ्रेण धारयति 'he remembers with difficulty'.

द्विषोऽमित्रे ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषः, अमित्रे, (शतृ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमित्रे कर्त्तरि द्विषेर्धातोः शतृप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

131. The affix शतृ comes after the verb द्विष् when the agent indicated means an enemy.

The word अमित्र means 'enemy'. As द्विषन् 'enemy', द्विषन्तौ 'two enemies', द्विषन्तः 'enemies'.

Why do we say 'when denoting an enemy'? Observe द्वेष्टि भार्या पतिम् 'the wife hates her husband'.

सुञो यज्ञसंयोगे ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुञः, यज्ञ-संयोगे, (शतृ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञसंयुक्तेऽभिषवे वर्त्तमानात्सुनोतेर्धातोः शतृप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

132. The affix शतृ comes after the verb सु 'to press out juice' when the sense is that of association with sacrifice.

The word यज्ञसंयोग is an instrumental compound, meaning association or connection (संयोग) with sacrifice. As सु+नु+शतृ (III. 1. 76, III. 4. 113)=सुनु+अत् (I. 2. 4)=सुन्वत् (VI. 1. 77), 1st. sing सुन्वन्, pl. सुन्वन्तः 'the sacrifices'; as in सर्वे सुन्वन्तः ' all are interested in, or partake of, or share in the sacrifice.'

The word संयोग indicates that the principal sacrificer. *i. e.* the यजमान is meant and not every person who is associated in the performance of a sacrifice in a subordinate capacity ; such as याजकाः ' the sacrificing priests.'

When connection with sacrifice is not meant we have सुनोति सुराम् ' he distils liquor'.

अर्हः प्रशंसायाम् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्हः, प्रशंसायाम्, (शतृ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्हतेर्धातोः प्रशंसायां शतृप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. The affix शतृ comes after the verb अर्ह in expressing praise.

As अर्हन्निह भवान्विद्याम् ' thou art worthy of this knowledge here'; अर्हन्निह भवान्पूजाम् ' thou art worthy of honor in this place.'

Why do we say ' when meaning to praise' ? Witness अर्हति चौरो वधम् ' the thief deserves death'.

आ क्वेस्तच्छीलतद्धर्मतत्साधुकारिषु ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, क्वेः, तच्छील-तद्धर्म-तत्साधुकारिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आ एतस्मात् क्विप्संशब्दनाद्यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ते वेदितव्याः ॥

134. From this sûtra as far as क्विप् in sûtra 177 inclusive, the affixes that we shall treat of, are to be understood in the sense of agents having such a habit, or nature, or having skill in such and such action.

The force of आ in this sûtra is limit inclusive, and includes क्विप् also. The term तच्छील means ' the natural inclination towards an action not prompted by a contemplation of its fruit or result'. The term तद्धर्म means ' who enters upon an action not from habit but thinking that it is his duty.' The term तत्साधुकारि means ' who does the action expressed by the verb in an excellent way.' Illustrations of these will be given under the subsequent aphorisms.

तृन् ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृन्, (तच्छील-तद्धर्म-तत्साधुकारिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वधातुभ्यस्तृन्प्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तृन्विधावृत्विक्षु चानुपसर्गस्य ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नयतेः षुक् च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ त्विषेर्देवतायामकारश्चोपधाया अनिट्त्वञ्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्षदेश्च नियुक्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि तृच्च ॥

135. The affix तृन् comes after all verbs in the sense of 'agents having such a habit &c.

The न् of तृन् is indicatory, and regulates the accent (VI. 1. 197). As कृ+तृन्=कर्तृ, 1st sing. कर्ता. This affix denotes *habit* in the following; as, कर्ता कटान् 'who is accustomed to make mats. *Nature*:—as, मुण्डयितारः श्राविष्ठायना भवन्ति वधूमूढाम् 'the family of Srâvishtâyana shave the heads of their widows'; अन्नमपहर्तार आह्वरका भवन्ति श्राद्धे सिद्धे 'the Ahvarakas steal away food as soon as Srâddha is accomplished'; उन्नेतारस्तौल्वलायना भवन्ति पुत्रे जाते 'the Taulvalâyanas become elated on the birth of a son'. *Skill*:—as, कर्ता कटम् 'skilful maker of mats' गन्ताऽऽखेटम् 'skilful hunter.'

Vart:—The simple verbs, without upasargas, take the affix तृन्, when the words so formed are names of sacrificial priests. As हु+तृन्=होतृ, 1st. sing. होता 'the *Hotri* priest'; so also पोतृ 'the *Potri* priest'.

Why do we say 'when not taking the upasargas'? Observe उद्गातृ 'the Udgâtri priest'; प्रतिहर्तृ 'the *Pratihartri* priest'. Here the affix is तृच्. Though the form is the same, there is difference however in the accent; *i. e.* तृन् places udâtta accent on the first syllable (VI 1. 197), while तृच् places it on the last (VI. 1. 163).

Vart:—The augment षुक् is added when नी takes the affix तृन्; as नी+षुक्+तृन्=नेष्टृ, 1st. sing. नेष्टा 'the Neshtri priest'.

Vart:—When signifying deity, the verb त्विष् takes तृन्; the letter अ is the substitute for the इ of the root; and the affix does not take the intermediate इट् augment; as, त्विष्+तृन्=त्वष्टृ, 1st. sing. त्वष्टा 'Tvashtri.'

Vart:—The root क्षद takes तृन्, when the word to be formed means an officer; as क्षत्तृ 'an attendant, a door-keeper.'

Vart:—In the Veda, the root क्षद takes तृच्, as क्षत्तृ. The form is the same as the last, but there is difference of accent.

अलंकृञ्निराकृञ्प्रजनोत्पचोत्पतोन्मदरुच्यपत्रपवृतुवृधुसहचर इष्णुच् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलंकृञ्-निराकृञ्-प्रजन-उत्पच-उत्पत-उन्मद-रुचि-अपत्रप-वृतु-वृधु-सह-चरः, इष्णुच्, (तच्छीलादिषु, कर्तृषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अलंकृञादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु इष्णुच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अलंकृञो मण्डनार्थाद्युचः पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेनेष्णुच्वक्तव्यः ॥

136. The affix इष्णुच् comes after the following verbs in the sense of the 'agents having such a habit &c'; viz.—अलंकृ 'to adorn', निराकृ 'to expel', प्रजन् 'to be born,' उत्पच् 'to be ripe', उत्पत 'to fly', उन्मद् 'to be mad', रुच् 'to shine', अपत्रप् 'to be ashamed', वृत 'to move', वृध् 'to grow' सह् 'to bear' and चर् 'to walk'.

As अलंकरिष्णुः 'decorating', निराकरिष्णुः 'repudiating', प्रजनिष्णुः 'procreative', उत्पचिष्णुः 'apt to ripen', उत्पतिष्णुः 'flying', उन्मदिष्णुः 'mad', रोचिष्णुः 'bright', अपत्रपिष्णुः 'bashful', वर्त्तिष्णुः 'revolving', वर्द्धिष्णुः 'growing', सहिष्णुः 'patient', चरिष्णुः 'moveable'.

Vart :—The affix इष्णुच् debars by anticipation the affix वुञ् of III. 2 151, after the root अलंकृ, though it has the sense of decorating'.

णेश्छन्दसि ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ णेः, छंदसि, (तच्छीलादिषु, इष्णुच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यन्ताद्धातोश्छन्दसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु इष्णुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

137. The affix इष्णुच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', comes in the Chhandas, after the verb that ends in the causative णि.

The Causatives take this affix in the Vedic literature. As दृषदं धारयिष्णवः 'who hold the stones'; वीरुधः पारयिष्णवः ।

भुवश्च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, च, (छंदसि; तच्छीलादिषु, इष्णुच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्धातोश्छन्दसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु इष्णुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

138. The affix इष्णुच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c. comes in the Chhandas, after the verb भू 'to be' also.

Thus भविष्णुः 'becoming'.

The *yoga-vibhaga* or the division of this sûtra from the last, with which it could well have been read, is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra.

The word 'also' indicates the existence of other verbs not included in the above two sûtras; as भ्राजिष्णुना लोहितचन्दनेन ।

ग्लाजिस्थश्च क्स्नुः ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्ला-जि-स्थः, च, क्स्नुः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्ला जि स्था इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यश्चकाराद् भुवश्च तच्छीलादिषु क्स्नुःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दंशेश्छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

139. The affix क्स्नु comes after the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.? viz—ग्ला 'to be weary', जि 'to conquer' and स्था 'to stand', as well as after भू 'to be'.

As, ग्लास्नुः 'languid'; जिष्णुः 'victorious'; स्थास्नुः 'disposed to stand firm, immoveable'; भूष्णुः 'being'.

The anuvritti of the word *Chhandasi* does not extend to this sûtra. The indicatory letter of this affix is really ग and not क, and therefore, there is

no substitution of long ई for the आ of क्षप, which would otherwise have taken place, had the affix been कित (VI 4. 66).

In the sûtra I 1. 5. (क्ङिति च) the letter ग is also included; for ग coming before क, is changed by the rules of *sanlhi* into क and is not therefore visible. This affix therefore does not cause *guna*.

So also in sûtra VII. 2. 11. (श्र्युकः किति), the augment इट् does not come after the verb श्रु, or a monosyllabic verb ending in the pratyâhâra उक, when an affix having an indicatory क follows. Here also क includes ग; and therefore in भूष्णु we have no intermediate augment इट्.

Vart.—In the Chhandas this affix comes after the verb दंश 'to bite; as दंदश्नवः पशवः 'the beasts that bite'.

त्रसिगृधिधृषिक्षिपेः क्नुः ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रसि-गृधि-धृषि-क्षिपेः, क्नुः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रसादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु क्नुः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

140. The affix क्नु comes after the verbs त्रस् 'to tremble' गृध् 'to be greedy', धृष् 'to be bold' and क्षिप् 'to throw' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.'

As, त्रस्नुः 'trembling' गृध्नुः 'greedy'; धृष्णुः 'bold'; and क्षिप्नुः 'throwing'.

शमित्यष्टाभ्यो घिनुण् ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शम्-इति-अष्टाभ्यः, घिनुण्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शमादिभ्यो धातुभ्योऽष्टाभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु घिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix घिनुण् comes after the eight verbs beginning with शम् 'to be calm,' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.'

The word इति in the aphorism indicates beginning. These eight verbs begin with शम् and end with मद in the list of verbs. Of the affix घिनुण् the real affix is इन्, the other letters are servile; the घ is for the sake of substituting guttural for the final palatals; उ is for the sake of euphony, or for the sake of rule VI. 3. 45; and letter ण् causes vriddhi (VII. 2 116): which in the case of roots ending in म is prohibited by the rule VII. 3. 34, the only verb taking vriddhi being मद् .

As शमिन् 1st. sing. शमी 'calm'; likewise तमी 'desiring'; दमी 'taming'; श्रमी 'laborious'; भ्रमी 'whirling', 'moving round'; क्लमी 'fatiguing'; क्षमी 'forbearing'; प्रमादी 'heedless' and उन्मादी 'mad'. Though by rule 136, the ver' उन्मद takes the affix इष्णुच्, it also takes the affix घिनुण् by the rule of वाऽसरूप (III 1 94).

All these verbs belong to the *divâdi* class. After other verbs than these eight, we have other affixes; as असिता..

संपृचानुरुधाङ्यमाङ्यसपरिसृसंसृजपरिदेविसंज्वरपरिक्षिपपरिरट
परिवदपरिदहपरिमुहदुषद्विषद्रुहदुहयुजाक्रीडविविचत्यजरजभजातिचरापचरा-
मुषाभ्याहनश्च ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संपृच-अनुरुध-आङ्यम-आङ्यस-परिसृ-
संसृज-परिदेवि-संज्वर-परिक्षिप-परिरट-परिवद-परिदह-परिमुह-दुष-द्विष-द्रुह-
दुह-युज-आक्रीड-विविच-त्यज-रज-भज-अतिचर-अपचर-आमुष - अभ्याहनः,
च, (तच्छीलादिषु, घिनुण्) ॥

वृत्ति ॥ सम्पृचादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो घिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

142. The affix घिनुण् comes after the following verbs,
in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'. viz :—सम्पृच्,
अनुरुध्, आयम्, आयस्, परिसृ, संसृज्, परिदेव, संज्वर, परिक्षिप्, परिरट्, परिवद्, परिदह्, परिमुह्,
दुष्, द्विष्, द्रुह्, दुह्, युज्, आक्रीड्, विविच्, त्यज्, रज्, भज्, अतिचर्, अपचर्, आमुष् and
अभ्याहन्.

The root संपृच् is to be taken as belonging to the Rudhâdi class, and
not as belonging to Adâdi, because the vikaraṇa is elided in the latter. The
root परिदेव belongs to Bhvâdi class, the simple verb being देवृ 'to sport'. The
verb क्षिप् 'to throw' is common both to Tudâdi and Divâdi, and both are taken
here. युज् 'to concentrate' is Divâdi, and युज् 'to join' is Rudhâdi; both are
meant here. The verb रज् 'to color' has lost its nasal in this sûtra, irregularly.

Thus संपृच् + घिनुण् = संपर्क् + इन् (VII. 2. 52)—सम्पर्किन् 1st. sing. सम्पर्की
'mixture'; similarly, अनुरोधी 'compliant'; आयामी 'one who restrains'; आयासी
'one who exerts'; परिसारी 'that which flows round'; संसर्गी 'united'; परिदेवी 'lament-
ing'; संज्वारी 'greatly heating'; परिक्षेपी 'moving about'; परिराटी 'crying aloud';
परिवादी 'reviling'; परिदाही 'burning'; परिमोही 'beguiling'; दोषी 'guilty'; द्वेषी 'hat-
ing'; द्रोही 'quarrelling'; दोग्धी 'milking'; योगी 'uniting or concentrating'; आक्रीडी
'playing'; विवेकी 'discriminating'; त्यागी 'renouncing'; रागी 'yearning after', भागी
'sharing'; अतिचारी 'transgressing'; अपचारी 'offending'; आमोषी 'a thief'; अभ्याघाती
'attacking'. (VII. 3. 52 and 54).

The indicatory घ of the affix shows that the final palatal is changed
into a corresponding guttural before this affix.

वौ कषलसकत्थस्रम्भः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वौ, कष-लस-कत्थ-
स्रम्भः (घिनुण्, तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कष लस कत्थ स्रम्भ एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो व्युपपदे घिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

143 The affix घिनुण् comes after the verbs कष् 'to
injure', लस् 'to embrace and sport', कत्थ 'to praise' and स्रम्भ 'to be-
lieve', when these are in composition with the preposition वि ।

As विकाषी 'injuring'; विलासी 'sportive, a sensualist'; विकत्थी 'vaunting'; and विस्रम्भी 'confiding'.

अपे च लषः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपे, च, लषः, (घिनुण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लष कान्तौ, अस्माद्धातोर् अपउपपदे चकाराद्वौ च घिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

144. The affix घिनुण् comes after the verb लष 'to wish' when compounded with the prepositions अप and वि.

As अपलाषी 'thirst'; विलाषी. The term वि is to be read into this sûtra by the force of the word 'and'.

प्रे लपसृद्रुमथवदवसः ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, लप-सृ-द्रु-मथ वद-वसः, (घिनुण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र उपपदे लपादिभ्यो घिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

145. The affix घिनुण् comes after the verbs लप्, सृ, द्रु, मथ, वद् and वस when compounded with the preposition प्र.

As प्रलापी 'prattling'; प्रसारी 'extending around'; प्रद्रावी 'running away, fugitive'; प्रमाथी 'tormenting'; प्रवादी 'reporting'; प्रवासी 'a traveller'.

The root वस् here is the Bhvâdi वस् meaning 'to dwell' and is not Adâdi meaning 'to cover', because in the latter the vikarana is elided.

निन्दहिंसक्लिशखादविनाशपरिक्षिपपरिरटपरिवादिव्याभाषासूयो वुञ् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निन्द-हिंस-क्लिश-खाद-विनाश-परिक्षिप-परिरट-परिवादि-व्याभाष-असूयः, वुञ्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निन्दादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु वुञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

146. The affix वुञ् is added to the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.':—

निन्द्, हिंस्, क्लिश्, खाद्, विनाश्, परिक्षिप्, परिरट्, परिवादि, व्याभाष् and असूय ।

In this sûtra the whole phrase ending with असूय has taken the termination of the first case; which, however, has the force of the ablative here.

As निन्द्+वुञ=निन्दकः (VII. 1. 1) 'blaming'; so also हिंसकः 'injuring'; क्लेशकः 'tormenting or troublesome'; खादकः 'eating'; विनाशकः 'destroying'; परिक्षेपकः 'surrounding'; परिराटकः 'who cries aloud'; परिवादकः 'a plaintiff'; व्याभाषकः 'detracting'; and असूयकः 'detracting'.

The same forms as the above would have been obtained by adding the affix ण्वुल् taught in III. 1. 133, as by adding वुञ्; its separate enunciation indicates the existence of this paribhâshâ:—

'The rule of III. 1. 94 by which an *apavâda*-affix which is not uniform with an *utsarga*-affix should supersede the latter only optionally, has no concern with *apavâda*-affixes added in the sense of 'having such a habit' *i. e.* with the affixes taught in III. 2. 134—177'. Therefore the affixes तृच् &c, are not added in the sense of 'having such a habit &c'.

देविक्रुशोश्चोपसर्गे ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवि-क्रुशोः, च, उपसर्गे; (वुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवयतेः क्रुशेश्चोपसर्गे उपपदे वुञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

147. The affix वुञ् comes after the verbs देवि 'to lament' and क्रुश् 'to cry', when an upasarga is in composition with them.

As आदेवकः 'one who sports or laments'; आक्रोशकः 'vociferous, a reviler'. परिदेवकः 'one who laments'; परिक्रोशकः 'a reviler'.

Why do we say 'when in composition with an *upasarga*'? Observe देविता and क्रोष्टा formed by तृच् (III. 2 135).

चलनशब्दार्थादकर्मकाद् युच् ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चलन-शब्दार्थात्, अकर्मकाद्, युच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चलनार्थेभ्यः शब्दार्थेभ्यश्चाकर्मकेभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु युच्प्रत्ययो भवति॥

148. The affix युच् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' after intransitive verbs denoting 'motion' or 'sound'.

As, चल् + युच् = चलनः 'moving' (VII. 1. 1.); चोपनः 'creeping'; शब्दनः 'sounding'; रवणः 'roaring'.

Why do we say 'intransitive'? Observe पठिता विद्याम्.

अनुदात्तेतश्च हलादेः ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तेतः, च, हलादेः, (युच्, अकर्मकात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तेतो धातुः हलादिरकर्मकस्तस्मात् युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

149. The affix युच् comes in the same sense after such intransitive verbs as are Atmanepadi and begin with a consonant and are Anudâttet i. e. have a gravely accented vowel as indicatory.

As वर्तनः 'being'; वर्द्धनः 'growing'.

Why do we say 'Anudâttet'? Observe भविता.

Why do we say 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe एधिता, which though Atmanepadi, takes तृच्.

Why have we used the term आदि 'beginning' in the sûtra? Observe जुगुप्सनः 'censuring'; मीमांसनः 'an investigator. For without the word आदि, the rule would have stood thus:—अनुदात्तेतश्च हलः which by I. 1. 72. would mean 'the affix युच् comes after the verbs which end with a consonant'; so that even after वच we shall have युच्; and there would be no युच् after जुगुप्स which ends with a vowel.

This rule will not apply if the root is transitive; as वसिता वस्त्रं :

जुचङ्क्रम्यदन्द्रम्यसृगृधिज्वलशुचलषपतपदः ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥
जु-चङ्क्रम्य-दन्द्रम्य-सृ-गृधि-ज्वल-शुच-लष-पत-पदः, (युच्, तच्छीलादिषु)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जु प्रभृतिभ्यो धातुभ्यो युच् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

150. The affix युच् comes after the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'. viz:—जु, चंक्रम्य, दन्द्रम्य, सृ, गृध, ज्वल, शुच, लष, पत and पद.

The verb जु is not to be found in the Dhâtupâtha, and is taught in the aphorisms and is hence called a *sautra dhâtu*. It means 'to go', 'to be quick'. As जु+युच्=जो+अन (VIII. 1 1. and VII 3. 84)=जवनः (VI. 1. 78, II. 3. 46) 'a courser, a swift horse'. चंक्रम+युच्=चंक्रम्+अन् (II. 4. 74)=चंक्रमणः 'moving about'; so also दंद्रमणः 'wandering'; सरणः 'flowing'; गर्द्धनः 'greedy'; ज्वलनः burning; शोचनः 'grieving'; लषणः 'desiring' पतनः 'falling', पदनः 'moving'.

The enumeration of the word पद in the above. indicates that this sûtra applies to the transitive verbs; otherwise the sûtra III. 2. 148 would have been sufficient, as पद is a चलनार्थ verb. Others say that the inclusion of पद् in this aphorism indicates the existence of the *paribhâshá* already given under sûtra III. 2. 146 *i. e.* the rule of III. 1. 94 has no concern with affixes added in the sense of 'having such a habit &c'. The affix इष्णुच् which by III. 2. 136 is added to अलंकृञ्, supersedes therefore not merely the addition of तृन् to अलंकृञ् (III. 2 135), but also the addition of वुञ् to the same. If a *atáchchhilika apaváda* were to supersede only an *atáchchhilika utsarga*, it would have been superfluous for Pânini to teach in this sûtra the addition of युच् to पद्, because in that case the addition of उकञ् to पद्, by III. 2. 154 would not have debarred the addition of युच् to पद् by III 2. 149. The repetition is for the sake of *jnâpana*, therefore, and it indicates the existence of the above-mentioned maxim. The *jnâpaka* is not, however, of universal application; for sometimes both affixes are applied concurrently; as, गन्ता खेदं विकत्थनः ।

क्रुधमण्डार्थेभ्यश्च ॥१५१॥पदानि॥क्रुध-मण्ड-अर्थेभ्यः, च, (युच)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रुध कोपे, मण्ड भूषायाम्, इत्येतदर्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यो युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

151. And after the verbs having the sense of क्रुध् 'to be angry' and मण्ड 'to adorn', the affix युच् is employed.

As क्रोधनः 'wrathful'; रोषणः 'irascible'; मण्डनः 'adorning'; भूषणः 'ornament'. But not so after the verb, अलंकृ to which sûtra III 2. 136 applies.

न यः ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यः, (युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारान्ताद्धातोर्युच् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

152. The affix युच् is not employed after those verbs which end in the letter य.

This debars III. 2. 149. As क्नूयिता 'making creaking sound'; क्ष्मायिता 'trembling'. In these cases the affix तृन् is employed (III. 2. 135).

सूददीपदीक्षश्च ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूद-दीप-दीक्षः, च, (युच्, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सूददीपदीक्ष इत्येतेभ्यश्च युच् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

153. The affix युच् does not come after the verbs सूद् 'to strike', दीप् 'to shine' and दीक्ष् 'to initiate'.

These three verbs are *anudâttet*, and by sutra III. 3. 149, would have taken युच्. The present sûtra prohibits that. Therefore they take तृच्. As, सूदितृ 1st. sing सूदिता 'one who strikes'; दीपितृ 'one who shines'; दीक्षितृ 'one who initiates'.

Now, it might be objected—"We find that sûtra III. 2. 167 specifically enjoins the affix र after दीप्; this apavâda rule will therefore, supersede the general rule; where is then the necessity of the present rule? If you say that the affix युच् is also obtained by the rule of non-uniformity (III. 1. 94), we reply that the Paribhâshâ given under sûtra 146 and 150 will prevent that." This objection is answered by saying that the above-mentioned Paribhâshâ is not of universal application; there are exceptions to it, as कम्रा युवतिः and कमना युवतिः 'a young girl' which are both valid forms derived by adding र and युच् to the verb कम्. So also कम्प्रा and कम्पना शाखा 'a shaking branch'.

If we prohibit युच् after the root सूद्, how do we get the forms मधुसूदन and रिपुसूदन? This objection may be answered in three ways: (1) the present is an *anitya* rule, not of universal application, which can be inferred from finding this sûtra separated from the last (yogavibhâga), when it was easier to make them one, (2) the words मधुसूदन &c. belong to the नन्द्यादि class (III. 1. 134) taking the affix ल्यु or (3) they are formed by III. 3. 113 by the affix ल्युट्.

लषपतपदस्थाभूवृषहनकमगमशॄभ्य उकञ् ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लष-पत-पद-स्था-भू-वृष-हन-कम-गम-शॄभ्यः, उकञ्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लषादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु उकञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

154. The affix उकञ् comes affter the following verbs, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c':—लष्, पत्, पद्, स्था, भू, वृष्, हन्, कम्, गम् and शॄ।

As अपलाषुकं वृषलसंगतं, प्रपातुका गर्भा भवन्ति, उपपादुकं सत्वं, उपस्थायुका एनं पशवो भवन्ति, प्रभावुकमन्नं भवति, प्रवर्षुकाः पर्जन्याः, आघातुकं कापालिकस्य मूत्रम्, कामुक एनं स्त्रियो भवन्ति, आगामुकं वाराणसीं रक्ष आहुः, किंशारुकं तीक्ष्णमाहुः। The य is added after स्था in उपस्थायुक by VII. 3 33. The हन् is changed into घात् by VII. 3. 32 and 54.

जल्पभिक्षकुट्टलुण्टवृङः षाकन् ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जल्प-भिक्ष-कुट्ट-लुण्ट-वृङः, षाकन्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जल्पादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु षाकन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

155. The affix षाकन् comes, in the sense of the 'agent having such a habit &c', after the following verbs:—जल्प्, भिक्ष्, कुट्ट, लुण्ट and वृ।

The च is indicatory showing that the feminine of the words so formed take the affix ङीष् *i.e* long ई (IV, I. 41). As जल्पाकः 'talkative'; भिक्षाकः 'a beggar'; कुट्टाकः 'who or what cuts'; लुण्टाकः 'a thief or robber'; वराकः 'low, miserable'. In the feminine जल्पाकी &c.

प्रजोरिनिः ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रजोः, इनिः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वाज्जवतेस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु इनिःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

156. The affix इनि comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit etc'. after the verb प्रजु 'to hasten forward'.

As प्रजविन्, 1st. sing. प्रजवी 'an express, courier', 1st. dual प्रजविनौ &c.

जिदृक्षिविश्रीण्वमाव्यथाभ्यमपरिभूप्रसूभ्यश्च ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥

जि-दृ-क्षि-विश्रि-इण्-वम-अव्यथ-अभ्यम-परिभू-प्रसूभ्यः, च,(इनिः,तच्छी०)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिप्रभृतिभ्यो धातुभ्य इनिःप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

157. The affix इनि comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs जि 'to conquer,' दृ 'to respect', क्षि 'to waste, to dwell, to go. विश्रि 'to shelter', इ 'to go', वम् 'to vomit'. अव्यथ 'not to give pain', अभ्यम to injure', परिभू 'to humiliate' and प्रसू 'to beget'.

As जयिन् 1st. sing जयी 'conquering;', similarly, दरी 'respecting'; क्षयी 'wasting'; विश्रयी 'wasting'; अत्ययी 'exceeding; वमी 'vomiting'; अव्यथी 'free from pain'; अभ्यमी 'not injuring'; परिभवी 'humiliating' and प्रसवी 'procreating'.

स्पृहिगृहिपतिदयिनिद्रातन्द्राश्रद्धाभ्य आलुच् ॥ १५८ ॥पदानि॥

स्पृहि-गृहि-पति-दयि-निद्रा-तन्द्रा-श्रद्धाभ्यः, आलुच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पृहिगृहिपतिदयिनिद्रातन्द्राश्रद्धा एतेभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु आलुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आलुचि शीङो ग्रहणं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

158. The affix आलुच् comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the following words:—स्पृह 'to desire', गृह 'to seize', पत 'to go', दय 'to give. to go, to protect', निद्रा 'to sleep'. तन्द्रा to be tired' and श्रद्धा to venerate'.

The word निद्रा is formed by adding the preposition नि to the verb द्रा 'to go crookedly'; so also तन्द्रा is formed by adding तद् to द्रा, and then irregularly changing the द् into न्. The term श्रद्धा is formed by adding श्रत् to the verb डु धाञ् to hold'. The first three verbs belong to Churâdi class and take णिच्.

As, स्पृहयालुः 'disposed to be desirous of; गृहयालुः 'disposed to catch hold of or seize'; पतयालुः 'tending or prone to fall'; दयालुः 'compassionate'; निद्रालुः disposed to sleep'; तन्द्रालुः 'slothful'; श्रद्धालुः 'full of faith'. See VI. 4. 55 for adding अय ।

Vart:—The affix आलुच् comes also after the root शीङ् 'to lie down'; as शयालुः 'disposed to lie down.'

दाधेट्सिशदसदो रुः॥ १५९॥ पदानि॥ दा-धेट्-सि-शद्-सदः, रुः॥

वृत्तिः॥ दा धेट् सि शद सद इत्येतेभ्यो रुः प्रत्ययो भवति॥

159. The affix रु comes after the verbs दा 'to give', धेट् 'to suck', सि to bind', शद 'to fall' and सद 'to sit'.

As, दारुः 'a munificent man'; धारुर्वत्सो मातरम् 'a sucking child of the mother'. The genitive case is here prohibited by II 3. 69, the रु being taken as equivalent to उ. As सेरुः 'binding'; शद्रुः 'falling' and सद्रुः 'resting'.

सृघस्यदः क्मरच्॥१६०॥पदानि॥ सृ-घसि-अदः, क्मरच्,(तच्छी०)॥

वृत्ति॥ सृ घसि अद इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु क्मरच् प्रत्ययो भवति॥

160. The affix क्मरच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' comes after the verbs सृ 'to flow', घसि 'to eat' and अद 'to eat'.

As सृमरः 'going, a kind of deer'; घस्मरः 'gluttonous', अद्मरः 'voracious'.

भञ्जभासमिदो घुरच्॥ १६१॥ पदानि॥ भञ्ज-भास-मिदः, घुरच्, (तच्छीलादिषु)॥

वृत्तिः॥ भञ्ज भास मिद इत्येतेभ्यो घुरच् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु॥

161. The affix घुरच् comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.', after the verbs भञ्ज् 'to break भास् 'to shine', and मिद 'to be fat.'

As भंज्+घुरच्=भंग्+उर (VII. 3. 52)=भंगुरः 'brittle'; the palatal being changed into guttural, because of the indicatory घ. So also मेदुरः पशुः 'a fat beast'; भासुरं ज्योतिः 'splendid light'.

After the verb भञ्ज् this affix gives a reflexive signification—that which naturally breaks of itself.

विदिभिदिच्छिदेः कुरच्॥ १६२॥ पदानि॥ विदि-भिदि-छिदेः, कुरच्, (तच्छीलादिषु)॥

वृत्तिः॥ विदादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु कुरच् प्रत्ययो भवति॥

वार्त्तिकम्॥ व्यधेः सम्प्रसारणं कुरच्च वक्तव्यः॥

162. The affix कुरच् comes, in the sense of the 'agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs विद् 'to know' भिद् 'to divide and छिद् 'to pierce.'

As विदुरः पण्डितः 'a knowing Pandit'; भिदुरं काष्ठम् 'a splitting or fragile wood'; छिदुरा रज्जुः 'a cutting or breaking rope'. The affix is employed in a reflexive sense after the verbs भिद and छिद.

Vart:—The affix कुरच् comes after the verb व्यध 'to kill'; and there is vocalisation of the semivowel; as विधुरः ॥

इण्नश्जिसर्तिभ्यः क्वरप् ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इण्-नश्-जि-सर्तिभ्यः, क्वरप्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इण् नश् जि इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु क्वरप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

163. The affix क्वरप् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c,' after the verbs इ 'to go', नश् 'to destroy', जि 'to conquer', and सृ 'to flow'.

The प् is indicatory in order to introduce the augment तुक् between the verb and the affix (VI. 1.71). Thus इ + क्वरप् = इ + त् + वर = इत्वरः, fem. इत्वरी 'a traveller'; नश्वरः, *fem*. नश्वरी 'transitory'; जित्वरः, fem. जित्वरी 'victorious; सृत्वरः fem. सृत्वरी 'going, a river'.

Though the affix begins with a letter of वल् *pratyâhâra*, and ought to have taken the intermediate इट् (VII 2. 35) yet it is prohibited by VII. 2. 8.

गत्वरश्च ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्वरः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्वर इति निपात्यते, गमेरनुनासिकलोपः क्वरप्प्रत्ययश्च ॥

164. And the word गत्वर is irregularly formed.

The गत्वर is formed by eliding the म् of गम् and adding the affix क्वरप्. As गत्वरः, fem. गत्वरी locomotive, transient'.

जागुरूकः ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जागुः, ऊकः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जागर्तेरूकःप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

165. The affix ऊक comes after the verb जागृ 'to be awake' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit'.

As जागरूकः 'wakeful'.

यजजपदशां यङः ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज-जप-दशाम्, यङः (तच्छीलादिषु, ऊकः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजादीनां यङन्तानामूकःप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

166. The affix ऊक comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' after the verbs यज्, जप् and दंश when they end in the affix यङ्.

The intensives of these verbs take ऊक. As यायजूकः 'a performer of frequent sacrifices', जञ्जपूकः 'a mutterer of prayers repeatedly, दन्दशूकः 'a snake (what bites frequently').

नमिकम्पिस्म्यजसकमहिंसदीपो रः ॥१६७॥पदानि॥ नमि-कम्पि-स्मि-अजस-कम-हिंस-दीपः, रः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नम्यादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु रःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

167. The affix र comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' after the verbs नम 'to bow', कम्प् 'to shake', स्मि 'to smile', अजस् 'not to cease', कम 'to desire', हिंस 'to injure', and दीप 'to shine'.

Thus, नम्रं काष्ठं 'soft wood'; कम्प्रा शाखा 'shaking branch'; स्मेरं मुखं 'smiling face'; अजस्रं जुहोति 'he sacrifices perpetually'; कम्रा युवती 'a beautiful maiden'; हिंस्रं रक्षः 'the injuring Rakshas: दीप्रं काष्ठं 'brilliant wood'.

The word अजस्रं is an adverb, and is derived from the root जसु 'to set free', with the negative particle अ, and the affix र; as अ+जस्+र=अजस्रं ।

सनाशंसभिक्ष उः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन-आशंस-भिक्षः, उः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सन्नन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्य आशंसेर्भिक्षेश्च तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु उःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

168. The affix उ comes after roots that have taken the affix सन्, and after the verbs आशंस् 'to wish' and भिक्ष् 'to beg' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The term सन् in the aphorism means Desideratives in the affix सन्, and not the verb सन्, because the verb सन् is never seen with this affix.

As, चिकीर्षुः 'desirous of doing'; जिहीर्षुः desirous of taking', आशंसुः 'desirous'; भिक्षुः 'a beggar'.

The verb आशंस् with the upasarga आ is the verb शंसि 'to desire' and not the verb शंसि 'to praise'.

विन्दुरिच्छुः ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विन्दुः, इच्छुः, (तच्छी०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदेर्नुमागम इषेश्छत्वमुकारश्च प्रत्ययो निपात्यते तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

169. The words विन्दु and इच्छु are irregularly formed by the addition of the affix उ, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

To the verb विदि we add the augment नुम् and then the affix उ; as, विद्+नुम्+उ=विन्दुः (I 1. 47)=वेदनशीलाः 'intelligent', so of इष् 'to wish' the ष is replaced by छ and we have इच्छुः=एषणशीलः 'desirous'.

क्याच्छन्दसि ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यात्, छन्दसि, (तच्छील०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्यप्रत्ययान्ताद्धातोश्छन्दसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु उकारप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

170. The affix उ comes in the Chhandas, after the roots that have taken the Denominative affix क्य in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The term क्य includes the three affixes क्यच्, क्यङ् and क्यष् (see sutras III. 1. 8, 11, 13, &c). As मित्रयुः, संस्वेदयुः, सुम्नयुः (Rig. Ved. I. 3, 4).

In the modern Sanskrit तृन् will be employed. As निर्मोचिता. By sûtra VII 4. 33, the long ई replaces the final अ, when क्यच् follows; as पुत्र+क्यच्=पुत्री+य=पुत्रीय Why then in the case of मित्रयुः there is not the substitution of long ई for the अ of मित्र? Because the rule VII. 4. 33. is set aside by VII. 4. 35. which declares that in the Chhandas the long ई is not substituted for the अ।

आदृगमहनजनः किकिनौ लिट् च ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदृ-ऋ-गम-हन-जनः, कि-किनौ, लिट्, च, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्य ऋवर्णान्तेभ्यश्च गम हन जन इत्येतेभ्यश्छन्दसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु किकिनौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः, लिड्वच्च तौ भवतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ किकिनावुत्सर्गश्छन्दसि सदादिभ्यो दर्शनात् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भाषायां धाञ्कृसृजनिगमिनमिभ्यः किकिनौ वक्तव्यौ ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सहिवहिचलिपतिभ्यो यङन्तेभ्यः किकिनौ वक्तव्यौ ॥

171. In the Chhandas, the affixes कि and किन् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c, come after the verbs that end in long आ, or short or long ऋ, and after the verbs गम् 'to go', हन् 'to kill', and जन् 'to be produced', and these affixes operate like लिट् causing reduplication of the root.

The ट् after आ is either for the sake of euphony, or for the sake of precision. Had it been त्, then by the rule of तपर (I. 1. 70) short ऋ would only be included and not long ॠ But the present rule is applicable to long ॠ as well.

Thus पा+कि=पपिः 'drinking'; as पपिः सोमं 'drinking the soma-juice'; ददिर्गाः 'giving cows' (Rig. Ved VI. 23. 4). मित्रावरुणौ ततुरिः (Rig. Ved. IV. 39. 2, VI. 68. 7). दूरे ह्यध्वा जगुरिः (Rig. Ved. X. 108. 1). गम्+किन्+जग्मिः 'being in constant motion, wind'; जग्मिर्युवा (Rig Ved. II. 23. 11); हन्+किन्=जघ्निः 'killing, a weapon offensive'; जघ्निर्वृत्रम् =(Rig Ved IX 6. 12); जन्+किन्=जज्ञिः as जज्ञिर्बीजम् (T. S. VII. 5. 20. 1).

The letter क् in these affixes is indicatory. It might be said 'it is superfluous to make these affixes कित्, because these being treated like लिट् will be कित् by rule I. 2. 5'. True, they would be कित् by the rule I. 2. 5, but then the rule VII. 4. 11. (when *lit* follows, *guna* is the substitute of the verb ऋच्छ and of those that end in the long ॠ) would also have applied to these affixes, and would have caused *guna*. It is to prevent this *guna* of the letter ॠ that we have annexed an indicatory क to these affixes.

Vart:—The affixes कि and किन् are of universal application in the Chhandas, and not confined to the verbs enumerated in the sûtra, as we see them in सद् &c., as सेदिः (Yaj. Ved. XII. 105); नेमिः (Rig. Ved. II. 5. 3).

Vart:—The affixes कि and किन् come after the roots धाञ्, कृञ्, सृ, जनि,

नमि, and नमि in the secular literature also; as, दधिः, चक्रिः, चक्रिः, जज्ञिः, जग्मिः, नेमिः।

Vart.—The affixes कि and किन् come after the Intensive (यङन्त) roots of वहृ, वृ, चल्, and पत्. As, वावहिः वावरिः, चाचलिः, पापतिः (VII. 4. 83).

स्वपितृषोर्नजिङ् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपि-तृषोः, नजिङ्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वपेस्तृषेश्च तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु नजिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ धृषेश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

172. The affix नजिङ् comes, in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c', after the verbs स्वप् 'to sleep' and तृष 'to be thirsty'.

As स्वप्+नजिङ्=स्वप्नज् 1st sing. स्वप्नक् 'sleeping, drowsy'; तृष्णज् 1st. sing. तृष्णक् 'covetous, thirsty'.

Vart:—So also after the verb धृष् 'to insult, be bold'; as, धृष्णज् 1st. sing. धृष्णक् 'bold, impudent'.

शॄवन्द्योरारुः ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शॄ-वन्द्योः, आरुः, (तच्छील०) ॥

वृत्ति.॥ शॄ हिंसायाम् वन्दि अभिवादनस्तुत्योः एताभ्यां तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु आरुःप्रत्ययो भवति॥

173. The affix आरु comes in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c' after the verbs शॄ 'to injure' and वन्द 'to praise', 'to salute'.

As शरारुः 'noxious, a mischievous animal'; वन्दारुः 'praising, a bard'.

भियः क्रुक्लुकनौ ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भियः, क्रु-क्लुकनौ, (तच्छील०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ञिभी भये अस्मात्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु क्रुक्लुकनौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्रुकन्नपि वक्तव्यः ॥

174. The affixes क्रु and क्लुकन come in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit' after the verb भी 'to fear'.

As, भीरुः 'fearful, timid'; भीलुकः 'timorous, a bear, a tiger, a jackal'.

Vart:—The affix क्रुकन् should also be stated; as भीरुकः

स्थेशभासपिसकसो वरच् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्था-ईश-भास-पिस-कसः, वरच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्था ईश भास पिस कस एतेभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु वरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

175. The affix वरच् comes in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c.' after the verbs स्था 'to stand' ईश 'to rule' भास् 'to shine', पिस् 'to go' and कस 'to go'.

As स्थावरः 'immoveable'; ईश्वरः 'ruler, God'; पेस्वरः 'going, destructive'; विकस्वरः 'opening, expanding'.

यश्च यङः ॥१७६॥ पदानि॥ यः, च, यङः, (तच्छीलादिषु, वरच्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ या प्रापणे अस्माद्यङन्तात्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु वरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

176. The affix वरच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' comes after the verb या when it ends with the affix यङ्.

With the affix यङ्, the intensives of verbs are formed; as यायावरः 'a vagrant, an ascetic'. See sûtra I. 1. 58.

भ्राजभासधुर्विद्युतोर्जिपॄजुग्रावस्तुवः क्विप् ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्राज-भास-धुर्वि-द्युत-ऊर्जि-पॄ-जु-ग्रावस्तुवः, क्विप्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्राजादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

177. The affix क्विप् comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' after the verbs भ्राज् 'to shine' भास 'to shine', धुर्व 'to injure', द्युत 'to shine', ऊर्ज 'to be strong', पॄ 'to fill', जु 'to move rapidly' and स्तु 'to praise', when it is preceded by the word ग्रावन् 'a stone'.

Thus, विभ्राज् 1st. sing. विभ्राट् 'splendid'; भास् 1st. sing. भाः 'light'; धुर्व + क्विप् = धुर् (VI. 4. 21), 1st. sing. धूः 'who injures'; विद्युत् 'lightening'; ऊर्ज 1st. sing. ऊर्क् 'strength'; पुर् 1st sing. पूः 'what fills'; जूः 'swift'. In the case of जु, a long vowel is the substitute of जु; ग्रावस्तुत् (VI 1.71) 'a stone-worshipper' Though by the universal rule III. 2. 76, the affix क्विप् would have come after these verbs also, the repetition of the affix shows that वासरूपविधि does not apply in *tâchchhilika* affixes.

अन्येभ्योपि दृश्यते ॥ १७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यते, (तच्छीलादिषु, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योपि धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु क्विप्प्रत्ययो दृश्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्विब्वचिप्रच्छ्यायतस्तु कटप्रुजुश्रीणां दीर्घोऽसम्प्रसारणं च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्युतिगमिजुहोतीनां द्वे च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ जुहोतेर्दीर्घश्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दृभय इत्यस्य ह्रस्वश्च द्वे च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ध्यायतेः संप्रसारणं च ॥

178 The affix क्विप् is seen after other verbs also, besides those mentioned above, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.'

As युज. 1st. sing युङ् 'joining'; छिद् 'piercing'; भिद् 'dividing'.

By using the words 'is seen' in the aphorism, it is implied that other rules also apply concurrently with क्विप्. Thus in some cases we find lengthening of the vowel; in some, there is reduplication of the root; in some instances there is *samprasârana* of the semivowel; and in other cases there is not

Vart :—When क्विप् follows, the long vowel is the substitute of वच् 'to speak', प्रच्छ् 'to ask', आयतस्तु 'to praise long', कटप्रु 'to move through a mat', द्रु 'to move rapidly', and श्री 'to serve', and there is no substitution of a vowel for the semivowel (VI. 1. 16).

As, वाक् 'the voice'; प्रच्छ+क्विप्=प्रछ्=क्विप् (VI. 1. 10)=प्रष्+क्विप् (VIII. 2. 36)=प्राट् (VIII. 4 56) 'who asks'; आयतस्तूः 'who praises long'; कटप्रूः 'a worm'; द्रूः 'swift'; श्रीः 'the goddess Lakshmi'.

The word द्रु which was mentioned in the last sûtra is redundant here.

Vart :—There is reduplication of the verbs द्युत 'to shine', गम् 'to go' and ह्वे 'to invoke', when क्विप् follows. As, दिद्युत 'shining'; जगत् 'going, the world'.

Vart :—There is lengthening also of the vowel of जुहुः as जुहूः 'a crescent shaped wooden ladle used for pouring the sacrificial ghee into the fire.

Vart :—The root दॄ 'to tear' is shortened also; as दृहत् 'tearing'.

Vart :—The verb ध्या 'to think' has samprasâraṇa; as धीः 'thinking'.

भुवः संज्ञान्तरयोः ॥ १७९॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, संज्ञा-अन्तरयोः, (क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्धातोः संज्ञायामन्तरे च गम्यमाने क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

179. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb भू 'to be' when the word so formed denotes a name or a surety.

As, विभूः 'a person called Vibhu'; प्रतिभूः 'a surety *i. e.* he who stands intermediate between the debtor and the creditor

विप्रसंभ्यो डुवसंज्ञायाम् ॥ १८० ॥ पदानि ॥ वि-प्र-सम्भ्यो, डु, असंज्ञायाम्, (भुवः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि प्र सम् इत्येवं पूर्वाद्भवतेर्धातोः डुप्रत्ययो भवति न चेत् संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ डुप्रकरणे मितद्र्वादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

180. The affix डु comes after the verb भू when it is preceded by the upasargas वि, प्र and सम् provided that the word to be formed does not mean an appellative.

As विभुः 'all pervading'; प्रभुः 'lord'; संभुः 'Creator'

Why do we say 'when it is not a proper name? Observe विभूः 'a person called Vibhu'.

Vart :—The words मितद्रु &c., also are formed by this affix. As मितद्रु 'the sea'; शंभुः 'causing happiness'.

Why have we applied डु and not क्विप् to this root, as the forms would have been the same in either case? We have done so for two purposes (1) To prevent the rules relating to *dhâtus* from applying to this. (2) To prevent the insertion of उवङ् augment. Thus the 1st. dual of मितद्रु is मितद्रू, 1st. pl. is मितद्रवः। Here there is no substitution of उवङ् which the rule VI. 4. 77 required, if द्रु had retained its *dhâtu* characteristic; so also the rule of accent in VI 1 175

does not apply to Instrumental sing. मितद्रुवा &c ,(2.) We have no उ which rule VI. 1. 71 required. मितं द्रवति=मितद्रुः ।

धः कर्मणि ष्ट्रन् ॥ १८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धः, कर्मणि, ष्ट्रन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धयतेर्दधातेश्च कर्मणि कारके ष्ट्रन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

181. The affix ष्ट्रन् comes, in denoting the object, after the verb धा to feed'.

The indicatory ष denotes that the feminine is formed by ङीष् (ई) affix. As धात्री 'a nurse whom the children suck (*dhayanti*)'; and 'Amalaki fruit which holds (*dadhati*) all medicinal properties '.

दाम्नीशसयुयुजस्तुतुदसिसिचमिहपतदशनहः करणे ॥ १८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाप्-नी-शस्-यु-युज-स्तु तुद्-सि-सिच्-मिह्-पत्-दश्-नहः, करणे, (ष्ट्रन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाप् नी शस यु युज स्तु तुद सि सिच मिह पत दश नह इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः करणे कारके ष्ट्रन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

182. The affix ष्ट्रन्, with the sense of instrument, comes after the verbs दाप 'to cut नी to lead', शंस ' to hurt ', यु 'to join', युज ' to join', स्तु 'to praise', तुद 'to inflict pain', सि 'to bind', सिच् 'to sprinkle', मिह 'to urine', पत 'to fall', दश 'to bite' and नह to bind'.

As दात्र, Ist. sing neuter दात्रम् 'a sickle' (lit. that with which one cuts ; नेत्र Ist sing. नेत्रम् eye'; शस्त्रं (VII. 2 9.) 'a weapon'; योत्रं 'the tie that fastens the yoke'; योक्त्रम् 'the tie of yoke'; स्तोत्रं 'a panegyric'; तोत्रं 'a goad', सेत्रं 'a ligament'; सेक्त्रं 'a sprinkling vessel'; मेढ्रम् 'the penis'; पत्रम् 'a vehicle'; दंष्ट्रा 'a large tooth'.

The word दंष्ट्रा belongs to the *Ajâdi* class and hence forms its feminine in टाप् (आ) and not in ई (IV 1. 4).

The root दंश is read in the aphorism without its nasal *i. e.* as दश्. This indicates by implication that दश् loses its nasal before some affixes such as ल्युट्; thus we have दशनम् 'tooth'.

And lastly नह्+ष्ट्रन्=नद्ध्र fem. नद्ध्री (VIII. 2 34 and 40), 'a thong'.

हलसूकरयोः पुवः ॥ १८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल-सूकरयोः, पुवः,(ष्ट्रन्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूञ् पूङ् पवने, अस्माद्धातोः करणे कारके ष्ट्रन्प्रत्ययो भवति तच्चेद् करणं हलसूकरयोरवयवो भवति ॥

183 The affix ष्ट्रन् is employed after the verb पु with the sense of instrument when denoting a member of the body of a plough or of a hog.

The verb पु includes both पूङ् and पूञ्; as पोत्रम् 'a plough-share'; पोत्रम् 'the snout of a hog'.

अर्तिलूधूसूखनसहचर इत्रः ॥ १८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्ति-लू-धू-सू-खन-सह-चरः, इत्रः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्ति लू धू सू खन सह चर इत्येभ्यो धातुभ्यः करणे कारके इत्रप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

184. The affix इत्र comes after the verbs ऋ 'to go', लू 'to cut', धू 'to shake', सू 'to bring forth', खन् 'to dig', सह् 'to bear', and चर् 'to go' with the sense of instrument.

Thus, अरित्रं 'a rudder'; लवित्रं 'a sickle'; धवित्रं 'a fan'; सवित्रं 'cause of production'; खनित्रं 'a spade'; सहित्रं 'patience'; चरित्र 'an instituted observance or a narrative'.

पुवः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुवः, संज्ञायाम्, (इत्रः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पवतेर्धातोः करणे कारके इत्रप्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

185. The affix इत्र comes after the verb पू 'to purify' with the sense of the agent so expressed being the instrument; when the sense of the complete word is simply appellative and not descriptive.

The verb पू includes two verbs पूङ् and पूञ् both meaning 'to purify', but belonging to two different conjugations; as पवित्रं an instrument for cleansing or purifying, such as a sieve or a strainer; and in this sense it means 'two blades of *Kusa* grass used at sacrifices in purifying and sprinkling ghee'. It also means 'the sacred thread, the clarified butter, &c.

कर्तरि चर्षिदेवतयोः ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, च, ऋषि-देवतयोः, (इत्रः, पुवः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुवः करणे कर्तरि च इत्रप्रत्ययो भवति, ऋषिदेवतयोर्यथासंख्यं संबन्धः ॥

186. The affix इत्र comes after the verb पू 'to purify' in the sense of the agent or the instrument' when it is respectively employed in connection with a sage or a deity.

That is to say, when applied to a *Rishi* the force is that of an instrument, and when applied to a *Devata* the force is that of an agent. As, पवित्रोऽयमृषिः 'this sage is sacred' (through whose instrumentality one is sanctified) अग्निः पवित्रं स मा पुनातु ' the God Agni is sacred' (one that purifies), 'let him purify me' So also, वायुः सोमः सूर्य इन्द्रः पवित्रं ते मा पुनन्तु ।

ञीतः क्तः ॥ १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ञि इतः, क्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ञीतो धातोर्वर्तमानेऽर्थे क्तप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

187. The verbal roots marked with an indicatory ञि, take the affix क्त, in denoting the present time.

The *Nishthá* affix क्त, as a general rule, is a past participial affix and denotes past time; and is so ordained by rule III. 2. 102. The present sûtra thus makes an exception in case of those verbs which are marked with an indicatory ञि in the *Dhá·upát'ha*; as ञिमिदा 'to be affectionately inclined'; मिन्नः (मिद्+क्त=मिद्+त=मिन्+न (VIII. 2. 42) 'being affectionately inclined'. So ञिक्ष्विदा—क्ष्विण्णः 'sounding inarticulately'; ञिधृषा—धृष्टः 'bold'. The anuvritti of वर्तमाने 'in the sense of the present', is read into this sûtra from III. 2 123.

मतिबुद्धिपूजार्थेभ्यश्च ॥ १८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मति-बुद्धि-पूजा-अर्थेभ्यः, च, (क्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतिरिच्छा, बुद्धिर्ज्ञानम्, पूजा सत्कारः, तदर्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यो वर्तमानार्थे क्तप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

188. And after roots denoting inclination, understanding, or respect, the affix क्त is employed with the force of the present.

The word मति means 'wish' or 'desire'; बुद्धि means 'knowledge'; and पूजा means 'worship', 'honor' or 'resp ct'. As राज्ञां मतः,—इष्टः,—बुद्धः,—ज्ञातः,—पूजितः, &c. 'the king wishes, desires, think, knows, honors, respects &c'.

The force of the word च is to include other kinds of verbs not included in the above sûtra. Thus the following participles have their senses confined not to the past time only: शीलितः 'practised'; रक्षितः 'protected'; क्षान्तः 'forbearing'; आक्रुष्टः 'censured'; जुष्टः 'pleased'; रुष्टः 'angry'; रुषितः 'angry'; अभिव्याहृतः uttered'; हृष्टः 'happy'; तुष्टः 'satisfied'; कान्तः 'favourite'; संयतः 'restrained'; उद्यतः ready'; कष्ट 'evil, misery' (with a future signification); and अमृत 'immortal'. So also :—सुप्तः 'sleeping'; शयितः 'lying down'; आशितः 'eaten'; लिप्तः 'smeared'; तृप्तः 'satisfied'; all these have a present signification.

ओ३म्

अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER III.

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उणादयो बहुलं ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ उण-आदयः, बहुलम्,(वर्त्तमाने)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उणादयः प्रत्यया वर्त्तमानेऽर्थे संज्ञायां विषये बहुलं भवन्ति ॥

1. The affixes 'Un' and the rest, with the force of the present, and with a sense simply appellative, are attached diversely.

The phrase 'with the force of the present' (implying neither past nor future time) and 'with a sense simply appellative' (and not descriptive) must be read into this sûtra by anuvritti from sûtras III. 2. 123 & 185. By using the word 'diversely' it is indicated that these affixes are, of course, applied after roots about which they are ordained, but they come also after roots about which they are not ordained. Sometimes we must infer their application by seeing actual words. Some affixes, though there be no express injunction regarding them, are to be inferred to belong to this class. The maxim in regard to the *Unádi* affixes is that when, in appellatives, we find the forms of verbal roots and affixes coming after them, then we may know, from the result as presented in the word, what are the indicatory letters which the affix must be possessed of in order to produce the result.

These affixes are not given in Pâṇini's work, but they have been separately collected. The affix उण् is the first of these. The first sûtra of *Unádi* affixes is the following—

कृवापाजिमिस्वदिसाध्यशूभ्य उण् ॥

The affix उण् comes after the verbs कृ 'to make', वा 'to blow', पा 'to drink', जि to overcome', मि 'to scatter', स्वद ' to be pleasant to the taste', साध् 'to accomplish', and अश् 'to pervade'.

Thus कृ+उण्=कारुः 'an artisan'. So also, वायुः the wind'; पायु: the organ of excretion'; जायुः 'a drug (which overcomes disease); मायुः the bile'; स्वादुः sweet'; साधुः 'who accomplishes the object of another hence virtuous'; and आशुः quickly'.

These *Unádi* affixes come after a limited number of roots, and not after every root, as the affixes taught in this grammar whose application is general; hence the word बहुल has been employed. Moreover there has been no exhaustive enumeration of the several roots after which these affixes come:

only some of them have been collected in works treating of *Unádi* affixes. Thus though the affix उलच् is ordained after इष, it comes also after शक as शकुला. In fact there is a long discussion and it was a moot point at the time of Pâṇini whether these words said to be formed by *Unádi* affixes were really derivative, or primitive ones. Moreover *all* the operations of these affixes have not been shown, that is their effects are not without remainder (अशेष). They are valid and good if found in sacred Scriptures or secular literature. The authors of *Niraktas* and grammarians of the school of Sâkaṭâyana, consider all nouns and substantives (नाम) as derivative words from simple roots (धातुज). Therefore where the derivation of a word is not apparent, one should infer the existence of proper base (प्रकृति) or affix (प्रत्यय) to form such a word.

The following slokas will be of some use to the student for ascertaining the *Unádi* affixes :

बाहुलकं प्रकृतेस्तनुदृष्टेः प्रायसमुच्चयनादपि तेषाम् ।
कार्यसशेषविधेश्च तदुक्तं नैगमरूढिभवं हि सुसाधु ॥ १ ॥
नाम च धातुजमाह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च तोकम् ।
यन्न पदार्थविशेषसमुत्थं प्रत्ययतः प्रकृतेश्च तदूह्यम् ॥ २ ॥
संज्ञासु धातुरूपाणि प्रत्ययाश्च ततः परे ।
कार्याद्विद्यादनूबन्धमेतच्छास्त्रमुणादिषु ॥ ३ ॥

भूतेऽपि दृश्यन्ते ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते, अपि, दृश्यन्ते,(उणादयः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतेकाले उणादयः प्रत्यया दृश्यन्ते ॥

2. The 'Unâdi' affixes are seen also attached with the force of the past time.

By the last sûtra, it was taught that the *Unádi* affixes come with the force of the present time. The present aphorism teaches that they come with the force of the past also, not as a general rule, but in special cases. The force of the words 'are seen' being that no general rule can be laid down about it, but on *finding* that certain words have a past significance, we conclude that the affix in that particular case has the force of the past time.

Thus वृत्+मनिन्=वर्त्मन् 'a way, road' (that which has been established as a rule); चर्+मनिन्=चर्मन् 'skin' (that which is lived in); so also भस्मन् 'ashes' (that which has been reduced to ashes).

भविष्यति गम्यादयः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भविष्यति, गमि-आदयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले गम्यादयः शब्दाः साधवो भवन्ति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनद्यतन उपसंख्यानम् ॥

3. The words 'gami', &c. are valid forms, having the sense of the future time.

The force of the future time is in the affix, and is so ordained, and not in the original word which takes the affix. Thus we see that the *Unádi*

affixes, in a way, do come with the force of not only present but past and future also, though in the latter two cases its scope is very limited. As गमी ग्रामम् 'intending to go to the village'; आगामी 'that which has to come'. So also प्रस्थायी 'departing'; प्रतिरोधी 'an opponent, (who is going to obstruct). प्रतिबोधी 'going to be awakened'. So also प्रतियोधी 'an adversary'; प्रतियोगी 'an enemy'; प्रतियायी; आयायी; भावी, &c.

Vart:—The Future, for the purposes of this rule, must be *anadyatana* i. e the affix should come in the sense of what will happen but not in the course of the current day. In other words, the force must be of the first future लुट्, and not of the second future लृट्. As श्वो गमी ग्रामं 'he intends to go to the village tomorrow'.

यावत्पुरानिपातयोर्लट् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावत्-पुरा-निपातयोः, लट्, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावत्पुराशब्दयोर्निपातयोरुपपदयोर्भविष्यति काले धातोर्लट्प्रत्ययः भवति ॥

4. The affix 'Laṭ' comes after a root, with the force of futurity, when it has in construction with it the particles 'yâvat' and 'purâ'.

The present tense has the force of the future when the *adverbs* यावत् and पुरा are used. The phrase 'futurity &c' is to be read into this sûtra from the last. Thus आलोके ते निपतति पुरा 'he will surely fall in the range of your sight'. यावदस्य दुरात्मनः समुन्मूलनाय शत्रुघ्नं प्रेषयामि. 'I shall send Satrughna to exterminate this wretch'.

These words पुरा and यावत् must be used as adverbs (nipâtas), and not as relative pronouns. Therefore not here, यावद् दास्यति तावद् भोक्ष्यते 'as long as he will give, so long he will eat'; पुरा व्रजिष्यति 'he goes along the city'. Here यावत् is a relative pronoun; and पुरा is the Instrumental singular of पुर् 'city'.

विभाषा कदाकर्ह्योः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कदा-कर्ह्योः, (भविष्यति, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कदाकर्हि इत्येतयोरुपपदयोर्विभाषा भविष्यति काले धातोर्लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

5. The affix 'Laṭ' is optionally employed after a root with the force of the futurity, when it has in construction with it, the adverbs 'kadâ and 'karhi'.

As कदा भुङ्क्ते 'when will he eat', or कदा भोक्ष्यते or भोक्ता; so also कर्हि भुङ्क्ते or भोक्ष्यते or भोक्ता 'when will he eat'.

किंवृत्ते लिप्सायाम् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्-वृत्ते, लिप्सायाम्, (भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तउपपदे लिप्सायां भविष्यति काले धातोर्विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

6. When the word 'kim' or its derivatives are in construction with the verb, the affix 'Laṭ' is employed optionally after a root, in denoting future time, provided that the sentence expresses a desire of gaining on the part of the speaker.

The word 'optionally' is understood in this sûtra. By using the word वृत्त along with किं it is meant that the rule applies even when किम् takes the affixes डतर and डतम. The word लिप्सा means the desire of gaining or acquiring, a wish to have something or an intention of begging'.

As कं भवन्तो भोजयन्ति or भोजयितारः 'whom will you feed'? It implies a request on the part of the questroner to feed him also. So also कतरो भिक्षां दास्यति, ददाति, दाता, or कतमो भिक्षां दास्यति &c, 'Which of the two or which of these all, will he give alms? Will he give something to me'?

When no desire of gain is implied, the future tense must be employed as कः पाटलिपुत्रं गमिष्यति 'who will go to Pâṭaliputra'.

लिप्स्यमानसिद्धौ च ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिप्स्यमान-सिद्धौ च, (भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिप्स्यमानसिद्धौ गम्यमानायां भविष्यतिकाले धातोर्विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. And when the success, that would accrue to another by fulfilling the desire of the speaker, is indicated in a sentence, the present tense may optionally be employed with the force of the futurity.

The word 'optionally' is also understood here. The word लिप्स्यमानसिद्धिः is equal to लिप्स्यमानात् सिद्धि, an Ablative-Tatpurusha Compound, signifying *siddhi* or success, that would be acquired by another by complying with the request of the speaker. The difference between this and the last sûtra is, that whereas the last related to interrogative sentences having किम् in construction, the present relates to sentences in general. As यो भक्तं ददाति स स्वर्गं गच्छति 'he who gives food goes to heaven'; यो भक्तं दास्यति or दाता, स स्वर्गं गमिष्यति or गन्ता.

Here the speaker encourages the giver to the act of charity by holding out the hope, that from rice which is the object desired (लिप्स्यमान) the success (सिद्धि), in the shape of *svarga*, will accrue to the giver.

In other words, 'the present is sometimes used for the future in conditional sentences *i. e.* it is employed in connection with a sentence declaring the compensation or reward which follows from the granting of the wish'.

लोडर्थलक्षणे च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोड्-अर्थ-लक्षणे, च, (भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोडर्थः प्रैषादिर्लक्ष्यते येन स लोडर्थलक्षणो धात्वर्थः, तत्र वर्तमानाद्धातोर्भविष्यति काले विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. The affix 'Laṭ' is optionally employed with the force of the futurity, after that root, which in a conditional sentence, is the condition precedent for the action indicated by another verb having the sense of the imperative mood.

The word लोडर्थ means 'having the sense of the affix लोट् or imperative mood'. The force of *lot* is 'to command, direct, invite &c' as given in III. 3. 162 and 163. The sûtra, translated literally, will mean 'the present tense may optionally be employed when the action denoted by the verb is related to another action denoted by another verb in the imperative, as a sign (लक्षण) is to the thing signified लक्ष्य.' Thus उपाध्यायश्चेदागच्छति (आगमिष्यति or आगन्ता) अथ त्वं छन्दोऽधीष्व 'if the professor *comes* (*i.e.* will come) then *read* you prosody'. Here the coming of the professor is the *lakshana* of the direction as to reading.

लिङ् चोर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, ऊर्ध्व-मौहूर्तिके, (भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्, लोडर्थलक्षणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके भविष्यकाले लोडर्थलक्षणार्थे वर्तमानाद्धातोर्विभाषा लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराल्लट् ॥

9. The 'Laṭ' (present) or the 'Liṅ' (potential) is used under similar conditions in denoting futurity, when the future time is future by a 'Mûhurta' (48 minutes).

All the conditions of the last sûtra apply here also, namely 'when the action denoted by the verb is related to another action denoted by another verb in the imperative, as a sign is to the thing indicated'. By force of the word च we read the anuvritti of *lat* also into this aphorism. The word ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्तिक is a secondary derivative from ऊर्ध्व मुहूर्त, meaning 'that which exists in time *above* a muhûrta'. This is an irregular compound; and the vriddhi takes place irregularly of the उ of मु and not of ऊ as the general rule required The whole word thus formed qualifies the word 'future'. Thus ऊर्ध्वं मुहूर्तादुपरि मुहूर्तस्य उपाध्यायश्चेदागच्छेत् (आगच्छति, आगमिष्यति or आगन्ता), अथ त्वं छन्दोऽधीष्व 'If the teacher comes after an hour (of 48 minutes), you had better read the Prosody'.

तुमुन्ण्वुलौ क्रियायां क्रियार्थायाम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ तुमुन्,ण्वुलौ, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्, (भविष्यति काले) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियार्थायां क्रियायामुपपदे धातोर्भविष्यति काले तुमुन्ण्वुलौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्रियार्थायां क्रियायामुपपदे वासरूपेण तृजादयो न भवन्ति ॥

10. The affixes 'tumun' and 'ṇvul' are placed after a verbal root, with the force of the future, when the word in cons-

truction therewith is another verb, denoting an action performed for the sake of the (future) action.

As भोक्तुम् व्रजति 'he goes to eat'; भोजको व्रजति 'he goes to eat'. Here the upapada or the verb in construction is व्रजति; it denotes an action performed for the sake of the future action (क्रियार्थो), namely, eating.

Why do we say 'denoting an action'? The upapada must be an action and not a substantive; as भिक्षिष्ये इति अस्य जटाः 'matted hair is for the purpose that he should beg'. Here the affixes are not employed.

Why do we say 'performed for the sake of another action? Observe धावतस्ते पतिष्यति दण्डः 'running, thy stick will fell'.

Now, it might be asked why ण्वुल् is taught a second time, when it was already taught generally by rule III. 1. 133; and that being a common rule, would have applied to this subject also? If you reply that the future affix लृट् would have prevented its application, in conditional sentences like the above, we say that the rule of 'non-uniform affixes applying simultaneously' given in III. 1. 94 will step in and will conduce the application of ण्वुल् in spite of लृट्.

Vart —The repetition of the affix ण्वुल् (ordained to come after a verbal root, when the word in construction therewith is another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action,) is for. the of prohibiting the application of the affixes like तुम् &c. in denoting the adove sense; that is to say. the rule of वाऽसरूप (III. 1. 94.) does not apply here and we cannot optionally employ any other affix, with this gerundial sense. Thus we cannot say कर्ता व्रजति 'he goes to do'; but we must say कर्तुं व्र instead.

These affixes from the gerund of the infinitive of purpose.

भाववचनाश्च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ भाव-वचनाः, च, (भविष्यति, काले, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावइति प्रकृत्य ये घञादयो विहितास्ते च भाववचना भविष्यति काले क्रियायामुपपदे क्रियार्थायां भवन्ति ॥

11. And the affixes that are ordained to come after a root with the force of denoting the mere action of the verb, such as घञ् &c (III. 1. 13) have also the force of the future, when the word in construc tion there with, is another verb denoting an action perfor- med for the sake of the future action.

As पाकाय व्रजति 'he goes to cook'; भूतये व्रजति 'he goes for the sake of success'; पुष्टये व्रजति

Now it might be asked, why make this rule at all, when those affixes have already been ordained? It has already been said that the वाऽसरूप rule

does not apply in regard to infinitive; and hence तुमुन् would have prevented the application of other affixes. So the making of the present sûtra.

Why the word वचन has been employed in the sûtra? The meaning is that the words should be expressive or वाचक. How do the affixes become वाचक? When affixes which are ordained after certain bases, are employed after those bases only, then they are sai l to be वाचक not when they are employed after other bases, or are even after those bases, but not in the mo le as directed. So that, in short, those nouns only which have been specially formed by the भाववाच्य affixes, घञ् &c, can be employed with the force of g rund, and not every noun. The भाववाच्य nouns correspond to the nouns of action or verbal nouns.

अण् कर्मणि च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्, कर्मणि, (भविष्यते, काले, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरण्प्रत्ययो भवति भविष्यतिकाले कर्मण्युपपदे क्रियायां च क्रियार्थायाम् ॥

12. The affix 'an' comes after a root with the force of the future, when the word in construction with it is in the accusative case, and when the action is performed for the sake of another action.

The word 'future' is understood here. The force of च is merely that of a connective particle. By rule III. 2. 1. the affix अण् comes after a root when the word in composition is in the accusative case. That is a general injunction; and the rule of वाऽसरूप not applying, the affix ण्वुल would have debarred it as already said; hence this repetition. This rule being an apavâ la rule (an exception or a special rule with regard to those verbs which have the accusative case in composition) will thus, within its own jurisdiction, prevent the application of ण्वुल of III. 3. 10; and by the rule of परत्व given in I. 4. 2, it will debar the affixes like क &c. Therefore this अण् comes after even those verbs also which were especially exempted from its operation by rules like III. 2. 3. Thus by rule III. 2. 3 the अण् of III 2. 1. could not have come after simple verbs ending in long आ, such as दा 'to give' &c. But the present अण् with a gerundial force will come even after such verbs. As गोदायो व्रजति 'he goes to give cows', and not गोदः। So also कम्बलदायो व्रजति 'he goes to give blanket'; अश्वदायो व्रजति । दा + अण् = दायः (VII. 3. 33).

So also काण्डलावो व्रजति 'he goes to cut wood'. In this case अण् would have been applied even by III. 2. 1.

लृट् शेषे च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लृट्, शेषे, च, (भविष्यति; क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायां, धातोः, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषे शुद्धे भविष्यतिकाले चकारात् क्रियायां चोपपदे क्रियार्थायां धातोर्लृट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

13 The affix 'Lṛiṭ' is employed after a verb, in the remaining cases, where futurity pure and simple is indicated ; and also where there is in construction with it another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action.

This is what is well-known as the Second Future. As करिष्यामि इति व्रजति 'he goes that I will do', हरिष्यामि इति व्रजति 'he goes that I will take'. So also, करिष्यति 'he will do'; हरिष्यति 'he will take'. Thus the Second Future is used both in dependent sentences as well as to denote simple Future.

लृटः सद्वा ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लृटः, सद्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लृटः स्थाने सत्संज्ञौ शतृशानचौ वा भवतः ॥

14. The affixes called 'Sat' i. e. 'satri' and sānach' are optionally the substitutes of 'Lṛiṭ'.

The सत् has been defined in III. 2. 127. This option is a regulated option ; that is to say, the affix शतृ and शानच् replace लृट् under the conditions in which they replace लट् thus by III. 2. 124, these affixes will replace लृट्, when agreeing with what does not end with the first case affix. In these cases सत् will invariably replace लृट्. In other cases it will optionally replace लट्. In these cases they will form what is known as future participles. As करिष्यन्तं देवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta about to do; करिष्यमाणं देवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta being about to be done'. हे करिष्यन् or हे करिष्यमाण. Besides simple futurity, it denotes intention or purpose, as अर्जयिष्यमाणो वसति 'he dwells intending to earn his livelihood' ; करिष्यमाणः सशरं शरासनं 'intending to furnish his bows with arrows'.

When, however, it agrees with the nominative case, it is optionally employed. As करिष्यन् करिष्यमाणः, करिष्यति or करिष्यते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta will do'.

The form करिष्यन् is thus evolved. As कृ+लृट्=कृ+स्य+लृट् (III. 1.)= कर्+इट्+स्य+शतृ=करिष्यत् nom. sing. करिष्यन् । In other words the participial affixes अत् (अन्त and आन, technically known as शतृ and शानच्, also come after a verb that has taken the personal ending स्य of the Future.

अनद्यतने लुट् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनद्यतने, लुट्, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यदनद्यतनेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाद्धातोर्लुट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ परिदेवने श्वस्तनी भविष्यदर्थे वक्तव्या ॥

15. The affix 'Luṭ' comes after a verbal root in the sense of what will happen, but not in the course of the current day.

This debars 'Lṛiṭ'. As श्वः कर्त्ता 'he will do tomorrow'. श्वो भोक्ता 'he will eat tomorrow.

The word 'anadyatana' is a Bahuvrihi compound. Therefore in cases where there is not pure futurity beyond today, but a mixture of the two, लृट् will be employed and not लुट्. As अद्य श्वो वा भविष्यति 'it will be today or to-morrow'. And where there is doubt, the second Future should be employed.

Vart:—The First Future (लुट्) is employed with the force of the Second Future (लृट्) when sorrow is expressed. As इयं नु कदा गन्ता, यैवं पादौ निदधाति ! 'Oh when will she go, who places her feet in such a way (who is such a slow walker)' अयं नु कदाऽध्येता, य एवमनभियुक्तः 'when will he learn, who is so inattentive' !

पदरुजविशस्पृशो घञ् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद-रुज-विश-स्पृशः, घञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'pad' to pace), 'ruj' (to pain), 'viś' (to enter), and 'spriś (to touch).

The anuvritti of 'future' does not extend to this sûtra. The affixes hereinafter taught come in all the tenses.

As पद + घञ् = पादः 'foot' रुज् + घञ् = रोगः 'disease'; so, वेशः 'entrance'.

Vart:—The verb स्पृश् takes घञ् when the sense is that of 'distress'; as स्पर्शः 'disease' or 'warmth'. The word स्पर्शे meaning 'touch' is formed by adding the affix अच्, under rule III. 1. 134; as स्पर्शो देवदत्तः । There is difference in accent between these two words.

सृ स्थिरे ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सृ, स्थिरे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्त्तेर्धातोः स्थिरे कर्त्तरि घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ व्याधिमत्स्यबलेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

17. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'sri' (to move) when the agent is permanently fixed.

The word स्थिर means an object remaining steady throughout any period of time. That which thus remaining permanent *moves* through any interval of time, will apply to the agent of the verb Thus, सृ + घञ् = सारः 'an essence'; as चन्दनसारः 'the essence of sandal', खदिरसारः 'the essence of catechu'.

Why do we say permanently fixed'? Observe सर्त्ता 'moves', सारकः 'that which flows'.

Vart:—The word so formed also applies to disease, fish and strength. As अतिसारः 'dysentery'; विसारः 'a fish'; सारः 'strength

भावे ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे वाच्ये धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix 'ghañ' comes after a root when mere action is denoted.

Thus, पच् + घञ् = पाकः 'cooking' (VII. 2, 116 and VII. 3. 52); त्यागः 'abandoning'; रागः 'colouring' (VI. 4. 27). An action expresses a general state; so that all roots denote 'action' when their meaning is to be expressed. And as the meaning of the root can be expressed by the root itself, therefore, the affixes घञ् &c. come after all verbal roots, when the sense of the root is denoted as having attained to the completed state. It is not necessary that the words so formed should be always of the masculine gender, singular number. They may take any other gender or number. As पक्तिः, पचनम्, पाकौ, पाकाः। These affixes form, in short, verbal nouns, or abstract nouns being names of action.

अकर्तरि च कारके संज्ञायाम् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-कर्त्तरि, च, कारके, संज्ञायाम्, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृवर्जिते कारके संज्ञायां विषये धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19 And the affix 'ghañ' comes after a root, when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as agent.

Thus प्रासः (*i. e.* प्रास्यन्ति तम्) 'a dart, lit. that which men throw'; प्रसेवः (*i.e.* प्रसीव्यन्ति तम्) 'a sack, lit. that which men stitch together'; आहारः (*i. e.* आहरन्ति अस्मात् रसम्) 'food, lit. that from which men take out the juice to nourish themselves'. As मधुराहारः, तक्रशिखाहारः।

Why do we say 'not related as an agent'? Observe मेषः 'a sheep, lit. that which looks helplessly'. Here the word मेष is related to the verb मिषति as agent, and the affix is consequently not घञ् .

Why do we say 'when denoting an appellative'? Observe कर्तव्यः कटः 'the mat must be made'.

The force of च in the sûtra is to indicate that घञ् may be applied irregulary in cases where aypellative is not meant: as को भवता दायो दत्तः 'what gift was given by you'; को भवता लाभो लब्धः 'what gain was gained by you'.

The word कारक is used in the sûtra for this purpose. The word अकर्तरि is a compound word formed by the negative नञ्. The word means a non-agent. Now the word 'non-agent' has two-fold significance; either it means any other kâraka which is not an agent-kâraka ; or it may mean any thing in general which is not an agent. That is to say, the former negative, called पर्युदास points out, by implication, the objects which are different from the thing prohibited, and in fact, makes the rule applicable to those objects; while the second sort of negative called प्रसज्य प्रतिषेध is a simple prohibition of the particular matter specified, without mentioning what is different from it. Giving the former interpretation to the word अकर्तरि, the word कारक becomes redundant, because 'non-agent' would mean any kâraka other than an agent.

But the very fact, that कारक is used indicates the existence of the following rule which is nowhere expressly taught by Pâṇini :—That नञ् is compounded even with the force of प्रसज्य प्रतिषेध'. (VI. I. 45). असित्, *non-sit*'.

Both the phrases, 'when denoting mere condition (भाव)' and 'a kâraka 'which is not an agent' are understood in the succeeding aphorisms. See II 2. 6 about नञ् Compound,

परिमाणाख्यायां सर्वेभ्यः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमाण-आख्यायाम्, सर्वेभ्यः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणाख्यायां सर्वेभ्यो धातुभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दारजारौ कर्तरि णिलुक् च ॥

20. The affix 'ghañ' comes after all roots, when the word so formed is the name of a measure.

Thus, नि + चि + घञ् = निचै + अ (VII. 2. 115) = निचाय (VI. 1. 78) 'a heap'; as एकस्तण्डुलनिचायः; द्वौ शूर्पनिष्पवौ । कॄ 'to scatter' + घञ् = कारः । द्वौ कारौ; त्रयः काराः ।

By using the word 'all' in the sûtra, it is indicated that the affix अप् (III. 3. 57) is also superseded when this sense is to be indicated. Otherwise the affix अप् would only be prohibited by the *Paribhásha*:—"*Apavádas* that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the *apaváda*-operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules". Thus अच् being taught in III. 3. 56 would be superseded, but not so अप् taught in the subsequent aphorism III. 3. 57.

Why do we say 'when they are the names of measures'? Observe निश्चयः 'ascertaining'.

The word आख्या has been used in the aphorism in order to indicate that the words so formed are not Primitive words (रूढि). The numerals are also there included, and not only measures like *Prastha*, *Pala* &c.

We have said above, that the force of the word सर्वेभ्यः in this sûtra is to indicate that the affix घञ् must be used after all verbs (not excluding even such verbs as require अच् or अप् by sûtras 56 and 57), when we want to express measure. This must be taken, however, with certain limitations. The word सर्वेभ्यः is not after all so wide as at first sight it may appear. If we wish to form a word indicating measure, in the feminine gender, we cannot use घञ्; we must use the affix क्तिन् (III. 3. 94). In other words, the feminine affixes are not superseded by घञ् when it supersedes अच् and अप. Thus in forming a feminine noun denoting measure, we have एकातिलोच्छितिः, द्वे प्रसूती &c.

Vart:—The affix घञ् comes after the causative verbs दारि and जारि, and there is *luk* elision of the causative affix णिच्; when the word so formed is related to the verb as agent. Thus दारयन्ति भ्रातॄन् = दाराः 'a wife' (lit 'who divide brothers' a wife breaking up the brotherly love); जारयन्ति = जाराः 'a paramour',

इङश्च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इङः, च, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इङो धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अपादाने स्त्रियामुपसंख्यानम् तदन्ताच्च वा ङीष् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शॄ वायुवर्णनिवृत्तेषु ॥

21. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'इङ्' (to study).

This debars अच् (III. 3. 56). As अधि+इ+घञ्=अधि+ऐ+अ=अध्याय 'a lesson or lecture'; उपाध्यायः (उपेत्यास्मादधीते 'a teacher'.

Vart.—When the word to be formed is related to the verb इङ् as an ablative, the word is femimine also and optionally takes the affix ङीष्. As उपेत्याधीयतेऽस्या=उपाध्याया or उपाध्यायी 'a female teacher'.

Vart.—The affix घञ् comes after the root शॄ when the word so formed means 'wind', 'color', or 'cessation', As शारः 'wind', 'green colour' &c. गौरिवाकृतनीशारः प्रायेण शिशिरे कृशः ।

उपसर्गे रुवः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, रुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्ग उपपदे रौतेर्धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'rû' (to roar), when it has an upasarga in composition with it.

This debars अप् (III 3. 57). As संरावः 'clamour', उपरावः &c.

Why do we say 'compounded with an upasarga'? Observe रवः 'sound'.

समि युद्रुदुवः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समि, यु-द्रु-दुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समि उपपदे यु द्रु दु इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

23. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'yu' (to join), 'dru' (to run) and 'du' (to burn), when in composition with the preposition 'sam'.

As संयावः, संद्रावः, संदावः। But प्रयवः where the preposition is not *sam*.

श्रिणीभुवोऽनुपसर्गे ॥२४॥ पदानि॥ श्रि-णी-भुवः, अनुपसर्गे,(घञ्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रि णी भू इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽनुपसर्गेभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'śri' (to go to) 'nî' (to lead) and 'bhû' (to be), when not in composition with an upasarga.

This debars the affix अच् (III. 3. 56). As श्रायः 'shelter', नायः 'a means', भावः 'a condition'.

But with *upasargas*, we have प्रश्रयः 'respect', प्रणयः 'love'; प्रभवः 'source'.

How do we explain the form प्रभाव in प्रभावो राज्ञः 'the splendour of the king'? Here the word प्रभाव is not made from the compound root प्रभू+घञ्, but by compounding प्र with भाव by the rules of samâsa, meaning 'excellent condition'.

How do you explain the form नय in नयो राज्ञः? Here the root नी has taken the affix अच् diversely by III. 3. 113.

वौ क्षुश्रुवः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वौ, क्षु-श्रुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वावुपपदे क्षु श्रु इत्येताभ्यां घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'kshu' (to sneeze), and 'śru' (to move and hear) when the preposition 'vi' is in composition.

This debars the affix अप् (III. 3. 57); as, विक्षावः 'cough'; विश्रावः 'flowing forth', 'celebrated'. But when without preposition, we have क्षवः and श्रवः।

अवोदोर्नियः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव-उदोः, नियः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव उत् इत्येतयोरुपपदयोर्नयतेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'nî' (to lead) when the prepositions 'ava' and 'ut' are in composition

As अवनायः 'throwing down'; उन्नायः 'elevation'.

How do you explain उन्नयः in उन्नयः पदार्थानाम्? Here the affix is 'ach' by III. 3. 113.

प्रे द्रुस्तुस्रुवः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, द्रु-स्तु-स्रुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेशब्द उपपदे द्रु स्तु स्रु इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'dru', 'stu' and 'sru', when the word in composition is 'pra'.

As प्रद्रावः, प्रस्तावः, प्रस्रावः। But not so in द्रवः, स्तवः and स्रवः।

निरभ्योः पूल्वोः । २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ निर्-अभ्योः, पू-ल्वोः (घञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निरभिपूर्वयोः पूल्वोर्धात्वोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'pû' (to purify) and 'lu' (to cut) when 'nir' and 'abhi' are respectively in composition.

The word पू refers to both पूङ् and पूञ्. The rule I. 3. 10. must be applied here, and thus निर् comes before पू, and अभि before लू। As निष्पावः 'winnowing'; अभिलावः 'moving'. But पवः and लवः, without these prepositions.

उन्न्योर्ग्रः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्-न्योः, ग्रः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उन्न्योरुपपदयोः गॄ इत्येतस्माद्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grî' when the upasargas 'ut' and 'ni' are in composition.

The verb गॄ here refers to both the verbs गॄ 'to make sound', and गॄ 'to swallow', As उद्गारः समुद्रस्य 'the roaring of the sea'; निगारो देवदत्तस्य 'the swallow-

ing of Devadatta'. But when without these prepositions, we have गरः ।

कॄ धान्ये ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ कॄ, धान्ये, (घञ्, उन्न्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कॄ इत्येतस्माद्धातोरुन्न्योरुपपदयोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति धान्यविषयश्चेद्धात्वर्थो भवति ॥

30. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'kṛî', when the prepositions 'ut' and 'ni' are in composition and when the sense of the verb relates to grain.

The verb कॄ here means 'to scatter', and not 'to injure', because no words formed by this affix are found in Sanskrit in that sense.

As उत्कारो धान्यस्य 'the winnowing of corn'; निकारो धान्यस्य 'the winnowing of corn'. But when not referring to grain, we have भैक्ष्योत्करः 'a heap of alms', पुष्पनिकरः 'the essence or heap of flowers'.

यज्ञे समि स्तुवः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्ञे, समि, स्तुवः, (घञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञविषये प्रयोग संपूर्वात्स्तौतेर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'stu' when it is preceded by the upasarga 'sam' and the word refers to sacrificial subjects.

As संस्तावश्छन्दोगानाम् 'the Sanstâva of the Chhandogas; संस्ताव = समेत्य स्तुवन्ति यस्मिन् देशे छंदोगाः स देशः) means 'the place which the Brâhmaṇas repeating hymns and prayers, occupy at a sacrifice' the orchestra.

But when not referring to sacrifice we have संस्तवश्छात्रयोः 'the praising together of the two pupils'.

प्रे स्त्रोऽयज्ञे ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, स्त्रः, अयज्ञे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तृञ् आच्छादने अस्माद्धातोः प्रशब्दउपपदे घञ् प्रत्ययोभवति, नचेद्यज्ञविषयः प्रयोगो भवति ॥

32. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'stṛî' (to cover), when preceded by the preposition 'pra'; provided that the word so formed does not refer to sacrifice'.

As, शंखप्रस्तारः 'a bed of conch'; मणिप्रस्तारः 'strewing of gems'.

प्रथने वावशब्दे ॥३३॥ पदानि॥ प्रथने, वौ, अशब्दे, (स्त्रः, घञ्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तृञ आच्छादने अस्माद्धातोर्विशब्दउपपदे घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति प्रथने गम्यमाने तच्चे त्प्रथनं शब्दविषयं न भवति ॥

33. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'stṛi' (to cover), when the preposition 'vi' is in composition with it, when the sense is that of extension, and when such spreading does not refer to words.

The word प्रथनं means 'extent, circuit, range'. As पटस्य विस्तारः 'the extension of the garment'.

Why do we say 'when meaning extent'? Observe, तृणविस्तरः 'a collection of grass'. Why do we say 'not referring to words'? Observe विस्तरो वचसाम् 'prolixity of words'.

छंदो नाम्नि च ॥ ३४ ॥ छंदः, नाम्नि, च, (वौ, स्तः; घ०)

वृत्तिः ॥ विपूर्वात्स्तृणातेश्छन्दोनाम्नि घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix 'ghañ' comes after 'stṛi' with the upasarga 'vi' when the word so formed is the name of a metre.

The word छन्दः here means prosodial metre such as Gâyatri &c; and not the Vedas; otherwise the word नाम would not have been used. Thus वि+स्तृ+घञ्=वि+ष्टृ+घञ् (VIII.3.94)=विष्टारः 'the name of a metre called Vishṭâra-Pankti'.

The whole word विष्टारपंक्ति is the name of a metre, and is not a word *ending* with the affix *ghan*; only a member of this word, *i. e.* the first part ends with *ghan*. The seventh case-affix in the word छन्दोनाम्नि has the force of location *i. e.* when the word so formed occurs *in* a portion of a name of a metre; it is not the *full* name, but it is *in* the name *i. e.* forms a portion of the name.

उदि ग्रहः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, ग्रहः, (घ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्युपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि निपूर्वादपीष्यते स्रुगुद्यमननिपातनयोः ॥

35. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'grah' (to seize), when the preposition 'ut' is in composition.

This debars the affix अप्. As उद्ग्राहः 'lifting up'.

Vart:—In the Vedas this affix is applied even when the word ग्रह is preceded by नि; and the ह is changed into भ; the sense of the two words being 'to lift up' and 'throw down' respectively of the sacrificial ladle; as, उद्ग्राभं च निग्राभं च ब्रह्म देवा अवीवृधन् ।

समि मुष्टौ ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ समि, मुष्टौ, (ग्रहः, घ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्युपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति मुष्टिविषयश्चेद्धात्वर्थो भवति ॥

36. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grah' when in composition with the preposition 'sam' when the sense of the root refers to fist.

The word मुष्टि means 'boxing', 'fist': as, अहो मल्लस्य संग्राहः 'O! the clenching of the fist of the athlete'; अहो मुष्टिकस्य संग्राहः 'O! the seizing of the boxer', meaning grasping firmly.

Why do we say 'referring to fist'? Observe संग्रहो धान्यस्य 'a collection of grain'.

परिन्योर्नीणोर्द्यूताभ्रेषयोः ॥३७॥ पदानि ॥ परि-न्योः, नी-इणोः, द्यूत-अभ्रेषयोः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दे निशब्दे चोपपदे यथासंख्यं नि यइणश्च धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति, अचोऽपवादः, द्यूताभ्रेषयोः ॥

37. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'nî' (to lead), and 'i' (to go), when the prepositions 'pari' and 'ni' are respectively in composition with them, and when the words so formed respectively mean 'a game' and 'propriety or arrangement or law'.

Here again we take help of I. 3. 10 in interpreting this sûtra. The verbs परि + नी and नि + इ, take घञ् when respectively meaning 'gambling' and 'fitness'. As परिणायेन शारान् हन्ति 'he kills (or takes) many pieces by moving a chessman'. Here परिणाय = समन्तान्नय means 'the moving of chess-pieces from every side, and so winning the game'. So also नि + इ + घञ् = नि + ऐ + अ = नि + आय = न्यायः 'justice', 'propriety', 'logic'.

But when not having these senses, we have परिणयः 'marriage', and न्ययं 'decay'; as न्ययङ्गतः पापः 'the sin has been destroyed'. The word अभ्रेष means पदार्थानामनपचारो यथाप्राप्तकरणम् ।

परावनुपात्यय इणः ॥३८॥ पदानि ॥ परौ, अनुपात्यये, इणः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्द उपपदे इणो धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति अनुपात्यये गम्यमाने ॥

38. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'i' (to go) in composition with the word 'pari' when the sense is that of following in regular successien.

As पर्यायः 'turn, succession'; तव पर्यायः 'thy turn'; मम पर्यायः 'my turn'.

Why do we say 'when meaning turn'? Observe कालस्य पर्ययः 'the lapse of time'. The word अनुपात्ययः = क्रमप्राप्तस्यानतिपातः 'not breaking the series or order'.

व्युपयोःशेतेःपर्याये ॥३९॥ पदानि ॥ वि-उपयोः, शेतेः, पर्याये, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि उप इत्येतयोरुपपदयोः शेतेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'śî' (to lie down) when the prepositions 'vi' and 'upa' are in composition with it, and when the sense of the word so formed is that of 'regular succession'.

As, तव विशायः 'thy turn of sleeping' (*i. e.* the rest enjoyed in rotation by the sentinels on watch); मम विशायः 'my turn of rest'; तव राजोपशायः = तव राजानमुपशयितुं पर्यायः 'thy turn of sleeping the king'.

Why do we say 'regular succession'? Observe उपशयः 'lying by the side of or ambush'; विशयः 'doubt'.

हस्तादाने चेरस्तेये ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्तादाने, चेः, अस्तेये, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्तादाने गम्यमाने चिनोतेर्धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, न चेत् स्तेयं चौर्यं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उच्चयस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

40. The affix "ghañ" comes after the root "chi" (to collect), when the sense expressed is that of taking by hand, provided it does not refer to stealing.

By saying "taking by hand" the close proximity of the person taking to the thing accepted or taken is indicated. As पुष्पप्रचायः "gathering flowers by hand"; फलप्रचायः "gathering fruits by hand".

Why do we say "taking by hand"? Observe वृक्षाग्रस्थितानां फलानां यष्ट्या प्रचयं करोति "he gathers with the stick the fruits hanging on the top of the tree".

Why do we say "when not meaning to steal"? Observe पुष्पप्रचयश्चौर्येण "the gathering of flowers by theft".

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the word उच्चयः "gathering"; as पुष्पोच्चयः "gathering of flowers by hand";

निवासचितिशरीरोपसमाधानेष्वादेश्च कः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ निवास-चिति-शरीर-उपसमाधानेषु, आदेः, च, कः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निवास चिति शरीर उपसमाधान, इत्येतेष्वर्थेषु चिनोतेर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति आदेश्चकारस्य ककार आदेशो भवति ॥

41. The affix "ghañ," comes after the root "chi" (to gather), and "k" is the substitute of the initial "ch" in these senses viz.—"a dwelling", "a fire on the funeral pile,", the body, and "collection"

That in which people dwell (निवसन्ति) is called निकायः or "dwelling". That which is gathered together (चीयते) is called चिति or "funeral pile". शरीर means the body of all living beings; and उपसमाधान means making a heap. Thus निकायः "a dwelling"; as in काशीनिकायः "Kâśî-dwelling"; आकायमग्निं चिन्वीत "let him arrange the âkâya fire *i. e.* the funeral fire"; कायः "body", as अनित्यः कायः "a perishable body"; महान् गोमयनिकायः "a heap of cow-dung".

Why do we say "when having these senses"? Observe चयः "gathering". Why is not this rule applied in महान् काष्ठनिचयः "a large heap of wood"? Here multiplicity is expressed and not collection or aggregation.

संघे चानौत्तराधर्ये ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघे, च, अनौत्तराधर्ये, (चेः, आदेश्च, कः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संघे वाच्ये चिनोतेर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति आदेश्च कः ॥

42. The affix "ghañ" comes after the root "chi" (to gather) and "k" is the substitute of the initial "ch" in

the sense of 'a multitude or assembly' (of living beings possessing some common characteristics), but not merely a confused crowd of men.

The word संघ means a collection or assembly of living beings. It is of two sorts:—either by collection of persons possessing common qualifications, or a mere confused crowd of men. The collection denoting a confused crowd is here excepted and by *paryudása* negation the other is taken. Thus भिक्षुकनिकायः 'the assembly of beggars'; ब्राह्मणनिकायः 'the assembly of Bráhmaṇas'; वैयाकरणनिकायः 'the astembly of Grammarians'.

But सूकरनिचयः 'a herd of hogs'; because it is a mere collection: So also कृताकृतसमुच्चयः 'the collection of what is done and not done'; प्रमाणसमुच्चयः the collection of proofs'. Here there is no संघ in either of the two senses, it not being a collection of living animals, the affix *ghan* is not employed.

कर्मव्यतिहारे णच् स्त्रियाम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्म-व्यतिहारे, णच्, स्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मव्यतिहारे गम्यमाने धातोर्णच्प्रत्ययो भवति स्त्रीलिङ्गे वाच्ये ॥

42. The affix 'ṇach' comes after a root in denoting reciprocity of action, and the word so formed is in the feminine gender.

The word कर्म means 'action' and is not the technical 'Karma' meaning the accusative case, व्यतिहार means reciprocity or interchange of action. The word so evolved is feminine in form and denotes mere 'action' (भाव) also. The anubandha ण in णच् is qualitative and is added to distinguish this affix from other affixes: thus in sûtra V. 4. 14 this particular affix is meant.

Thus वि+अव+क्रुश्+णच्+अञ्+ङीप्=व्यावक्रोशी (V. 4. 14, and VII. 3. 6) 'mutual abuse'. So also व्यावहासी, व्यावलेखी. The affix णच् forms only an imaginary stem; for this stem must take the affix अञ् by V. 4. 14, which even does not form the complete word until the affix ङीप् of the feminine is added.

Why do we say 'in the feminine'? Observe व्यतिपाको वर्तते ।

The making of this a separate sûtra by itself, and not reading it in the subdivision of feminine affixes beginning with क्तिन् (III. 3. 94), is for the sake of removing the obstructing aphorisms, that would otherwise have prevented the application of this rule.

For, had it been taught in connection with क्तिन् &c, then the affixes that would have debarred क्तिन् &c, would *a fortiori* have debarred this also. But by keeping it separate from that class, it is indicated that those obstructive affixes which debar क्तिन् &c, do not debar this. Thus व्यावचोरी, व्यावचर्ची । Here चुर् being a ण्यन्त class root would have taken युच् (III. 3. 107) in the femi-

nine, as चोरत्वा ; and चर् would have taken अङ् by III. 3. 104, as चर्चा. The roots ईष् and ईह्, by III. 3. 102 and 103, take अ by debarring क्तिन् । This debarring affix अ, however, is not debarred by this rule; as व्यतीषा, व्यतीहा are the proper feminine forms, and not व्यतीषी &c. The form व्याकुषी is, however, an apparent exception. All these exceptions, counter-exceptions &c. are examples of बहुलं taught in III. 3. 113.

अभिविधौ भाव इनुण् ॥४४॥ पदानि॥ अभिविधौ, भावे, इनुण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिविधौ गम्यमाने धातोर्भावे इनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44 The affix 'inuṇ' comes after a root in denoting condition, when co-extensiveness is meant.

The word अभिविधि means co-extensiveness, that is to say, the complete comprehension or relation between the action and the quality. Thus सांराविणम् 'a general or tumultuous uproar'; सं+कुट्+इन्+अण् (V. 4. 15 and VI. 4. 164)=सांकूटिनम् 'a general confusion'; so सांस्राविणम् 'a general flow or stream'.

Why do we say 'when meaning co-extensiveness'? Observe संकोटः, संरावः, संद्रावः ।

Why do we use the word भाव again in this sûtra, when its anuvritti was already flowing from sûtra III. 3. 18? The object is that the वाऽसरूप rule (III. 1. 94) should not apply here and hence घञ् never comes in this sense. Pâtañjali says that the repetition is for the sake of indicating that in neuter gender, when co-extensiveness is expressed, the affixes क्त &c are prohibited; so that the affixes क्त &c. should not come in the neuter with the force of भाव ।

The separateness of this sûtra is for the same purpose as in the last aphorism. The affix ल्युट् is not, however, prohibited; as संकुटनम्. See rule कृत्यल्युटो बहुलं (III. 3. 113). The affix इनुण् (the operative part being इन् forms but an imaginary stem, which does not become real and complete till it takes the affix अण् by V. 4. 15, as shown above.

आक्रोशेऽवन्योर्ग्रहः ॥४५॥ पदानि॥ आक्रोशे, अवन्योः, ग्रहः, (घञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव नि इत्येतयोरुपपदयोर्ग्रहेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति आक्रोशे गम्यमाने ॥

45. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'grah' (to seize), in composition with 'ava', and 'ni'; when malediction is meant.

Though इनुण् is immediately near, we take the anuvritti of घञ् (III. 3. 16), because we see that its anuvritti is possible.

The word आक्रोश means 'cursing'. As अवग्राहो हन्त ते वृषलभूयात् 'cursed be thou, O! sinner'. So also निग्राहस्ते भूयात् ।

Why 'when meaning 'cursing'? Observe अवग्रहः पदस्य ; निग्रहश्चोरस्य ।

प्रे लिप्सायाम् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, लिप्सायाम्, (ग्रहः, घञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रशब्द उपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति लिप्सायाम् गम्यमानायाम् ॥

46 The affix "ghañ" comes after the root "grah", when the word "pra" is in composition, and the sense denoted is the desire of acquisition

As पात्रप्रग्राहेण चरति भिक्षुः पिण्डपाती "the beggar walks for the sake of alms, carrying a vessel in hand"; स्रुवप्रग्राहेण चरति द्विजो दक्षिणार्थी "carrying a sacrificial ladle, the Bráhmaṇa walks about for his fee". The word लिप्सा means the wish to have something".

Why do we say "when meaning desire of gain"? Observe प्रग्राहो देवदत्तस्य ।

परौ यज्ञे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ परौ, यज्ञे, (ग्रहः, घ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्द उपपदे ग्रहेर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix "ghañ" comes after the root "grah", in composition with "pari" when it relates to sacrificial subjects

As उत्तरपरिग्राहः "the northern fencing of the sacrificial altar"; अधरपरिग्राहः "the southern fencing of the sacrificial altar".

Why do we say "when relating to sacrifices"? Observe परिग्रहः देवदत्तस्य "the fencing of Devadatta".

नौ वृ धान्ये ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ, वृ, धान्ये, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निशब्द उपपदे वृ इत्येतस्माद्धातोर्धान्यविशेषेऽभिधेये घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix "ghañ" comes after the verb "vri" preceded by "ni"; when the sense is that of grain.

The वृ here means both वृङ् and वृञ्. This debars the affix अप्. As नीवाराः "rice growing wild or without cultivation".

Why do we say "meaning grain"? Observe निवरा कन्या "a virgin girl".

उदि श्रयतियौतिपूद्रुवः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, श्रयति-यौति-पू-द्रुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उच्छब्द उपपदे श्रयत्यादिभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

49. The affix "ghañ" comes after the verbs "śri", "yu", "pú" and "dru" when the preposition "ut" is in composition.

This debars the affix *ach* (III. 3. 56) Thus उच्छ्रायः "rising of a planet"; उद्यावः "mixing"; उत्पावः "purifying ghee"; and उद्द्रावः "flight".

How do you explain the form समुच्छ्रयः in पतनान्ताः समुच्छ्रयाः ? The word विभाषा "optionally" in the next sútra, exerts a retrospective effect on this sútra, and the form is an optional one. This is a most unusual thing and is

called सिंहावलोकनन्यायः 'the maxim of the lion's backward glance'. It is used when one casts a retrospective glance at what he has left behind, while at the same time he is proceeding, just as the lion, while going onward in search of prey, now and then bends his neck backwards to see if any thing be within its reach.

विभाषा ऽऽङि रुप्लुवोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आङि, रु-प्लुवोः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङि उपपदे रौतेः प्लवतेश्च विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verbs 'ru' (to roar) and 'plu' (to float), when the preposition 'âṅ' is in composition.

As आरावः or आरवः 'noise'; आप्लावः or आप्लवः 'bathing'.

अवे ग्रहो वर्षप्रतिबन्धे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, ग्रहः, वर्ष-प्रतिबन्धे, (विभाषा, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव उपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति विभाषा वर्षप्रतिबन्धेऽभिधेये ॥

51. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the root 'grah', when the word 'ava' is in composition, the sense being witholding of rain.

The word 'optionally' is understood here. The word वर्षप्रतिबन्ध means the absence of rain, from some cause or another, when the season has arrived: as अवग्राहः or अवग्रहो देवस्य 'the draught of rain'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'obstruction of rain'? Observe अवग्रहः पदस्य ।

प्रे वणिजाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ प्रे, वणिजाम्, (विभाषा, ग्रहः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र शब्द उपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति प्रत्ययान्तश्चेद् वणिजां सम्बन्धी भवति ॥

52. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verb 'grah' in composition with 'pra' when the word so formed relates to commerce,

Both the words *grah* and *vibháshá* are understood here. By 'relation to commerce' is meant here the string of the balance; and not commerce in general. That string by which a balance is held is called तुलाप्रग्रहः or तुलाप्रग्राहः, as तुलाप्रग्राहेण चरति or तुलाप्रग्रहेण चरति; and this may be said of any person whether he be a trader or not.

Why do we say 'when belonging to commerce'? Observe प्रग्रहो देवदत्तस्य 'the whip of Devadatta'.

रश्मौ च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रश्मौ, च, (ग्रहः, विभाषा, प्रे, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र शब्द उपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति रश्मिश्चेत्प्रत्ययान्तेनाभिधीयते ॥

53. The affix 'ghañ' comes optionally after the verb 'grah' in composition with 'pra', when the word so formed means 'a rein'.

The word रश्मि means here the bridle by means of which horses &c. joined to the carriage, are held under control; as प्रग्रहः or प्रग्राहः 'a rein'.

वृणोतेराच्छादने ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृणोतेः, आच्छादने, (विभाषा, प्रे, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रशब्द उपपदे वृणोतेर्धातोर्विभाषा घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति प्रत्ययान्तेन चेदाच्छादनविशेष उच्यते ॥

54. The affix 'ghañ' comes optionally after the verb 'vri' (to choose), when 'pra' is in composition, and the word so formed means a sort of covering'.

As प्रावारः or प्रवरः 'a clock, a veil'.

Why do we say 'when it means a covering'? Observe प्रवरा गौः ।

परौ भुवोऽवज्ञाने ॥ ५५ ॥ परौ, भुवः, अवज्ञाने, (विभाषा, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्द उपपदे विभाषा घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति अवज्ञाने गम्यमाने ॥

55. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verb 'bhû', the word 'pari' being in construction, and the sense of the word so formed being 'disregard'.

The word अवज्ञान means 'contempt', 'neglect', 'disregard' &c. As परिभावः or परिभवः 'insult, humiliation'.

Why do we say 'when meaning disregard'? The word परिभवः may be then construed to mean सर्वतोभवनं = परिभवः 'surrounding'.

एरच् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, अच्, (अकर्तरि संज्ञायाम्, भावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इवर्णान्ताद्धातोर्भावे अकर्तरि च कारके संज्ञायामच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अज्विधौ भयादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ जवसवौ छन्दसि वक्तव्यौ ॥

56 The affix 'ach' comes after a root ending in 'i' or 'î' (when mere action is denoted, or when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as an agent).

The words within brackets are to be supplied from sûtras 18 and 19: and these words are to be applied in every subsequent sûtra as far as sûtra 113 of this chapter. This debars घञ्. The च् in अच् is qualitative, in sûtras like VI. 2. 144.

Thus, चयः 'collecting'; अयः 'going'; जयः 'victory'; क्षयः 'wasting'

Vârt:—In this connection the words भय &c. should also be enumerated. As भी+अच्=भयम् 'fear'; वर्षम् 'rain'. These being neuter words, otherwise would have taken the affix क्त &c. but for this Vârtika.

Vârt:—The words जव and सव are formed by this affix, and occur in the Vedas. As ऊर्वोरस्तु मे जवः, पंचौदनस्सवः। These roots जु and सु would have otherwise taken the affix अप्. The form would have been the same, but there would be difference of accent. See Rig. Veda I 112. 21, and Yaj. XI 2.

ॠदोरप् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ॠत्-ओः, अप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ॠकारान्तेभ्य उवर्णान्तेभ्यश्च अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

57. After a root ending in long 'ṝ', short 'u', or long 'û', there is the affix 'ap'.

This debars घञ्. The प् is indicatory for the sake of accent (III. 1. 3); as, कॄ+अप्=करः 'scattering'; गॄ—गरः 'beverage, poison'; शॄ—शरः 'arrow'; यु—यवः 'barley'; लू—लवः 'reaping'; पू—पवः 'winnowing corn'.

The द् in ॠद् is merely for the sake of euphony: it is not त changed into द; for then by the rule "that which follows त is also called तपर" short ऋ only would have been taken and not long ॠ (I. 1. 70).

ग्रहवृदृनिश्चिगमश्च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रह-वृ-दृ-निश्चि-गमः, च, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रहादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो ऽप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वशिरण्योरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ घञर्थे कविधानं स्थास्नापाव्यधिहनियुध्यर्थम् ॥

58. The affix 'ap' comes after the verbs 'grah'. 'vṛi' 'dṛi', 'niśchi' and 'gam'.

This debars घञ्; and in the case of निश्चि the affix अच् is debarred. As ग्रहः 'a planet'; वरः 'a boon'; दरः ,tearing' a cave'; निश्चयः 'certainty; गमः march'.

The verb निश्चि would have taken अच्, but takes अप् which causes difference of accent.

Vârt.—The roots वश् and रण should also be included in this; as वशः 'obedient'; रण 'battle'.

Vart.—When the sense is that of घञ् the affix क is directed to be employed, after the following verbs:—स्था, स्ना, पा, व्यध्, हन् and युध्। As प्रस्थः 'a table-land' (on which they *move*); प्रस्नः 'a vessel for bathing, (in which they *bathe*); प्रपाः 'a place where water is distributed to travellers' (that out of which they *drink*); आविधः (VI I. 16) 'an awl, a drill' (that by which they *pierce*); विघ्नः 'an obstacle' (in which they are *obstructed*; आयुधः 'battle, (where they *fight*).

उपसर्गेऽदः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, अदः, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्ग उपपदेऽदेर्धातोरप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

59. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'ad' (to eat) when an upasarga is in composition.

As विघसः (II. 4. 38,) 'half-chewed morsel'; प्रघसः 'voracious'.

Why do we say 'when compounded with an upasarga'? Observe घासः 'grass'; अद्+घञ्=घस्+अ (II. 4. 38).

नौ ण च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ, ण, च, (अदः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निशब्द उपपदे अदेर्धातोर्णःप्रत्ययो भवति चकारादप् च ॥

60. And the affix 'ṇa' as well as 'ap', comes after the verb 'ad' (to eat), when the upasarga 'ni' is in composition.

As नि+अद्+ण=नि+आद्+अ=न्यादः (VII. 2. 116) 'feeding'; नि+अद्+अप् =नि+घस्+अ (II. 4. 38)=निघसः 'eating, food'.

व्यधजपोरनुपसर्गे ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यध-जपोः, अनुपसर्गे, (अप्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यध जप इत्येतयोरनुपसर्गयोरप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The affix 'ap' comes after the verbs 'vyadh and 'jap', when no upasarga is in composition with them.

This debars घञ्. As व्यधः 'wound'; जपः 'muttering'.

Why do we say 'when upasarga-less'? Observe आव्याधः, उपजापः ।

स्वनहसोर्वा ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वन-हसोः, वा, (अप्, अनुपसर्गे)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वनहसोरनुपसर्गयोर्वा अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

62. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verbs 'svan' and 'has' when no upasarga is in composition with them.

Thus स्वनः or स्वानः 'sound'; हसः or हासः 'laughter'. But with upasargas, we have only one form; प्रस्वानः 'a loud noise'; प्रहासः 'a loud laughter'.

यमः समुपनिविषु च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यमः, सम्-उप-नि-विषु, च, (अनुपसर्गे, वा, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम उप नि वि इत्येतेषूपपदेषु अनुपसर्गेऽपि यमेर्वा अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

63. And the affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verb 'yam' when the upasargas 'sam', 'upa' 'ni' and 'vi' are in composition; or even when it is upasarga-less.

This debars घञ्. As संयामः or संयमः 'restraint'; उपयामः or उपयमः 'marriage'; नियामः or नियमः 'restrictive rule'; वियामः or वियमः 'check, distress'; यामः or यमः॥

नौ गदनदपठस्वनः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ, गद-नद-पठ-स्वनः, (अप्, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निपूर्वेषु उपपदे गद नद पठ स्वन इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो वा अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

64. **The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verbs 'gad' (to speak), 'nad' (to sound), 'paṭh' (to read), 'svan' (to sound), when the upasarga 'ni' is in composition with them.**

This debars घञ्. Thus निगदः or निगादः 'recitation'; निनदः or निनादः 'noise'; निपठः or निपाठः 'reading'; निस्वनः or निस्वानः 'a noise';

क्वणो वीणायां च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्वणः, वीणायाम्, च, (नौ, वा, अनुपसर्गे, अप्)

वृत्तिः ॥ क्वणतेर्धातोर्निपूर्वादनुपसर्गाच्च वीणायां वा अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

65. **The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verb 'kvaṇ' (to jingle), when 'ni' is in composition with it, as well as when it is without any upasarga, or when 'flute' is meant.**

This debars the affix घञ्. Thus निक्वणः or निक्वाणः, a musical tone'. क्वणः or क्वाणः 'sound'. When it refers to 'flute', it must have some upasarga not necessarily नि; as कल्याणप्रक्वणा वीणा.

But not so here अतिक्वाणो वर्तते where the upasarga being अति and the word not referring to 'a flute', no option is allowed. When flute is not meant the upasarga must be नि or no upasaga at all, for the optional application of the affix अप्. To sum up, क्वण् takes अप् optionally under three conditions:—1st when preceded by नि, or 2ndly when having no upasaga, or 3rdly when it refers to "flute", and then it must have some upasarga.

नित्यं पणः परिमाणे ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, पणः, परिमाणे, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पण व्यवहारे स्तुतौ च, अस्माद्धातोर्नित्यमप्प्रत्ययो भवति परिमाणे गम्यमाने ॥

66. **The affix 'ap' comes invariably after the verb 'paṇ' (to barter), when the sense is that of measure.**

The word नित्यं 'invariably' is used in the aphorism in order to stop the anuvritti of the word optionally. Thus मूलकपणः 'a handful of radishes'; शाकपणः 'a handful of vegetable'. These words secondarily have come to mean 'a measure equal to a handful', irrespective of any thing.

When not meaning measure, we have पाणः 'trade'.

मदोऽनुपसर्गे ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मदः, अनुपसर्गे, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मदेर्धातोरनुपसर्गादप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. **The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'mad', when not in composition with an upasarga.**

This debars घञ्. As विद्यामदः 'pride of knowledge'; धनमदः 'pride of wealth'; कुलमदः 'pride of family'. When compounded with upasargas, we have उन्मादः 'mad'; प्रमादः 'error or careleness'.

प्रमदसम्मदौ हर्षे ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रमद-सम्मदौ, हर्षे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमद संमद इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते हर्षेऽभिधेये ॥

68. The words 'pramada' and sammada' are irregularly formed, meaning 'joy'.

As कन्यानां प्रमदः 'the joy of girls'; कोकिलानां संमदः 'the rejoicing of cuckoos'.

Why do we say 'when m uing delight'? Observe प्रमादः 'carelessness'; संमादः 'frenzy'.

Instead of saying 'the verb *mad* preceded by *pra* and *sam* takes the atnx *ap*' which also would have given the above forms, the full forms have been used in the sûtra to indicate that these words are रूढि in this sense; for the sense of the root is not visible in these words.

समुदोरजः पशुषु ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-उदोः, अजः, पशुषु, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुदोरुपपदयोरजतेर्धातोः पशुविषये धात्वर्थेऽप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'aj' (to go), when the prepositions 'sam' and 'ut' are in composition, and the word so formed refers to beasts.

This debars घञ्. The root अज 'means to go, to throw'. When preceded by सम्, it means 'a collection'; and preceded by उत् it means 'driving'. As समजः पशूनां 'a herd of cattle'; उदजः पशूनां 'driving forth of cattle'.

Why do we say 'when applying to cattle? Observe समाजो ब्राह्मणानां, उदाजः क्षत्रियाणां ।

अक्षेषु ग्लहः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अक्षेषु, ग्लहः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्लह इति निपात्यते अक्षविषयश्चेद्धात्वर्थो भवति ॥

70. The word 'glaha' is irregularly formed, when the sense of the root refers to gambling.

This word is derived from the root ग्रह्. The verb ग्रह् takes the affix अप् and thus forms ग्रह्; and then irrgularly र is changed into ल; as अक्षस्य ग्लहः 'cast of the dice'.

Why do we say 'when reterring o gambling'? Observe ग्रहः पादस्य ।

Others say, this word is derived regularly from the root ग्लह् 'to gamble', by adding the affix अप्, and thus debarring घञ्. They suppose, therfore, the existence of the root ग्लह् to explain the form ग्लहः । The counter-example which they would give, is ग्लाहः 'receiving', formed by adding the affix घञ् ।

प्रजने सर्त्तेः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रजने, सर्त्तेः, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्त्तेर्धातोः प्रजने विषये अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'sri' (to flow), in the sense of impregnating (the covering of cows &c).

This debars घञ्. The word प्रजनं means 'the first covering of a cow by a bull'. As गवामुपसरः 'impregnation of cows'; पशूनामुपसरः 'impregnation of cattle'.

ह्वः संप्रसारणं च न्यभ्युपविषु ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्वः, संप्रसारणम्, च, नि-अभि-उप-विषु, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि अभि उप वि इत्येतेषु उपपदेषु ह्वयतेर्धातोः संप्रसारणम् अप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' (to call), when the preposition 'ni' 'abhi' 'upa' and 'vi' are in composition with it, and its semivowel is changed into the corresponding vowel.

This debars घञ्. As नि+ह्वे+अप्=नि+हु+अ(VI. 1. 108)=नि+हो+अ (VII. 3. 84)=निहव VI. 1. 78)'invocation'; अभिहवः 'invocation'; उपहवः 'invitation' विहवः 'calling'. But प्रह्वायः 'a summons'.

आङि युद्धे ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङि, युद्धे, (ह्वः, संप्रसारणं, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् उपपदे ह्वयतेर्धातोः संप्रसारणमप् प्रत्ययो भवति युद्धेऽभिधेये ॥

73 The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' when the word in composition is the upasarga 'âṅ', and the semi-vowel of the root is changed into its corresponding vowel, when the word so formed means battle.

As आहवः 'battle' (where they *challenge* each other). But otherwise आह्वायः 'calling'.

निपानमाहावः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निपानम्, आहावः, (आङि, ह्वः, सम्प्रसारणम्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्पूर्वस्य ह्वयतेर्धातोः संप्रसारणमप्प्रत्ययो वृद्धिश्च निपात्यते निपानं चेदभिधेये भवति ॥

74. The word 'âhâva' is irregularly formed when meaning a trough.

The word आहावः is irregularly formed from ह्वे by the prefix आ, the samprasâraṇa, and the vṛiddhi of the vowel. Thus आ+ह्वे+अप्=आहु+अ=आहौ+अ=आहावः 'a trough near a well for watering cattle'. Otherwise आह्वायः 'calling'. Even in the word आहावः the sense of calling is understood. It is that place near a well, containing water, where cattle are called or invited to drink water.

भावेऽनुपसर्गस्य ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे, अनुपसर्गस्य, (ह्वः, संप्रसारणम्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गस्य ह्वयतेः संप्रसारणमप्प्रत्ययो भवति भावेऽभिधेये ॥

75. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' and there is the change of the semi-vowel to its corresponding vowel, when the root is upasarga-less, and mere action is denoted.

As हवः 'calling'; हवे हवे सुहवं शूरमिन्द्रम् ।

Why do we say 'when no upasarga is in composition with it'? Observe आह्वायः । Though the anuvritti of the word भाव was understood in this aphorism from sûtra 18, its repetition here shows that the anuvritti of sûtra 19, which was running, must not be taken; so that this word applies to agent-kâraka also.

हनश्च वधः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, च, वधः, (भावे, अनुपसर्गस्य, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्धातोरनुपसर्गे भावे अप् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्संनियोगेन च वधादेशः, स चान्तोदात्तः ॥

76. The affix 'ap' comes after the root 'han' when upasarga-less, in the sense of mere action, and 'vadha' is the substitute of 'han' before this affix.

Thus वध has udâtta accent on its final. The affix अप् which is anudât a generally (III. 1. 4) thus becomes udâtta.

As वधश्चोराणाम् 'the killing of thieves'; वधो दस्यूनाम् 'the killing of robbers'.

When action is not denoted, the affix घञ् applies; as घातः 'a blow.

, also when an upasarga is in composition with it; as प्रघातः, घातः ।

The word च in the aphorism does not connect हन् with the substitute वध, there being no co-ordination, it refers to the affixes under discussion. Thus we have the affix घ also; as घातः 'killing'.

मूर्त्तौ घनः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मूर्त्तौ घनः, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूर्त्तावभिधेयायां हन्तेरप्प्रत्ययो भवति, घनादेशः ॥

77. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han' when the word so formed means solidity, and 'ghan' is the substitute.

The word मूर्त्ति means 'hardness', 'solidity'. Thus अभ्रघनः 'a mass of cloud'; दधिघनः 'solid'. How do we say घनं दधि? Here the quality is taken for the thing qualified.

अन्तर्घनो देशे ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, घनः, देशे, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तःपूर्वाद्धन्तेरप्प्रत्ययो भवति घनादेशश्च भवति देशेऽभिधेये ॥

78. The verb 'han' preceded by the word 'antar' takes the affix 'ap', and 'ghan' is the substitute of the word 'han', when the word so formed means 'a country'.

As अन्तर्+हन्+अप्=अन्तर्=घन्+अ=अन्तर्घनः 'name of a country of Bahika'; (a proch or court, an open space before the house between the entrance door and the house). Some write the word with a ण as अन्तर्घणः, that is also valid.

Why do we say 'when meaning a country'? Observe अन्तर्घातो 'striking in the middle'.

अगारैकदेशे प्रघणः प्रघाणश्च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अगार-एकदेशे, प्रघणः, प्रघाणः, च, (हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वस्य हन्तेः प्रघण प्रघाण इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते अगारैकदेशे वाच्ये ॥

79. The words 'praghaṇa' and 'praghâṇa' are irregularly formed meaning 'a portion of a dwelling house'.

Thus प्रघणः or प्रघाणः 'a porch before the door of a house, a portico'. This is formed from हन् with प्र, irregularly.

Why do we say 'when meaning a portion of a house'? Observe प्रघातः ।

उद्घनोत्याधानम् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्घनः, अत्याधानम्, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्पूर्वस्य हन्तेरुद्घन इति निपात्यतेऽत्याधानं चेद् भवति ॥

80. The word 'údghana' is irregularly formed in the sense of 'bench'.

This is formed from उद्+हन् irregularly. Thus उद्घनः 'a carpenter's bench' (the wood on which placing other planks &c. the carpenter carves &c).

When not having this sense, we have उद्घातः 'uneven'.

अपघनोऽङ्गम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपघनः, अङ्गम्, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपपूर्वस्य हन्तेरपघन इति निपात्यते, अङ्गं चेत्तद्भवति ॥

81. The word 'apaghana' is irregulaly formed meaning 'a member of the body'.

This is formed irregularly from अप+हन्. Thus अपघनः 'a limp or member of the body'. The word अङ्ग means a portion of the body, such as hand or foot, and not the whole body. Otherwise we we have अपघातः ।

करणेऽयोविद्रुषु ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, अयः-वि-द्रुषु, (हनः, अप्, घनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयस् वि द्रु इत्येतेषूपपदेषु हन्तेर्धातोः करणे कारकेऽप्प्रत्ययो भवति, घनादेशश्च ॥

82. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han'

when the words 'ayas', 'vi' or 'dru' are in composition with it, when the word so formed is related to the verb as an instrument, and 'ghan' is the substitute of 'han'.

As अयोघनः 'a forge-hammer' (whereby the iron is destroyed); विघनः 'a mallet'; द्रुघनः 'an axe'. Some write द्रुघणः, the न being changed into ण either by rule VII. 4 3. or by including this word in the class of क्षुभ्नादि (IV. 2. 80).

स्तम्बे क च ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्बे, क, च, (करणे, हनः, अप्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्बशब्दे उपपदे करणे कारके हन्तेः कः प्रत्ययो भवति चकारादप् ॥

83. The affix 'ka' also comes after the verb 'han', when 'stamba' (a clump) is the word in composition, and the relation of the word so formed to the verb is that of an instrument.

The word च in the sûtra draws in अप् from the last aphorism and in that case घन् replaces हन्. Thus स्तम्बघ्नः or स्तम्बघनः 'a small hoe for weeding clumps of grass'. In the feminine gender, the forms are स्तम्बघ्ना as well as स्तम्बघना। When क is added, we have स्तम्बघ्नः। Thus हन्+क=ह्न्+अ (VI. 4. 98) =घ्न (VII. 3. 54). When अप् is added, हन् is totally replaced by घन्। When instrument is not meant, we have स्तम्बघातः।

परौ घः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परौ, घः, (करणे, हनः अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दे उपपदे हन्तेः करणेऽप्प्रत्ययो भवति करणे कारके घशब्दश्चादेशः ॥

84. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han', when the upasarga 'pari' is in composition, and the relation between the word so formed, and the verb, is that of an instrument, and 'gha' replaces 'han'.

Thus परिघः or पलिघः (VIII. 2. 22.) 'an iron beam used for locking or shutting the gate, an iron club'.

उपघ्न आश्रये ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपघ्न, आश्रये, (अप्, हनः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपघ्नशब्द हन्तेरप्प्रत्यय उपधालोपश्च निपात्यते ॥

85. The word 'upaghna' is irregularly formed meaning 'an inclined place for leaning or support'.

It is formed by adding अप् (III. 3. 76) to the verb हन् preceded by the upasarga उप, then eliding the penultimate अ of ह; this is the irregularity. Then by sandhi rules हन् is changed into घ्नः। This form would have been given by the affix क also, without any irregularity.

The word आश्रय refers to proximity, contiguity. Thus पर्वतोपघ्नः 'the declivity of the mountain'; so also ग्रामोपघ्नः bordering the village'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'support'? Observe पर्वतोपघातः।

संघोद्घौ गणप्रशंसयोः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघ-उद्घौ, गण-प्रशंसयोः, (अप्, घत्वं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुदोरुपपदयोर्हन्तेर्हुर्तोरप्प्रत्ययष्टिलोपो घत्वं च निपात्यते, यथासंख्यं गणेऽभिधेये प्रशंसायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

86. The words 'saṅgha' and 'udgha' are irregularly formed in the sense of 'a collection', and 'a praise' respectively.

These words are thus formed; सम्+हन्+अप्=सं+ह्+अ=सं+घ्+अ=संघः। Thus संघः पशूनाम् 'a herd of cattle'; so also उद्घो मनुष्यः 'an excellent man'. The word 'respectively' is inserted from I. 3. 10. When not used in these senses, we have संघातः 'union'.

निघो निमितम् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ निघः, निमितम्, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निघ इति निपूर्वाद्धन्तेरप्प्रत्ययष्टिलोपो घत्वं च निपात्यते निमिते चेदभिधेयं भवति ॥

87. The word 'nigha' is irregularly formed in the sense of 'as high as broad'.

The word निमित means 'measured all round' *i. e.* 'as high as broad' As निघा वृक्षाः 'trees as high as broad'. निघा शालयः 'square or cubic or circular halls'. Otherwise, when not meaning 'as high as broad', we have निघातः 'a blow'. The word निमित=समन्तान्मितं, समारोहपरिणाहम्। It may be derived from मा or from मि। In the first case it will maen 'measured' and in the other, 'erected, built'. Professor Bothlingk refers to *Apastamba Dharma*. I. 20. 30 for the meaning of this word.

ड्वितः क्त्रिः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ डु-इतः, क्त्रिः, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डु इद्यस्य तस्माड् ड्वितो धातोः क्त्रिः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

88. The affix 'ktri' comes after the verb which has an indicatory 'du', when denoting mere action &c.

The phrases 'when the sense is that of mere action', and 'when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as agent', are of course understood in this, as in all the previous aphorisms. Then by IV. 4. 20, (of the affix क्त्रि, मप् is always the augment) we must add म, for we can not use the affix त्रि alone; but we must always use त्रिम. Thus डुपचष् to cook'—पक्त्रिमम् 'what is ripe'; डुवप्—उप्त्रिमम् 'sown' (VI. I. 15); डुकृञ्—कृत्रिमम् 'artificial'.

ट्वितोऽथुच् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ टु-इतः, अथुच्, (भावे, अकर्तरि कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ टु इद्यस्य तस्मात् ट्वितो धातोरथुच् प्रत्ययो भवति भावादौ ॥

89. After that verb which has an indicatory 'ṭu', the affix 'athuch' comes with the force of denoting mere action &c.

As टुवेपृ—वेपथुः 'a trembling'; टुओश्वि—श्वयथुः 'swelling'; टुक्षु—क्षवथुः 'sneezing' टुदु—दवथुः 'burning'.

यजयाचयतविच्छप्रच्छरक्षो नङ् ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ यज-याच-यत-विच्छ-प्रच्छ-रक्षः, नङ्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो नङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

90. After the verbs 'yaj' (to worship), 'yâch' (to ask for), 'yat' (to strive), vichchh' (to shine), 'prachchh' (to ask) and raksh' (to preserve), comes the affix 'naṅ' with the force of denoting mere action &c.

The conditions of sûtras 18 and 19 are understood here also. The ङ् of नङ् is for the sake of prohibiting guṇa or vṛiddhi(I. 1. 5); as यज्ञः 'sacrifice'; याच्ञा 'solicitation'; यत्नः 'effort'; विश्नः (VI. 4. 19) 'lustre'; प्रश्नः 'a question'; रक्ष्णः protection.

The root प्रच्छ, by VI. 1. 16, ought to have changed its र into ऋ before the ङित् affix नङ्. Its not doing so must be taken to be an irregularity countenanced by Pâṇini, as we know from the fact that Pâṇini himself uses the form प्रश्नः in III. 2 117.

स्वपो नन् ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपः, नन्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वपेर्धातोर्नन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix 'nan' comes, under similar circumstances after the verb 'svap' (to sleep).

The final न् is indicatory and regulates the accent (VI. 1. 197); as स्वप्नः 'a dream'.

उपसर्गे घोः किः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, घोः, किः, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे उपपदे घुसंज्ञकेभ्यो धातुभ्यः किः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

92. The affix 'ki' comes under similar conditions, after a 'ghu' verb (I. 1. 20), when an upasarga is in composition with it.

The क् is indicatory, by force of which the final आ is elided (VI. 4. 64). Thus प्र+दा+कि=प्रदिः 'a present', प्रधिः 'the periphery of a wheel'; उपाधिः 'fraud'; अन्तर्द्धिः vanishing'.

कर्मण्यधिकरणे च ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, अधिकरणे, च, (घोः, भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे घुसंज्ञकेभ्यो धातुभ्यः किःप्रत्ययो भवति, अधिकरणे कारके ॥

93. The affix 'ki' comes after a 'ghu' verb, when a word in the accusative case is in composition with it, and when the relation of the word so formed to its verb, is that of 'location'.

As जलधिः 'the ocean (in which water is held)'; शरधिः 'a quiver (that in which arrows are put)'.

The word 'location' in the aphorism indicates that the words so formed should have no other siguificance. The word च in the aphorism draws in the affix कि from the last sûtra.

स्त्रियां क्तिन् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाम्, क्तिन्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रीलिङ्गे भावादौ धातोः क्तिन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्तिन्नाबादिभ्यश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ श्रुयजिस्तुभ्यः करणे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ग्लाम्लाज्याहाभ्यो निः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ॠकारल्वादिभ्यः क्तिन्निष्ठावद्भवति इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सम्पदादिभ्यः क्विप् ॥

94. To express an action *&c.* by a word in the feminine gender, the affix 'ktin' is added to the root.

The conditions of rules III. 3. 18. and 19 are understood here also. This supersedes घञ्, अच् and अप् affixes. Thus कृतिः 'action'; चितिः 'a gathering'; मतिः 'understanding'.

Vart.—The affix *ktin* should be declared to come after the verbs आप् 'to get' &c. There is no list of these words given anywhere, but by seeing the form, we can infer the affix. Thus आप्तिः 'getting'; राद्धिः 'accomplishment'; दीप्तिः 'shining'; स्रस्तिः 'a slip'; ध्वस्तिः 'destruction'; लब्धिः 'gain'.

Vart.—So also after the verbs श्रु 'to hear', यज् 'to worship' and स्तु 'to praise', when instrument is meant; as श्रुतिः 'ear' (that by which we hear); so इष्टिः 'a sacrifice'; स्तुतिः 'a praise'.

Vart.—The affix नि comes after the verbs ग्लै 'to be exhausted', म्लै 'to fade', ज्या 'to grow old' and हा 'to leave'; as ग्लानिः 'exhaustion'; म्लानिः 'fading'; ज्यानिः 'old age'; हानिः 'loss'.

Vart.—The affix क्तिन् coming after verbs ending in long ॠ and the verbs लू &c. is like a Nishṭhâ. कीर्णिः 'scattering'; This form is thus evolved: कॄ + क्तिन् = कि + ति (VII. 1. 100) = किर् + ति (I. 1. 51) = कीर् + ति (VIII 2.77). At this stage, त is changed into न by the affix being treated as a Nishṭhâ (VIII. 2. 42), and this न is changed into ण by the ordinary rules of sandhi; so

also गीर्णिः 'praise'; जीर्णिः 'old age'; शीर्णिः 'drying'; लूनिः (VIII. 2. 44) 'cutting'; जूनिः 'joining'; धूनिः 'agitation'; पूनिः 'destruction'.

Vart.—The affix क्विप् comes after the verbs संपद् &c.; as संपद् 'prosperity'; विपद् 'calamity'; प्रतिपद् 'access'. The affix क्तिन् is also employed after these verbs:—as संपत्तिः, विपत्तिः । The verbs लू &c. are 21 verbs of the kryâdi class.

स्थागापापचो भावे ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्था-गा-पा-पचः, भावे, (स्त्रियां, क्तिन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्त्रीलिङ्गे भावे क्तिन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. After the roots 'sthâ' (to stand), 'gâ' (to sing) 'pâ' (to drink) and 'pach' (to cook), the affix 'ktin' is employed, when a word in the feminine gender denoting a 'mere action' is to be expressed.

This debars the affix अङ् (III. 3. 106) which generally supersedes क्तिन् in cases of compound verbs ending in long आ. Thus प्रस्थितिः 'a journey' (VII 4. 40); उद्गीतिः 'a singing aloud'; गै+क्ति=गा+ति (VI. 1. 45) =गी+ति (VI. 4. 66); संगीतिः 'a concert'; प्रपीतिः 'a cistern'; संपीतिः 'drinking together'; पक्तिः 'cooking'.

The repetition of the word भाव in this aphorism, in spite of its anuvṛitti being understood from sûtra 18 is to exclude every other significance.

How do we get forms like अवस्था and संस्था? Pâṇini himself, in his sûtras, has used forms like व्यवस्था &c. See I. 1. 34. This is enough justification for us to derive forms like अवस्था, संस्था &c. by applying the affix अङ् under rule 106, in spite of the present sûtra, which requires us to apply क्तिन् only.

मन्त्रे वृषेषपचमनविदभूवीरा उदात्तः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्रे, वृष-इष-पच-मन-विद्-भू-वी-रा, उदात्तः, (भावे, स्त्रियाम्, क्तिन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रे विषये वृषादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः क्तिन्प्रत्ययो भवति उदात्तः ॥

96. In the Mantra literature, 'ktin' acutely accented comes after the following roots, forming words in the feminine gender, denoting a mere action:—'vṛish' (to rain), 'ish' (to wish), 'pach' (to cook), 'man' (to think), 'vid' (to know), 'bhû' (to be), 'vi' (to go, to consume) and 'râ' (to give).

The construction of this sûtra is anomalous. Instead of the bases being put in the ablative case, they are put in the nominative case. Thus वृष्टिः 'raining'; इष्टिः 'wishing'; पक्तिः 'cooking'; मतिः 'thinking'; वित्तिः 'knowing'; भूतिः 'being'; वीतिः 'consuming'; रातिः 'giving'.

The affix क्तिन् has been generally ordained by sûtra 94 after all verbs. The present sûtra is made for the sake of regulating the accent in the case of these nouns. From इष् we have also an irregular noun इच्छा (III. 3. 101), and

another by the general rule 94 having acute accent on the first syllable, altogether 3 forms. See Rig Veda I. 116. 12; II. 5. 6; I. 62. 3, 57. 2; IV. 24. 7; III. 39. 1; I. 6. 5, 60. 1; X. 95. 17 for these words.

ऊतियूतिजूतिसातिहेतिकीर्त्तयश्च ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊति-यूति-जूति-साति-हेति-कीर्त्तयः, च, (उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊत्यादयः शब्दा निपात्यन्ते ॥

97. **And these words viz., 'ûti' (preserving sport), 'yûti' (joining), 'jûti' (velocity), 'sâti' (destruction), 'heti' (a weapon) and 'kîrti' (fame) are anomalous forms, acutely accented.**

The anuvritti of the word मंत्रे does not exist in this; but the word उदात्त of the last syllable is understood here. The word ऊति is thus formed :— अव् 'to protect' + क्तिन् = ऊ + तिः (VI. 4. 20.) = ऊतिः । this form is regular and could be evolved from sûtra 94 also; but not so the accent. The irregularity in यूतिः and जूतिः consists in the lengthening of उ into ऊ; in सातिः the आ of the root षै which becomes सा by VI. 1 45, is not changed into इ, as rule VII. 4. 40 required, and this is the irregularity. This form may also be derived from the root सन् with perfect propriety, except as to the accent which would be regulated by the present sûtra : thus सन् + क्तिन् = सा + क्तिन् (VI. 4. 42) = साति. The form हेति may be derived either from हन् or हिनोति ।

इन्द्र वाजेषु नोऽव सहस्रप्रधनेषु च । उग्र उग्राभिरूतिभिः ॥ (Rig. Veda. I. 7. 4) 'O Indra, mayst thou mighty, defend us in battles and in fights of a thousand duels, with thy mighty protections'.

व्रजयजोर्भावे क्यप् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्रज-यजोः, भावे, क्यप्, (उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्रजयजोर्धात्वोः स्त्रिलिंगे भावे क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति, उदात्तः ॥

98. **The affix 'kyap' comes after the roots 'vraj' (to go) and 'yaj' (to worship) acutely accented in forming a word in the feminine denoting action.**

This supersedes क्तिन्. Thus व्रज्या 'wandering about'; इज्या (VI. 1. 15) 'worshipping'. The प् of क्यप् is indicatory, and though it serves no purpose in this sûtra, it is, however, necessary in the next, for it is by force of क्यप् having प्, that we add a त by VI. 1. 71, in the words formed in the next aphorism.

संज्ञायां समजनिषदनिपतमनविदषुञ्शीङ्भृञिणः ॥९९॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां, समज-निषद-निपत-मन-विद-षुञ्-शीङ्-भृञ्-इणः, (स्त्रियां, क्यप्, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समजादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्त्रियां क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति उदात्तः संज्ञायां विषये ॥

99. The affix 'kyap' comes after the following verbs in forming a word in the feminine denoting an 'appellative' and is acutely accented viz:—'sam-aj' 'nishad', 'ni-pat'. 'man', 'vid', 'suñ', 'śîñ' 'bhṛiñ' and 'iṇ'.

Thus समज्या 'an assembly'; निषद्या 'a small bed or couch'; निपत्या 'slippery ground'; मन्या 'thinking'; विद्या 'knowledge'; सुत्या (VI. 1. 71) 'extraction of soma juice, parturition'; शय्या 'bed'; भृत्या 'wages, service'; इत्या 'a litter, palanquin'.

Here a question arises as regards भृ. By rule III 1. 112, भृ would have taken क्यप्, and we could have got the form भृत्या by that rule also. But the भृत्या formed under that rule would not have denoted an appellative which the present rule does. It would be said that rule III. 1. 112 when it used the words असंज्ञायां, was rather too wide, for क्यप् does come in denoting संज्ञा in feminine nouns by the present rule; so that the word असंज्ञायां there, must be qualified by the phrase, 'except in the feminine'. The test whether rule 112, is too widely worded or not, has been made to hinge on the forming of the term भार्या meaning 'wife'. This word is formed by the affix ण्यत् to the exclusion of क्यप् ।

संज्ञायां पुंसि दृष्टत्वा न ते भार्या प्रसिध्यति ।

स्त्रियां भावाधिकारोऽस्ति तेन भार्या प्रसिध्यति ॥

The word भावाधिकारः is explained by the author of the Kâsikâ as भावव्यापारो. वाच्यत्वेन विवक्षितः, नतु शास्त्रीयोऽधिकारः ।

कृञः श च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृञः, श, च, (स्त्रियां, क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतेर्धातोः स्त्रियां शः प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात् क्यप् च ॥

100. And after the root 'kṛi' comes the affix 'śa' in forming a feminine, as well as the affix 'kyap'.

By the force of the word च we draw the affix क्यप् into this sûtra, and by the process called योगविभाग we can split up this aphorism into two:—

(1) कृञः 'after the root कृ there is the affix क्तिन्'

(2) श च 'and the affix श as well as क्यप्'. Thus क्रिया, कृत्या (VI. 1. 71) and कृतिः । When the affix श is added, the root assumes the form क्रिय by III.1.67.

इच्छा ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा, (श) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इषेर्धातोः शः प्रत्ययो यगभावश्च निपात्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ परिचर्यापरिसर्यामृगयाटाट्यानामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ जागर्तेरकारो वा ॥

102. The form 'ichchhâ' (desire) is irregular.

The word is thus formed: इष्+श=इच्छ+अ=इच्छा. The यक् ordained by III. 1. 67 is not added, this is the irregularity.

Vart.—The following words are also irregularly formed :—परिचर्या 'perambulation'; परिचर्या 'attendance, service'; मृगया 'hunting'; अटाट्या 'the habit of roaming about as a religious mendicant'.

Vart.—From the root जागृ we have either जागरा or जागर्या 'waking'. The first is formed by the affix अ, the latter by श which brings in यक् (III. I. 67).

अ प्रत्ययात् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, प्रत्ययात्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्त्रियामकारः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

102. After the verbs that end in an affix, there is the affix 'a', the word being feminine.

The verbs that end in an affix are derivative roots, such as Desideratives, Causatives, Intensives and Denominatives. Though taking affixes, they are called धातु (III. 1. 32), after these verbs the affix अ is used in forming the feminine noun.

Thus कृ+सन्=चिकीर्ष् 'to wish to do'; this is a Derivative root; after this root चिकीर्ष्, we add अ । Thus चिकीर्ष्+अ (VI. 4. 48)=चिकीर्ष । Then we add टाप् by IV. 1. 4. and get चिकीर्षा 'the desire to do'; so also जिहीर्षा 'the desire to take'; पुत्रीया 'the desire to be like a son'; पुत्रकाम्या 'desire of a son'; लोलूया 'much cutting'; कण्डूया 'itch'. The sûtra is also found as अः प्रत्ययात् ।

गुरोश्च हलः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुरोः, च, हलः, (स्त्रियां, अ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलन्तो यो धातुर्गुरुमान् ततः स्त्रियामकारः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix 'a' comes after that verb which has a prosodially heavy vowel and ends in a consonant, when the word to be formed is feminine.

This debars क्तिन् । Thus कुण्डा 'an adulteress'; हुण्डा 'a tigress'; ईहा 'effort'; ऊहा supplying an ellipsis'.

Why do we say 'which has a prosodially heavy vowel'? Observe भक्ति 'devotion'. Why do we say 'which ends in a consonant'? Observe नीति 'polity,.

षिद्भिदादिभ्योऽङ् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ षित्, भिद्-आदिभ्यः, अङ्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षिद्भ्यो भिदादिभ्यश्च स्त्रियामङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

104. The affix 'aṅ' comes after those verbs that have an indicatory 'sh', and after 'bhid' &c. when the word to be formed is feminine.

Thus जृष् has an indicatory ष्, the real root being जॄः । From it we have जरा 'old age' (VII. 4. 16) ; त्रपुष्—त्रपा 'bashfulness'.

So also from verbs of the *Bhidâdi* class we have भिदा 'breaking'; in the alternative we have भित्तिः । So also छिदा 'cutting'; छित्तिः 'cutting', आरा 'a knife, an

iron instrument'; आर्त्तिः 'distress'; धारा 'a stream'; चूर्तिः॥ The list of the *Bhidádi* verbs will not be found given in one place in the *Dhatupâtha*. They have been collected from different *Ganas*, and are the following :—

भिदा, छिदा, विदा, क्षिपा, गुहा, (गिर्योषध्योः), श्रद्धा, मेधा, गोधा, आरा, हारा, कारा, क्षिया, धारा, धारा, लेखा, रेखा, चूडा, पीडा, वपा, वसा, मृजा, मृजा, कृपा, (क्रपेःसंप्रसारणं च) ॥

चिन्तिपूजिकथिकुम्बिचर्चश्च ॥१०५॥ पदानि ॥ चिन्ति-पूजि-कथि-कुम्बि-चर्चः, च, (स्त्रियां, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिन्ति पूजि कथि कुम्बि चर्च एभ्यो धातुभ्यो युचि प्राप्ते स्त्रियामङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. The affix 'añ' as well as the affix 'yuch' comes after the following verbs, forming feminine words:—'chint' (to think), 'pûj' (to worship) 'kath' (to narrate), 'kumb' (to cover) and 'charch' (to learn).

The force of च is to include the affix युच् into this sûtra (see III. 3. 107). All these verbs belong to the *Churádi* or 10th class, and would have exclusively taken युच् by III. 3. 107.

Thus चिन्ता 'thought'; पूजा 'worship'; कथा 'narration'; कुम्बा 'a covering', 'a thick petticoat'; चर्चा 'recitation'.

When the affix is युच्, the forms are चिन्तना &c. (VII. 1. 1).

आतश्चोपसर्गे ॥१०६॥पदानि॥ आतः, च, उपसर्गे,(स्त्रियां, अङ्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्य उपसर्गे उपपदे स्त्रियामङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ श्रदन्तरोरुपसर्गवद्वृत्तिः ॥

106. The affix 'añ' comes after those verbs which end in long 'â' when an upasarga is in composition, and when the word to be formed is feminine.

This supersedes क्तिन्. Thus प्रदा, प्रधा, उपदा, उपधा, &c.

Vart—For the purposes of this rule the particles श्रत् and अन्तर् should be treated like upasargas. Thus श्रद्धा 'faith' अन्तर्द्धा (I. 4. 59).

ण्यासश्रन्थो युच् ॥१०७॥पदानि॥ णि-आस-श्रन्थः, युच्,(स्त्रियाम्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्य आसश्रन्थ इत्येताभ्यां च स्त्रियां युच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ घट्टिवन्दिविदिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इषेरनिच्छार्थस्य युज्वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ परेर्वा ॥

107. After verbs ending in 'ṇi', and after 'âs' (to sit) and 'śranth' (to loose), there is the affix 'yuch' when the word to be formed is feminine.

This excludes the affix अ (III. 1. 102). Thus कृ + णिच् = कारि; कारि + युच् = कारणा (the इ is elided by VI. 4. 51) 'the causing to do'; हारणा 'the causing to

take'; आसना 'the sitting'; श्रन्थना 'the loosening'. How do we get the form आस्या ? It is the feminine of आस्य formed by adding ण्यत् to the root आस् by III. 1. 124. Is not that rule made non-applicable by rule III. 1. 94, which declares that वाऽसरूप rule does not apply to Feminine affixes? Yes, that is, however, not total exclusion. The phrase अस्त्रियाम् in III. 1. 94 is to be interpreted thus:—"Non-uniform affixes prohibit each other, when they belong to the class of affixes especially ordained for the feminine nouns; such as the affix क्तिन् (III. 3. 9), क्यप् (III. 3. 98), अ (III. 3. 102). That is to say, an utsarga-feminine affix will be always superseded by an apavâda-feminine affix; but a feminine affix in general will not supersede another affix which is not enjoined in the feminine gender especially. In other words, feminine affixes *inter se* supersede each other totally, but not so with regard to general कृत् affixes". Now by the present sûtra the root आस् takes युच्; this totally excludes other feminine affixes like अ (III. 1. 102); but it does not exclude the non-feminine affix ण्यत्।

The root श्रन्थ taken here belongs to the Kryâdi class, meaning 'to loosen' and is not the श्रन्थ of the Churâdi class, for the latter would be included, as a matter of course, by belonging to the Churâdi class which class of verbs take the affix णिच्।

Vart.—The verbs घट्ट 'to move', वन्द 'to praise', and विद 'to feel', should also be enumerated, as taking युच्. Thus घट्टना 'shaking', वन्दना 'praising', वेदना 'knowledge, feeling, pain'. The verb घट्ट here belongs to the Tudâdi class, and means 'to move' and not घट्ट of the Churâdi class, for that is already included by being णिजन्त।

Vart.—The affix युच् comes after इष् when it does not mean 'to desire'. Thus अध्येषणा 'solicitation'; अन्वेषणा 'the searching after'.

Vart—So also optionally when इष् takes the upasarga परि; as, पर्येषणा or परीष्टिः 'investigation by reasoning'.

रोगाख्यायां ण्वुल्बहुलम् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रोग-आख्यायाम्, ण्वुल्, बहुलम्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोगाख्यायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्ण्वुलं ण्वुल्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ धात्वर्थनिर्देशे ण्वुल्वक्तव्यः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इक्श्तिपौ धातुनिर्देशे इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वर्णात्कारः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ रादिफः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मत्वर्थाच्छः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इणजादिभ्यः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इक्कृष्यादिभ्यः ॥

108. The affix 'ṇvul' comes diversely after verbs when the word to be formed is a feminine noun, being the name of 'diseases'.

This debars क्तिन् and all the rest. By using the word आख्या in the sûtra it is meant that the word so formed by this affix should be the appellation of the disease. The word 'diversely' shows the usual license in the application of all the rules of grammar. Thus प्रच्छर्दिका (VII. 1. 1.) 'vomiting'; प्रवाहिका 'diarrhœa'; विचर्चिका 'itch, scab'. Sometimes this affix does not apply; as शिरोर्त्तिः 'head-ache'.

Vart—The affix *nvul* is employed also in simply pointing out the meaning of the roots; thus, आसिका 'to enjoy', शायिका to 'lie down' &c.

Vart.—The affixes इक् and श्तिप् (that is शप् and तिप्) are also employed in merely pointing out the roots; as भिदिः, छिदिः, पचतिः, पठतिः &c. The constant use of these affixes is to be found in these very sûtras. In the aphorisms the roots are exhibited in various ways; thus in sûtra 49 of this chapter we have the root श्रि and यु exhibited as श्रयतिः and यौतिः। These latter forms indicating nothing more than the simple roots. So also, see VIII. 4. 17; VI. 4. 49.

Vart.—The affix कार is employed in merely pointing out letters; as ककारः means 'the letter क'; so also अकारः 'the letter अ'; इकारः 'the letter इ'।

Vart.—The affix इफ is employed in pointing out the letter र; as रेफ।

Vart.—The affix छ comes after the word मत्वर्थ in merely pointing it out, and there is elision of the final अ; as मत्वर्थीयः।

Vart.—The affix इञ् comes after the verbs अज् &c; as आजिः, आतिः, आदिः।

Vart.—The affix इक् comes after the verbs कृष् &c; as, कृषिः, किरिः, &c.

संज्ञायाम् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (ण्वुल्, स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये धातोर्ण्वुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

109. The affix 'ṇvul' comes after the verbal roots, when the word to be formed is an appellative.

As उद्दालकपुष्पभञ्जिका 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which uddâlaka flowers are broken or crushed'. वरणपुष्पप्रचायिका 'a sort of game'; अभ्यूषखादिका; आचोषखादिका; शालभञ्जिका; तालभञ्जिका।

विभाषाऽऽख्यानपरिप्रश्नयोरिञ् च ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आख्यान-परिप्रश्नयोः, इञ्, च, (ण्वुल्, स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिप्रश्ने आख्याने च गम्यमाने धातोरिञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

110. And the affix 'iñ' comes optionally after a root, when a question and answer is expressed, (as well as 'ṇvul' and other affixes ordained by other rules).

The word परिप्रश्न means 'question' and आख्यान means 'answer'; in the sûtra, in making the compound of these words, the logical sequence is not observed. The compound आख्यानपरिप्रश्न may, however, be justified on the ground that in a Compound a word consisting of smaller number of syllables should stand first (II. 2. 34,) and hence *âkhyâna* is put first.

The force of च is to draw the anuvṛitti of the word ण्वुल् from the last into this. By the word 'optionally', it is meant that those affixes which would otherwise present themselves from the subsequent rules, should also be applied; thus: Q.—कां त्वं कारिमकार्षीः 'What work did you do'? A.—सर्वां कारिमकार्षम् 'I did all work'. Optionally we may have instead of कारि the following also. Q.— कां कारिकां, कृत्यां, कृतिं, क्रियां, अकार्षीः A.—सर्वां कारिकां or कृत्यां or कृतिं or क्रियां अकार्षम् । Similarly, Q.—कां गणिं (गणनां, गणिकां &c.) अजीगण: A.—सर्वांगणिं &c. अजीगणम्. So also कां याजिम् or याजिकाम्; कां याचिम् or याचिकां &c.

Why do we say 'in question and answer'? Observe कृतिः and हृतिः ।

पर्यायार्हर्णोत्पत्तिषु ण्वुच् ॥१११॥ पदानि॥ पर्याय-अर्ह-ऋण उत्-पत्तिषु, ण्वुच्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतेष्वर्थेषु धातोर्ण्वुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

111. The affix 'ṇvuch' comes optionally after a root in the sense of succession, merit, debt or production.

The word पर्याय means turn or order of succession; अर्ह means worthy of respect; ऋणं means debt owed to another; and उत्पत्ति means birth or production. This rule supersedes क्तिन् and other affixes. Thus: (1) भवतः शायिका 'your turn of sleeping'; भवतोऽग्रग्रासिका 'your turn of eating first'. (2) अर्हति भवानिक्षुभक्षिकाम् 'you deserve to have a meal of sugar and molasses'. (3) इक्षुभक्षिकां मे धारयसि 'thou owest me a meal of sugar and molasses'; ओदनभोजिकां 'a meal of rice'; पयःपायिकां 'a drink of milk'. (4) इक्षुभक्षिका मे उदपादि ।

The word 'optionally' is understood in this sûtra also; as चिकीर्षोत्पद्यते ।

The forms given by ण्वुल् and ण्वुच् are the same, the difference is only in the accent. (VI. 1 193, and VI. I. 163).

आक्रोशे नञ्यनिः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रोशे, नञि, अनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशे गम्यमाने नञ्युपपदे धातोरनिःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. The affix 'ani' comes after a verb when the particle 'nañ' is in composition with it, and the sense implied is that of cursing.

The anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally' does not extend to this aphorism. The word आक्रोश means to curse. This supersedes the affixes क्तिन् &c. Thus अकरणिस्ते वृषल भूयात् 'may failure be to thee, O 'sinner'! तस्याकरणिरेवास्तु 'may he be disappointed'.

Why do we say 'when meaning to curse'? Observe अकृतिस्तस्य कटस्य 'the non-making of his mat'.

Why do we say 'when नञ् is in composition'? Observe मृतिस्ते वृषल भूयात् 'may death be to thee, O! sinner'!

कृत्यल्युटो बहुलम् ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य, ल्युटः, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यसंज्ञकाः प्रत्यया ल्युट् च बहुलमर्थेषु भवन्ति ॥

113. The affixes called 'kritya' (III. 1. 95) and the the affix 'lyuṭ', are diversely applicable and have other senses than those taught before.

The anuvṛitti of the phrases 'when denoting action' and 'when the relation of the word formed to its parent verb is not that of an agent', which began with sûtras III. 3. 18 and 19, does not extend to this sûtra or further. By saying 'diversely' we mean that they occur in other places than those where ordained by the rules. Thus the *kritya* affixes are ordained to come when 'act' or 'object' is to be expressed, but they come also when the *kâraka* is other than the objective. Thus स्नानीयं चूर्णम् 'powder for bathing'; दानीयो ब्राह्मणः 'a Brâhmaṇa to whom a donation is to be made'. In the first of these examples the 'powder' is the 'instrument' expressible by the 3rd. case, and in the second the 'Brâhmaṇa' is the recipient expressible by the fourth case; so that in both cases the affix is applied without any express rule.

Similarly, ल्युट् is ordained to come in denoting instrument, location, and a verbal noun (III. 3. 115 and 117). But it is applied in other senses also. Thus राजभोजनाः शालयः 'halls for the eating of kings'; राजाच्छादनानि वासांसि 'dresses to be worn by the 'king'.

By using the word 'diversely', even the *krit* affixes are applied in places other than those expressly ordained. Thus पादाभ्यां ह्रियते = पादहारकः । गले चोप्यते = गलेचोपकः । For accent see VI. 2. 150.

नपुंसके भावे क्तः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपुंसके, भावे, क्तः, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकलिङ्गे भावे धातोः क्तः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

114. The affix 'kta' is added to the root, when action is expressed, the word being in the neuter gender.

These are neuter abstract nouns: thus, हसितम् 'laugh'; जल्पितं 'speech'; शयितं 'sleeping'. So also गतं, सहितं &c.

ल्युट् च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल्युट्, च, (नपुंसके, भावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकलिङ्गे भावे धातोर्ल्युट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

115. The affix 'lyuṭ' is added to the root, when the name of an action is expressed, in the neuter gender.

Thus हसनं छात्रस्य 'the laughter of the student'; शोभनं 'beauty'; जल्पनं 'speech'; शयनं 'sleep'; आसनम् 'seat'.

The separation of this sûtra from the last, in which it might well have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms, in which the anuvṛitti of *lyut* only runs, and not that of क्त ।

कर्मणि च येन संस्पर्शात् कर्तुः शरीरसुखम् ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥

कर्मणि, च, येन, संस्पर्शात्, कर्तुः, शरीर-सुखम् (नपुंसके, भावे, ल्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येन कर्मणा संस्पृश्यमानस्य कर्तुःशरीरसुखमुत्पद्यते तस्मिन्कर्मण्युपपदे धातोर्नपुंसकलिंगे भावे ल्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

116. The affix 'lyuṭ' is added to a root, when the name of an action is expressed in the neuter gender; provided that the verb has in construction with it, such a word in the accusative case, as indicates thing, from the contact with which, there arises a pleasant sensation corporally to the agent.

This sûtra is thus translated by Bohtlingk:—"The affix ल्युट् comes in connection with an object, when through the contact with that, the agent of the action feels a lively pleasure". Though the affix *lyut* would have presented itself by the last aphorism, under the circumstances mentioned in this sûtra, the framing of this sûtra, is really for the purpose of teaching, that the compound so formed is a नित्य or invariable compound *i. e*, a compound which cannot be analysed into its component members:—for every उपपद compound is a नित्य compound (II. 2. 19). Thus पयः पानंसुखं 'the pleasure of drinking milk'; ओदनभोजनं सुखं 'the pleasure of eating rice,'.

Why do we say 'when the word in construction is in the accusative case'? Observe तूलिकाया उत्थानं सुखं 'rising from a bed of down is pleasant'. Here there is no compounding as the upapada तूलिका is in the ablative case.

Why do we say 'from the contact'? Observe अग्निकुंडस्योपासनं सुखं 'it is pleasure to sit near by a fire-hearth'. Here there being no contact between 'fire' and 'body', there is no compounding.

Why do we say 'to the agent'? Observe गुरोः स्नापनं सुखं 'to the teacher it is pleasure, when he is made to bathe'. Here the word गुरुः is not the agent but the object of the verb स्नापयति ।

Why do we say 'corporally'? Observe पुत्रस्य परिष्वञ्जनं सुखम् 'embracing of the son is a pleasure'. Here the pleasure is a mere mental satisfaction and not a physical one.

Why do we say 'a pleasant sensation'? Observe कंटकानां मर्दनं दुःखम् 'it is painful to rub thorns'. In all the above counter-examples there is no compounding; see II. 2. 19 and the connected sûtras.

करणाधिकरणयोश्च ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ करण-अधिकरणयोः, च, (ल्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करणेऽधिकरणे च कारके धातोर्ल्युट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

117. The affix 'lyuṭ' comes after a root, when

the relation of the word to be formed to the verb is that of an instrument or location.

Thus इध्मप्रव्रश्चनः 'an axe' (lit. an instrument for cutting wood); पलाशशातनः 'palâsa-cutter'; गोदोहनी 'a milk-pail' (a vessel into which milk is milked); so also सक्तुधानी। In other words, this affix expresses also the idea of the instrumental case (a tool), and of the locative case (a repository).

पुंसि संज्ञायां घः प्रायेण ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंसि, संज्ञायाम्, घः, प्रायेण, (करणाधिकरणयोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुंल्लिङ्गयोः करणाधिकरणयोरभिधेययोर्धातोर्घः प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेत् संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

118. The affix 'gha' generally comes in the sense of an instrument or location after a root, when the word to be formed is a name and is in the masculine gender.

The force of the word प्रायेण 'generally' is to show that this rule is not a universal rule. Thus दन्तच्छदः 'the lip'; छादि 'to cover' + घ (VI. 4. 96) = छद lit. 'that by which the teeth are covered'; so also उरच्छद 'a breast plate'; पट। These denote instruments.

So also in denoting 'location'. Thus आ + कृ + घ = आकरः 'a mine', so named because men work (*ákurvanti*) in it, आलयः 'a house' that in which men settle down.

Why do we say 'in the masculine gender'? Observe प्रसाधनम् 'a comb'; (lit. that by which men decorate). Here the affix is *lyut*.

Why do we say 'when the complete word so formed is merely an appellative'? Observe प्रहरणो दण्डः 'the beating stick'.

The indicatory घ is merely qualifying; for the application of sûtra VI.4. 96. by which after the causative छादि, when घ is added, the long आ is shortened.

गोचरसंचरवहव्रजव्यजापणनिगमाश्च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोचर-संचर-वह-व्रज-आपण-निगमाः, च (घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोचरादयः शब्दा घप्रत्ययान्ता निपात्यन्ते पूर्वस्मिन्नेवार्थे ॥

119. And the words 'gochara', 'samchara', 'vaha' 'vraja', 'vyaja', 'âpaṇa' and 'nigama' are anomalous.

These words are irregularly formed by the affix घ with the same force as in the last aphorism. This is an *apavâda* or exception to rule III. 3. 121, by which after roots ending in consonants, the affix घञ् is added. Thus गोचरः 'pasturage', (lit. that in which the cows graze); संचरः 'a passage', (lit. through which they move); वहः 'a vehicle' (lit. by which men are carried); व्रजः 'a cow-pen' (by which they go); व्यजः 'a fan' (by which they move the air); the anomaly

in this consists in to replacing the अज् of व्यज् (वि+अज्) by the substitute वी as required by sûtra II. 4. 56; आपण 'a market' (lit. that in which men come and *traffic*); निगमः 'the Veda', 'a market' (that into which they *enter*).

The force of the word च in the aphorism is to include other words also, which have not been already mentioned. Thus कषः, निकषः 'a touch-stone' (lit. that on which they rub).

अवे तॄस्त्रोर्घञ् ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, तॄ-स्त्रोः, घञ्, (करणाधिकरणयोः संज्ञायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव उपपदे तरतेस्तृणातेश्च धातोः करणाधिकरणयोः संज्ञायां घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'tṛî' (to cross) and 'stṛî' (to spread), when the upasarga 'ava' formed is in composition with them, and when the word so formed is an appellative related to the verb either as an instrument or as a location.

This supersedes घ । The ञ् is indicatory and causes the vṛiddhi of ॠ (VII. 2. 115) and is also for the sake of regulating the accent (VI. 1. 195, 197). The indicatory घ् is useful in the subsequent aphorism where it changes the palatals into gutturals. Thus अवतारः 'the descent' (or incarnation of a deity); अवस्तारः 'a screen round a tent'.

How do we apply अवतार also in phrases like अवतारो नद्याः 'the descent of rivers', for here the word *avatâra* is not an appellative ? This use is also allowed, because the anuvṛitti of the word प्राय is understood here also ; so that these words *avatâra* &c. may be employed in senses other than appellative.

हलश्च ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, च, (पुंसि, संज्ञायां, करणाधिकरणयोः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलन्ताद्धातोः करणाधिकरणयोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

121. And after a verb ending in a consonant, comes the affix 'ghañ', (when the word to be formed is masculine, and related to the verb as an instrument or a location, and there by the palatal is changed into a guttural).

The whole of the phrase within brackets is to be read into this sûtra from sûtra III. 3. 118. This excludes घ. Thus लेखः 'a writing' (that in which something is inscribed) ; वेदः 'the Veda' (that by which all is known) ; वेषः 'dress' (that which is *entered into*); बन्धः 'obstruction' ; मार्गः 'a way' (that on which they seek); अपामार्गः 'a plant' (that by which disease or the like is cleared away) ; रामः, Râma' (*i. e.* in which the devout delight).

अध्यायन्यायोद्यावसंहाराधारावायाश्च ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्याय-न्याय-उद्याव-संहार-आधार-आवायाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्यायादयः शब्दा घञन्ता निपात्यन्ते ॥

122. And the words 'adhyâya', 'nyâya', 'udyâva', 'samhâra', 'âdhâra' and 'âvâya' are anomalous

These words are formed by adding the affix घञ् to the exclusion of घ which would have come by rule III. 3. 118. All these words are derived from roots which end in vowels. Thus अधि+इ+घञ्=अध्यायः 'a chapter or book' (lit. that in which they read); नी—न्यायः 'logic, justice', (lit. that by which men are *led*); उत्-यु—उद्यावः 'mixture' (lit. that in which they *blend*); सम्-हृ—संहारः 'destruction' (lit. by which they are destroyed); आ-धृ—आधारः 'support' (lit. in which anything is held); आ-वि—आवायः=आवयन्ति अस्मिन् ।

The force of च is to include others not enumerated above; as, अवहारः ।

उदङ्कोऽनुदके ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदङ्कः, अनुदके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदङ्क इति निपात्यते अनुदक विषयश्चेद् धात्वर्थो भवति ॥

123. The word 'udaṅka' is anomalous, when the sense of the root refers to subjects other than 'water'.

The word is thus formed: उद्+अंच+घञ्=उदङ्कः 'a vessel'.

Would not the affix घञ् have come by sûtra III. 3. 121, why then this aphorism? This is made a separate aphorism in order to prohibit the application of the affix, where the word to be formed means 'water'.

Thus तैलोदङ्कः 'a leathern vessel for oil'.

Why do we say 'when not referring to 'water'? Observe उदकोदंचनः 'a bucket for drawing water' (उद्+अञ्च+ल्युट्).

Why do not we give the counter-example by adding the affix घ to the root उदंच्? Because the form evolved by applying घ, would be the same in every respect as that evolved by घञ्; even the accent would be the same. For by sûtra VI. 2. 144, the udâtta accent, in the case of घञ्, will fall on the final.

जालमानायः ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जालम्, आनायः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आनाय इति निपात्यते जालं चेत्तद्भवति ॥

124. The word 'ânâya' is irregularly formed when meaning 'a net'.

The word is thus formed in the sense of instrument. आ+नी+घञ्= आनायः 'a net' (by which they are caught); as आनायो मत्स्यानां 'a net for fish'; आनायो मृगाणाम् 'a net for wild deer, &c'.

खनो घ च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खनः, घ, च, (करणाधिकरणे, घञ्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खनतेर्धातोः करणाधिकरणयोर्घः प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद् घञ् च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ डो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ डरो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इको वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इकवको वक्तव्यः ॥

125. The affix 'gha' as well as 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'khan' (to dig), (when the word to be formed is an appellative related to the verb as instrument or location).

The affix घञ् has been read into the sûtra by force of the word च। Thus आखानः or आखनः 'a spade, a hoe'.

Vart.—The affix ड also comes in this sense after the verb खन्. Thus आखन्+ड=आखः 'a spade'. The indicatory ड् showing that the final portion called टि should be elided.

Vart.—The affix डर also comes in the same sense: as आखरः 'a spade',

Vart.—So also the affix इक्; as आखनिकः 'a spade'.

Vart.—So too the affix इकवक as आखनिकवकः 'a spade'.

ईषद्दुःसुषु कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रार्थेषु खल् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषत्-दुस्-सुषु, कृच्छ्र-अकृच्छ्र-अर्थेषु, खल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषत् दुस् सु इत्येतेषूपपदेषु कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रार्थेषु धातोः खल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

126. In the sense of 'hard and difficult' or 'light and easy', the affix 'khal' is added to a verb, when 'îshad', and 'dur' and 'su' are combined with it as upapadas.

The anuvṛitti of the phrase 'when related as instrument or location' ceases with this aphorism. The word कृच्छ्र means heavy, and दुर् has the force of conveying that sense. The word अकृच्छ्र means 'light, easy'; and the words ईषत् and सु convey that sense. Thus ईषत्करो भवता कटः 'a mat is made easily by you'; so also दुष्करः 'made with difficulty'; सुकरः 'made with ease'. Similarly ईषद्भोजः 'eating pleasantly'; दुर्भोजः and सुभोजः।

Why do we say 'after ईषत् &c.'? See कृच्छ्रेण कार्यः कटः 'the mat which is made with difficulty'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'hard or light'? Observe ईषत्कार्यं 'a small work'.

Of the affix खल्, the letter ख and ल् are indicatory; ख causing the insertion of a nasal (technically called मुम् augment, VI. 3. 67); and ल् regulates the accent (VI. 1. 196). The augment मुम् will be added in the subsequent sûtra, the ख thus having no work in this sûtra.

कर्तृकर्मणोश्च भूकृञोः ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-कर्मणोः, च, भू-कृञोः, (ईषद्-दुः-सुषु, खल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेः करोतेश्च धातोर्यथासंख्यं कर्तरि कर्मणि चोपपदे यकारादीषदादिषु च खल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कर्तृकर्मणोश्च्व्यर्थयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

127. The affix 'khal' comes after the verbs 'bhû' and 'kri', when the upapadas in composition with them are 'agent' and 'object' respectively, preceded by the words 'ishad' &c. in combination with them, meaning 'hard or light'.

Thus ईषदाढ्य भवं 'being enriched easily'; दुराढ्य भवम् 'to be enriched with difficulty'; स्वाढ्यंकरो देवदत्तो भवता 'Devadatta can be made rich by you easily'.

Vart.—It should be stated that the agent and object in composition should be, as if they ended in the affix च्वि (V. 4. 50). Compare III. 2. 56 and III 2. 57. &. Therefore we do not have it here स्वाढ्येन भूयते or आढ्येन सुभूयते ॥

आतो युच् ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, युच्; (ईषद्दुःसुषु, कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रार्थेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रार्थेषु ईषदादिषूपपदेषु आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यो युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

128. The affix 'yuch' comes after roots ending in long 'â', (when ìshad', 'dur' and 'su' are combined as upapadas, in the sense of easily or with difficulty)

The word ईषद् &c. are to be read into this sûtra, not so the words कर्तृकर्मण &c. This supersedes the affix खल. Thus ईषत्पानः सोमो भवता 'the soma juice can be lightly drunk by you'; दुष्पानः 'difficult to be drunk'; सुपानः 'easy to be drunk'. ईषद्दानो गौर्भवता 'the cow can be given with ease by you'; दुर्दानः, सुदानः &c.

छन्दसि गत्यर्थेभ्यः ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, गति-अर्थेभ्यः, (ईषद्दुःसुषु, कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रार्थेषु, युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदादिषु कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रार्थेषूपपदेषु गत्यर्थेभ्यो धातुभ्यश्छन्दसि विषये युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

129 The affix 'yuch, comes in the Chhandas, after roots having the sense of 'to go', when the word 'ishad' &c. meaning 'lightly' or 'with difficulty' are in composition with such verbs.

This debars the affix खल्. Thus सूपसदनोऽग्निः । सूपसदनमन्तरिक्षम् । See T. S. 7. 5. 20. 1.

अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यते, (गत्यर्थेभ्यः, युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योऽपि धातुभ्यो गत्यर्थेभ्यश्छन्दसि विषये युच् प्रत्ययो दृश्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भाषायां शासियुधिदृशिधृषिमृषिभ्यो युज् वक्तव्यः ॥

130. The affix 'yuch' is seen to come in the Vedas, after verbs also, than those meaning 'to go'.

Thus दुदोह नाम कूचेाद् वृषभो गां ; so also दुधेद नाम कूचेाद् वृषभो गां ॥ (Rig. Veda. X. 112. 8).

Vart.—In the modern Sanskrit, the affix '*yuch*' comes after the verbs शास्, युध्, दृश्, धृष्, and मृष्; as दुःशासनः 'Duḥśâsanaḥ'; दुर्योधनः 'Duryodhanaḥ'; दुर्दर्शनः, दुर्धर्षणः and दुर्मर्षणः ।

वर्तमानसामीप्ये वर्तमानावद्वा ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्तमान समीप्ये, वर्तमान-वत्, वा, (भूते भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्त्तमानसमीपे भूते भविष्यति च वर्त्तमानाद्धातोर्वर्त्तमानवत्प्रत्यया वा भवन्ति ॥

131. The affixes which are employed when the sense is that of present time, may, optionally in like manner, be employed when the sense is that of past or future time not remote from the present.

The words समीप and सामीप्य are the words with the same signification, the latter being derived from the first by adding the affix ष्यञ्. This affix is added with a self-descriptive force, without making any modification in the meaning. We learn thus incidentally from Pâṇini's using the word सामीप्य, that the affix ष्यञ् also comes with a self-descriptive (svârtha) force, and the words चातुर्वर्ण्यः &c. are thus formed.

The affixes which begin with sûtra III. 2. 123 (वर्तमाने लट्) and end with III. 3. 1 (उणादय बहुलं,) are affixes which come in denoting the present time. These affixes come also with the force of the past or future time, when the sense is that the action has just taken place, or will immediately take place. Thus, to the question कदा देवदत्तागतोऽसि 'when didst thou come Devadatta', it may be replied, either अयमागच्छामि 'I come now'; or आगच्छन्तमेव मां विद्धि 'know me even to have come'; or अयमागमम् 'I have now come'; or एषोऽस्म्यागतः 'I have come now'. So also to the question कदा देवदत्त गमिष्यसि 'when will you go Devadatta', it may be replied, either एष गच्छामि 'I go now' or गच्छन्तमेव मां विद्धि or एष गमिष्यामि or गन्तास्मि &c.

The phrase 'in like manner' (वत्) has been employed to indicate complete resemblance; that is to say, with whatever qualifications, the affixes have been enjoined to denote present time, namely, with whatever bases (प्रकृति), and words in compositions (उपपद), and restrictive significations (उपाधि), certain affixes have been enjoined ;—the same affixes under those conditions and these circumstances, only will denote also immediate future and recent past. Thus शानच् by rule III. 2. 128 comes after the prakritis पू and यज् in forming present participles; this affix, to denote past and future, must come only after पू and यज्, and so on. Thus पवमानः, यजमानः, अलंकरिष्णुः (III. 2. 136) &c.

Why do we say 'not remote from the present, (सामीप्य)'? This rule will not apply when distant future or distant past is intended to be expressed.

As परह्य अगच्छत् पाटलिपुत्रम् 'he went day before yesterday to Pâtaliputra'; वर्षेण गमिष्यति 'he will go in a year'.

One may say that "the word गच्छामि can denote by itself nothing but the present tense, and it is because it occurs in a sentence in connection with other qualifying words, that it is made to denote any other time; and it is a well-known fact that a tense which a sentence as a whole may indicate, has no bearing on the question as to what tense a verb must take, when we are preparing it for taking a grammatical tense; and hence the present sûtra is superfluous". To such we reply that the present sûrta and those that follow are not meant for those who know the proper idioms of Sanskrit; but for those only who do not know this.

Dr. Bohtlingk translates this sûtra thus:—'Whatever is near to the present time, may be expressed as a present tense'.

आशंसायां भूतवच्च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशंसायाम्, भूतवत्, च, (भविष्यति, वर्तमानवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले आशंसायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्वा भूतवत् प्रत्यया भवन्ति चकाराद् वर्त्तमानवच्च ॥

132. The affixes which are employed, when the sense is that of the past time or of the present time, may, optionally, in like manner, be employed, after a root in denoting future time, when hope is expressed

The word 'optionally' is understood here also. The phrase 'not remote from the present' is not valid in this aphorism. The word आशंसा means the wish or expectation of getting an object not yet obtained, and consequently this can refer only to future time. The force of च is to draw the word वर्त्तमानवत् from the last sûtra in this aphorism. This sûtra has been thus put by Mr. Apte:—" When hope is expressed in a conditional form, the Aorist (लुङ्), the Present, or Simple Future is used in both the clauses to denote a future time. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेदागमत् or आगतः, or आगच्छति or आगमिष्यति वा एते व्याकरणमध्यगीष्महि, or अधीतवन्तः or अधीमहे or अध्येष्यामहे 'if the teacher were to come, we should read grammar'.

This construction is possible only when the past tense is expressed by लुङ् (Aorist); and not by लङ् or लिट्. For लुङ् denotes past time in general, while लङ् and लिट् denote particular forms of past time; (see III. 2. 110, 111 and 115). The phrase भूतवत् making an analogy with time in general, will not therefore, refer to लिट् or लङ् which refer to past time in special.

Why say 'when hope is expressed'? Observe आगमिष्यति 'he will come'.

क्षिप्रवचने लृट् ॥१३३॥ पदानि ॥ क्षिप्र-वचने, लृट्, (आशंसायां)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षिप्रवचन उपपदे आशंसायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्लृट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. When the word 'kshipra' (quickly) or its synonym is in construction with the verb, the future affix, 'Lṛiṭ' is employed after the root, when 'hope' is expressed in a conditional form.

This supersedes the last rule by which Aorist could also have been employed. By the present rule the Second Future only can be employed. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेत्क्षिप्रमागमिष्यति (or उपाध्यायश्चेदागतः—*Apte.*) क्षिप्रं व्याकरणमध्येष्यामहे 'if the teacher were to come soon, we shall soon learn grammar'.

By force of the word वचन in the aphorism, we take the synonyms of क्षिप्र also, such as शीघ्र, आशु, त्वरितम्, &c.

An objector might say, "the use of the word लृट् in the sûtra is redundant; for Future tense is the natural tense to be used, whenever *hope* is indicated. Sûtra III. 3. 132 was merely an exception to this rule; so that the present sûtra re-enacting the general rule, ought to have been worded thus; —न क्षिप्रवचने 'not so when a word expressing quickness is employed'; for such a rule debarring the past tenses given by III. 3. 132, would have, of necessity, given scope to the Future tense which is the natural tense to express *hope*". To them we say, that there are two future tenses, लृट् and लुट्। By specifying लृट् we mean that लुट् should not be employed even where it would otherwise have come, such as in the following:—श्वः क्षिप्रमध्येष्यामहे 'to-morrow we shall learn soon'.

आशंसावचने लिङ् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशंसा-वचने, लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशंसा येनोच्यते तदाशंसावचनं तस्मिन्नुपपदे धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. The affix of the Potential is employed in denoting Futurity, after a root, when the upapada in composition with it, is a word expressing 'hope'.

This is also an *apavâda* of rule III. 3. 132, and teaches the employment of the Potential with a future force. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेदागच्छेद्, आशंसे युक्तोऽधीयीय 'if the teacher will come, I hope, you will study with diligence'. This being a subsequent rule, will apply even when the words expressive of 'quickness' are in composition. Thus आशंसे क्षिप्रमधीयीय 'I hope, you will learn soon'. So also, अवकल्पये युक्तोऽधीयीय, &c.

नानद्यतनवत् क्रियाप्रबन्धसामीप्ययोः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अनद्यतन-वत्, क्रिया-प्रबन्ध-समीप्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनद्यतनवत् प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति क्रियाप्रबन्धे सामीप्ये च गम्यमाने ॥

135. When constant continuance of action or a near Past or Future is meant, the Past and Future are not denoted as taught in III. 2. 111 and III. 3. 15, through

the Imperfect and the Second Future, but through the Aorist and the First Future.

The affixes लङ् (Imperfect Past) and लुट् (First Future), have been ordained to come, when past time not belonging to the current day, and future time not belonging to the current day, are respectively indicated. The present sûtra prohibits these two affixes. The word क्रियाप्रबन्धः means 'performing an action with continuity'; an सामीप्य means 'not remoteness of time, immediateness, without the intervention of anything of the same genus'. Thus यावज्जीवं भृशमन्नमदात् (not अददात्) 'he gave food throughout his life'; भृशमन्नं दास्यति 'he will give much food'. यावज्जीवं पुत्रानध्यापिपत् 'throughout his life he taught', or यावज्जीवमध्यापयिष्यति 'throughout his life he will teach'. In both these cases the Aorist and the Second Future are used instead of the Imperfect and the First Future.

So also when recent past or immediate future is meant, the Aorist and the Second Future are employed, instead of the Imperfect and the First Future. Thus येयं पौर्णमास्यतिक्रान्ता, एतस्यामुपाध्यायोऽग्नीनाधित or सोमेनायष्ट or गामदित 'during the full-moon that has just past, the teacher consecrated the fire, or performed the soma-sacrifice or gave a cow'. Here the Aorist is for the Imperfect. येयममावास्याऽऽगामिनी, एतस्यामुपाध्यायोऽग्नीनाधास्यते or सोमेन यक्ष्यते, or स गां दास्यते 'on the next new-moon day, the teacher will perform the fire sacrifice or the soma-sacrifice, or he will give a cow'. Here the Second Future is employed instead of the First Future.

The double negative न अनद्यतन 'not non-to-day' implies the proper corresponding tenses which indicate adyatana.

भविष्यति मर्यादावचनेऽवरस्मिन् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भविष्यति, मर्यादावचने, अवरस्मिन्, (नानद्यतनवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले मर्यादावचनेऽवरस्मिन् प्रविभागेऽनद्यतनवत् प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति ॥

136. The Futurity is not expressed, as taught in III. 3. 15, through the Second Future, but through the First Future, when a statement is made of a limit on this (avara) side of another place.

The phrase नानद्यतनवत् is valid in this sûtra also. The two conditions of the last aphorism, namely, 'continuity of action' and 'immediateness', however, do not apply here. Thus योऽयमध्वाऽगन्तव्य आपाटलिपुत्रात्तस्य यदवरं कौशाम्ब्यास्तत्रौदनं भोक्ष्यामहे, तत्र सक्तून्पास्यामः 'on this side of the road from the city of Kosâmbi to the city of Pâtaliputra, there we will eat rice, and there we will drink saktu'.

Why do we say 'in denoting future time'? Observe योऽयमध्वागत आपाटलिपुत्रात् तस्य यदवरं कौशाम्ब्यास्तत्र युक्ता अध्यैमहि 'on this side of the road that leads from the city of Kosâmbi to the city of Pâtaliputra, we read together &c.

Why do we say 'when signifying limit'? Observe योऽयमध्वानिरवधिक

न्तव्यस्तस्य यदवरं कौशाम्ब्यास्तत्रौदनं भोक्तास्महे, सक्तून् पातास्मः । Here the First Future is employed.

Why do we say 'when the word अवर is in construction'? Observe योऽयमध्वागन्तव्य आपाटलिपुत्रात् तस्य यत्परं कौशाम्ब्यास्तत्रौदनं भोक्तास्महे &c.

The examples of limit given in this aphorism, refer to local limit; in the subsequent sûtras examples will be given as to the limit of time and some difference will be observed therein.

कालविभागे चानहोरात्राणाम् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-विभागे, च, न-अहः-रात्राणाम्,(भविष्यति,मर्यादावचने,अवरस्मिन्,च,अनद्यतनवत)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालमर्यादाविभागे सत्यवरस्मिन्विभागे भविष्यति कालेऽनद्यतनवत् प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति, न चेदहोरात्रसम्बन्धी विभागस्तेषां च विभागे प्रतिषेधः ॥

137 The Second Future is employed instead of the First Future, in denoting Future time not belonging to the current day, when the word 'avara' is used together with a word expressing division of time, but not when it is a word giving the sense of 'day' or 'night'.

The whole of the last sûtra should be read into this. The difference between this and the last sûtra is, that sûtra III. 3. 136 referred both to the limit of *space* and *time*, while sûtra III. 3. 137 refers to the limit of *time* only; moreover with regard to time, there is exception with regard to the portions of day and night. The *yoga-vibhága*, the separation of this sûtra from the last, is for the sake of subsequent aphorisms. Thus योऽयं संवत्सर आगामी तत्र यदवरमाग्रहायण्यास्तत्र युक्ता अध्येष्यामहे 'in the month of Chaitra, the year after next, we shall read together'; तत्रौदनं भोक्ष्यामहे we shall eat rice then &c'.

This construction is, of course, only valid in denoting future time, otherwise not. Therefore not here: योऽयं वत्सरोऽतीतस्तस्य यदवरमाग्रहायण्यास्तत्र युक्ता अध्यैमहि 'in the month of Chaitra, the year before last, we *read* together'; तत्रौदनमभुञ्ज्महि 'we *ate* together &c.'

Why do we say 'limit'? Observe योऽयं निरवधिकः काल आगामी तस्य यदवरमाग्रहायण्यास्तत्र युक्ता अध्येतास्महे—तत्रौदनं भोक्तास्महे ।

The limit must be 'on this side, *i. e.*, अवर side'. With the पर side limit, this rule will not apply. With the word पर, this construction is optional. See the next sûtra.

Why do we say 'when not divisions of day and night'? There are three sorts of counter-examples in this case; as, योऽयं मास आगामी तस्य योऽवरः पंचदशरात्रः or योऽयं त्रिंशद्रात्र आगामी तस्य योऽवरोऽर्द्धमासः or योऽयं त्रिंशदहोरात्र आगामी तस्य योऽवरः पंचदशरात्रस्तत्र युक्ता अध्येतास्महे तत्र सक्तून् पातास्मः । Here Luṭ or First Future has been employed and not the Second Future.

परस्मिन् विभाषा ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्मिन्, विभाषा, (भविष्यति, मर्यादावचने, कालविभागे, अनहोरात्राणाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालमर्यादाविभागे सति भविष्यति काले परस्मिन् प्रविभागे विभाषाऽनद्यतनवत् प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति, न चेदहोरात्रसम्बन्धी प्रविभागः ॥

138. Optionally so, when a declaration is made with regard to that side of a limit of time.

The whole of the last aphorism must be read into this: The sûtra will then stand thus: "The Second and the First Futures are optionally both employed in denoting future time, not belonging to the current day, instead of the First Future alone, when the word पर is used signifying a limit of time on that side of a fixed period, provided that this word does not give the sense of day or night".

This rule allows an option when the time refers to the पर side of a starting limit. Thus योऽयं संवत्सर आगामी तस्य यत् परमाग्रहायण्यास्तत्र युक्ता अध्येष्यामहे or अध्येतास्महे 'we will read together in the month of Chaitra, the year after next'.

All the counter-examples given under the last aphorism, are also valid here by substituting the word पर instead of अवर.

लिङ्निमित्ते लृङ् क्रियातिपत्तौ ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्-निमित्ते, लृङ्, क्रिया-अतिपत्तौ, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुहेतुमतोर्लिङित्येवमादिकं लिङो निमित्तं, तत्र लिङ् निमित्ते भविष्यति काले लृङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, क्रियातिपत्तौ सत्याम् ॥

139. Where there is a reason for affixing 'Liṅ' the affix 'Lṛiṅ' is employed in the Future tense when the non-completion of the action is to be understood.

The words 'in denoting future time' are here. The reasons for the affix लिङ् are such as cause and effect &c. mentioned in sûtras III. 3. 156 and 157 &c. The लृङ् is called the conditional tense. "It comes in the conditional sentences in which the non-performance of the action is implied; or where the falsity of the antecedent is implied as a matter of fact. It usually corresponds to the English Pluperfect Conditional, and must, in Sanskrit, be used in both the antecedent and the consequent clauses".—*Apte's Guide.*

Thus सुवृष्टिश्चेदभविष्यत् तदा सुभिक्षमभविष्यत् 'if there had been good rain, then there would have been plenty of food; or if there were to be good rain then there would be plenty of food'. It is implied that there was not good rain nor consequent plenty: or that the occurrrence of good rain is dubious, and the desirable consequence equally so.

So also here, दक्षिणेन चेदायास्यन्न शकटं पर्याभविष्यत् 'if he were to go by the right side, the carriage would not be upset'; यदि कमलकम् आह्वास्यन् न शकटं

पर्याभविष्यत् 'if he were to call Kamalaka (which he will not), the carriage would not be upset'; अभोक्ष्यत भवान् घृतेन यदि मत्समीपम् आगमिष्यत् 'you would eat food with clarified butter, if you (were to) come to me (but you will not come)'.

All these sentences refer to future time. The non-upsetting is a future contingency and is an effect the cause of which is the 'calling of Kamalaka.' The speaker—having apprehended the cause and effect, and having also learned from other sources that such an effect will not take place, that is to say, that Kamalaka will not be called, and the carriage will be upset—has employed this conditional tense to express his idea. The whole sentence यदि कमलकम् &c. really gives this sense:—That both actions, 'the calling' and 'the non-upsetting', which are subjects of a future time, and which are related as cause and effect, will not be completed; that neither Kamalaka will be called, nor the impending fate averted from the carriage. The sûtra may also be thus rendered according to Professor Bohtlingk:—In a conditional sentence, which would require a Potential according to III. 3. 156, is used, if the sense is that of Future time, the Conditional Tense, when the action is not complete.

भूते च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते, च, (लिङ्निमित्ते, लृङ्, क्रियाऽतिपत्तौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूते च काले लिङ्निमित्ते क्रियातिपत्तौ सत्यां लृङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

140. And (where there is a reason for affixing 'Liṅ', the affix 'Lṛiṅ' is to be employed, when the non-completion of the action is to be understood) if the sense is that of past time.

The whole of the last aphorism is understood in this. The last sûtra enjoined लृङ् in the Future tense; this sûtra ordains it in the Past, the Conditional tense having both these significations. The reasons for affixing लिङ् are given in sûtras III. 3. 152 and those that follow it. In sûtras III. 3. 141 and those that follow, as far as III. 3. 152, optional rules for the employment of the Conditional tense will be given. Thus:—दृष्टो मया भवत्पुत्रोऽन्नार्थी चङ्क्रम्यमाणः अपरश्च द्विजो ब्राह्मणार्थी, यदि स तेन दृष्टोऽभविष्यत्, तदाऽभोक्ष्यत, न तु भुक्तवान्, अन्येन पथा स गतः । 'I saw your son, wandering about in search of food, I saw also a twice-born in search of a Brâhmaṇa (whom he would feast); if he (your son) had been seen by him (the twice- born), then he would have been fed; but as a matter of fact, he has not been fed, he went by a different road'.

The conditional sentence यदि स तेन दृष्टोऽभविष्यत् तदाऽभोक्ष्यत is employed under circumstances set out above. It refers to a past time, there is the relation of cause and effect existing, one being in search of food, and another in search of a guest to feed; and the action is not completed; both taking different roads, did not come across each other.

वोताप्योः ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आ-उताप्योः, (भूते, लिङ्निमित्ते, क्रियातिपत्तौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उताप्योः समर्थयोर्लिङिति वक्ष्यति प्रागेतस्मात् सूत्रावधेर्यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः, तत्र भूते लिङ्निमित्ते क्रियातिपत्तौ लृङ् वा भवतीत्येतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

141. From this point as far as sûtra III. 3, 152 (the whole of the following sentence is to be taken as exerting a governing influence on the sûtras that follow: where there is a reason for affixing 'Liṅ', the 'Lṛiṅ may be) optionally (employed in denoting past time, when the non-completion of the action is to be understood).

All the words within brackets must be supplied from the previous sûtras to complete the sense. This sûtra consists of three words वा 'optionally', आ 'as far as' and उताप्योः (the sûtra III. 3 152). The words वा+आ+उ form वो by the rules of conjunction. The particle आ in this aphorism has the force of limit exclusive and not that of limit inclusive. The *optional* use of the conditional tense will be illustrated in the following aphorisms, where, in addition to the special tenses to be employed by those rules, we may employ the conditional also under those very circumstances, in the alternative, provided that the non-completion of the action is understood. Prof. Bohtlingk translates this aphorism thus: " optionally so, in connection with उत and अपि, the conditional tense may be employed".

गर्हायां लडपिजात्वोः ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्हायां, लट्, अपिजात्वोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गर्हायां गम्यमानायाम् अपिजात्वोरुपपदयोर्धातोर्लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

142. The affix 'Laṭ' is employed after a root, when it has in composition with it the words 'api' or 'jâtu', the sense implied by the sentence being that of 'censure'.

The word गर्हा means 'censure', 'blame'. The affix लट् has been enjoined to come with a present signification, and would not have come to denote time in general, which, however, it does here, for here the Present tense is employed in preference to the tense required by the time of the action, which is totally excluded. Hence the present sûtra.

Thus अपि तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयति 'even your honor sacrifices (or sacrificed or will sacrifice) to a Sûdra'; जातु तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयति गर्हामहे, अहो अन्याय्यमेतत् 'possibly your honor sacrifices for a Sûdra '; the sense implied being that such conduct on the part of those men are blameworthy.

In the present case, there being no occasion for the application of लिङ्, of course, we cannot employ लृङ् to denote the non-completion of the action

So also अपि or जातु जायां त्यजसि 'Fie ! you abandon (or abandoned or will abndon) your wife'!

विभाषा कथमि लिङ् च ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कथमि, लिङ्, च, (गर्हायां, लट्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कथंशब्द उपपदे गर्हायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराल्लट् च ॥

143. **The affix 'Liṅ' as well as 'Laṭ' is optionally employed after a root, when the word 'katham' is in construction with it, and censure is implied.**

The word 'censure' is understood, and by च we draw लट् from the previous sûtra into this. By using the word 'optionally' in the aphorism, it is indicated that this rule does not exclude the application of the alternative tenses which would otherwise have been required by the time of the action. It is not total exclusion like the last. Thus कथं नाम तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयेत् or याजयति or याजयिष्यति 'Indeed, how your honor can (or will) sacrifice for a Sûdra'.

So also कथं नाम तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयिता, अयाजयत् or याजयांचकार ।

Here there is an occasion for the application of the Potential mood (लृङ्; therefore when we intend to express non-completion of action in the past time, we can *optionally* employ the Conditional also (लृङ्). As कथं नाम तत्र भवान् वृषलम् अयाजयिष्यत् or याजयेत् 'Indeed, why did your honor (attempt to) sacrifice for that Sûdra (in vain)'.

Under similar circumstances, in denoting future time, the Conditional (लृङ्) must *invariably* be employed (III. 3. 139); as, कथं धर्मम् अत्यजिष्यः 'why will you (attempt to) give up your duty'.

किंवृत्ते लिङ्लृटौ ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्-वृत्ते, लिङ्-लृटौ, (गर्हायाम्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तउपपदे गर्हायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्लिङ्लृटौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

144. **The affixes 'Lin' and 'Lṛit' come after a verb, when the interrogative words like 'kim' &c, are in composition with it, and censrue is implied.**

Here also the Potential and the First Future are employed in preference to the time required by the action.

The word censure' is understood here; not so, however, the word 'optionally'. This excludes all other tense-affixes. The repetition of the word लिङ् in this sûtra, is for the sake of excluding लट्, whose anuvṛitti would also have run into this sutra, had we taken the anuvṛitti of लिङ् from he lsat sûtra, instead of repeating it. Thus कः कतरो वा हरिं निन्देत्, निन्दिष्यति वा 'who will censure Hari ?

In the Past tense, when the non-completion of action is implied, we may optionally employ the Conditional (लृङ्) ; and in the Future tense, under similar circumstances, we must employ the Conditionl necessarily; as को नाम वृषलो यं तत्र भवानयाजयिष्यत् 'who is the Sûdra for whom your honor did sacrifice (in vain)'. This sûtra may be rendered thus also:—" In connection with an Interrogative Pronoun, when censure is implied, may be employed the Potential or the First Future".

अनवक्लृप्त्यमर्षयोरकिंवृत्तेऽपि ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनवक्लृप्ति-अमर्षयोः, अकिंवृत्ते, अपि, (किंवृत्ते, लिङ्लृटौ, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तेऽकिंवृत्ते चोपपदेऽनवक्लृप्त्यमर्षयोर्गम्यमानयोर्लिङ्लृटौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

145. When it is to be expressed that some body holds that something is not likely to take place, or is not to be tolerated, the Potential and the First Future are employed, even without the Interrogative Pronoun.

The anuvritti of the word 'censure' ceases. The word अनवक्लृप्तिः means 'impossibility, not to be believed'. The word अमर्षः means 'not endurable or not to be tolerated'. This excludes all other tenses, the Potential and the 2nd. Future coming in preference to all other tenses required by the time of the action. In the Dvandva Compound अनवक्लृप्त्यमर्षयोः, the word अनवक्लृप्तिः ought to have stood as second member of the compound as it contains larger number of syllables than the word अमर्ष (II. 2. 14). The non-compliance with rule II. 2. 14. indicates that the rule of यथासंख्यं, (I. 3. 10). does not apply here, which would otherwise have applied—the sense of the sûtra then being 'that the Potential should be employed when the act is not likely to occur, and the 2nd. Future to be used when the act is not to be tolerated'. This is not, however, the interpretation which we should put upon the sûtra.

Thus नावकल्पयामि, न संभावयामि, न श्रद्दधे, तत्र भवान् नाम वृषलं याजयेत् or याजयिष्यत् 'I do not believe, or think it possible or trust that your honor sacrifices (or sacrificed or will sacrifice) for a Sûdra'. न मर्षयामि तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयेत् or याजयिष्यति 'I can not tolerate that your honor does (did or will) sacrifice for a Sûdra'.

When past time together with the non-completion of the action is to be expressed, we may *optionally* employ the Conditional (लृङ्), but *necessarily* so, when Future time is to be expressed. Thus नावकल्पयामि तत्र भवान् नाम वृषलम् अयाजयिष्यत् 'I do not believe that your honor did or will sacrifice for a Sûdra.

किंकिलास्त्यर्थेषु लृट् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ किंकिल-अस्त्यर्थेषु, लृट्, (अनवक्लृप्त्यमर्षयोः, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंकिलास्त्यर्थेषूपपदेषु अनवक्लृप्त्यमर्षयोर्गम्यमानयोर्लृट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

146. The affix 'Lṛit' (the First Future) is used after a root, when the words 'kiṁkila' or those having the sense of 'asti' (he is) are in construction with it, (when the action is not likely to occur, or is not to be tolerated).

The word within brackets must be supplied from the last aphorism. The whole word किंकिल is to be taken as an upapada and not the word किं and किल separately. This word expresses anger. The words having the sense of *asti* are अस्ति, भवति and विद्यते । This rule supersedes the Potential (लिङ्). Thus किंकिल or अस्ति or भवति or विद्यते नाम तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयिष्यति, न मर्षयामि, न श्रद्दधे 'Is it possible that your honor will (or did or does) sacrifice for a Sûdra ? I cannot believe or tolerate it'.

As there is no occasion for लिङ् here, we cannot have the Conditional (लृङ्) required by rule III. 3. 141.

Another example is न श्रद्दधे न मर्षये वा किंकिल त्वं शूद्रान्नम् भोक्ष्यसे 'I do not believe or can tolerate that thou shouldst eat the food of Sudra'; अस्ति भवति विद्यते वा शूद्रीं गमिष्यसि 'Is it possible that thou shouldst go to a female Sûdra'.

जातुयदोर्लिङ् ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातु-यदोः, लिङ्, (अनवक्लृप्त्यमर्षयोः, धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातु यदित्येतयोरुपपदयोरनवक्लृप्त्यमर्षयोर्गम्यमानयोर्धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ जातुयदोर्लिङ्विधाने यदायद्योरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

147. The affix 'Liṅ' comes after a root, the words 'jâtu' and 'yat' being in construction with it, when the sense is that the action is not believed to be likely, or is not to be tolerated.

This excludes the First Future or 'Lṛit'. जातु तत्र भवान् वृषलम् याजयेत्, or यन्नाम तत्र भवान् वृषलम् याजयेत्, न श्रद्दधे, न मर्षयामि ।

Vart.—The words यदा and यदि should be enumerated along with the words जातु and यत् in this rule. As यदा or यदि वा त्वादृशो हरिं निन्देन्नावकल्पयामि नं मर्षयामि 'neither do I think, nor do I tolerate that one like you should blaspheme Hari'.

Here also when the non-completion of the action is implied, the Conditional (लृङ्) is *necessarily* employed in denoting future time, and *optionally* so in denoting past time. As जातु, यत्, यदा or यदि त्वादृशो हरिं निन्देत् or अनिन्दिष्यत् नावकल्पयामि, न मर्षयामि वा 'neither do I believe, nor do I tolerate that one like you did attempt to blaspheme Hari'. यदि सुरभिमवाप्स्यस्तन्मुखोच्छ्वासगन्धम् तव रतिरभविष्यत् पुण्डरीके किमस्मिन् 'if you had felt (which you clearly have not) the fragrant smell of her breath, would you have had any liking for this lotus'?

यच्चयत्रयोः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यच्च-यत्रयोः, (अनवक्लृप्त्यमर्षयोः, लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्र इत्येतयोरुपपदयोरनवक्लृप्त्यमर्षयोर्गम्यमानयोर्धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

148. The affix 'Liṅ' comes after a root, the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' being in construction, when the sense is that the action is not believed to be likely, or not to be tolerated.

This supersedes the First Future. The separation of this aphorism from the previous one, is for the sake of the rules that follow. The rule I. 3. 10 does not also apply here. Thus यच्च यत्र वा त्वमेवं कुर्याः न श्रद्दधे, न मर्षयामि 'I do not think, nor can I tolerate that thou wilt do so'.

The Conditional (लृङ्) will also be employed under its own proper conditions as shown in the last aphorism.

गर्हायां च ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्हायाम्, च, (यच्चयत्रयोः, लिङ्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्र इत्येतयोरुपपदयोर्धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति गर्हायाम् गम्यमानायाम् ॥

149. The affix 'Liṅ' comes after a root in all tenses when the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' are in composition with it, provided that censure is implied.

The governing force of the words *anavaklipti* and *amarsha* ceases. This debars all other tense-affixes. Thus यच्च or यत्र तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयेत् अहो वृद्धः सन् ब्राह्मणः, गर्हामहे, अहो अन्याय्यमेतत् 'we blame you who being an opulent, old Brâhmaṇa (who ought to know better) officiate as a sacrificial priest for a Sûdra, O! It is improper'!

When the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional tense must be employed under the rules given in III. 3. 139-140-141. As यच्च or यत्र त्वं हरिं निन्देः or अनिन्दिष्यः, गर्हामहे 'we censure that you should (have attempted to) blaspheme Hari', &c.

चित्रीकरणे च ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्रीकरणे, च, (यच्चयत्रयोः, लिङ्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्रयोरुपपदयोश्चित्रीकरणे गम्यमाने धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

150. The affix 'Liṅ' comes in all tenses after a root, when used with the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' and the sense implied is that of 'wonder'.

The word चित्रीकरणं means 'wonder, astonishment, strangeness &c'. This debars all the other tense-affixes. Thus यच्च यत्र तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयेत् आश्चर्यमेतत् 'this is a wonder that you should sacrifice for a Sûdra'.

When the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional is employed under the rules III. 3. 139, 140 and 141. Thus आश्चर्यमेतत् यच्च or यत्र त्वं शूद्रं याजयेः or अयाजयिष्यः 'it is a wonder that you should (have attempted to) perform a sacrifice for a Sûdra'; आश्चर्यमेतत् यच्च or यत्र त्वं शूद्रं अयाजयिष्यः 'it is a wonder that you should (hereafter attempt to) make a Sûdra perform a sacrifice.

शेषे लृडयदौ ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, लृट्, अयदौ, (चित्रीकरणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषेउपपदे चित्रीकरणे गम्यमाने धातोर्लृट्प्रत्ययो भवति यदिशब्दश्चेन्न प्रयुज्यते ॥

151. In all other cases, when wonder is implied by other words than 'yachcha' and 'yatra', the affix 'Lrit' is employed after a root, except when the word 'yadi' is used.

In all other cases, that is to say, in cases where the words यच्च or यत्र are not employed, as well as where the word यदि is not used, the First Future is used in preference to the Potential.

Thus आश्चर्यं, चित्रं, अद्भुतम् अन्धो नाम पर्वतमारोक्ष्यति, बधिरो नाम व्याकरणम् अध्येष्यते 'it is wonderful, strange and astonishing that the blind man should ascend a mountain, or a deaf person should read grammar'.

Not so, when the word यदि is employed. Thus आश्चर्यं यदि सोऽधीयीत 'a wonder, if he study'. आश्चर्यं यदि स भुञ्जीत 'a wonder, if he eat'.

As there is, in this case, no occasion to employ the Potenial, we cannot employ the Conditional as directed in sûtras III. 3. 139, 140 and 141.

उताप्योःसमर्थयोर्लिङ् ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत-अप्योः, समर्थयोः, लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत अपि इत्येतयोः समर्थयोरुपपदयोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

152. The affix 'Liṅ' comes after a verb in all tenses, when the words 'uta' and 'api', both having the same meaning, are in composition.

This excludes all the other tense-affixes. The meaning which is common both to उत and अपि is that of बाढम् 'assuredly, certainly, surely, really,. Thus उत कुर्यात् 'certainly he does'; अपि कुर्यात् 'assuredly he does'; उताधीयीत 'certainly he studies (will study &c.)'; अप्यधीयीत 'surely he studies &c'.

Why do we say 'when they mean certainly'? Observe उत दंडः पतिष्यति 'will the stick fall'? अपि द्वारं धास्यति 'he shuts the door'. Here उत is employed in asking questions, and अपि with धा means 'to shut'. The option allowed by rule III. 3. 141. ceases. Hereafter the Conditional (लृङ्) must invariably be used even in indicating Past action, when action is not completed, and there is reason for the employment of लिङ् (Potential). In indicating Future time, of course, लङ्

must necessarily be employed as before. Henceforward, therefore, no option is allowed, but लृङ् *must* be employed where sûtras III. 3. 139 and 140 require it.

कामप्रवेदनेऽकच्चिति ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काम-प्रवेदने, अकच्चिति, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काम इच्छाभिलाष इत्यनर्थान्तरम्, तस्य प्रवेदनं प्रकाशनम्, तस्मिन् गम्यमानेऽकच्चिदुपपदे धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

153. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, in expressing or making known of a wish, except when the word 'kachchit' is in composition with it.

The phrase कामप्रवेदन means the expression of one's wish. This debars all other tense-affixes. As कामो मे भुञ्जीत भवान् = अभिलाषो मे भुञ्जीत भवान् 'it is my wish that you will eat'.

Why do we say 'except the word कच्चित्'? Observe कच्चिज्जीवति मे माता कच्चिज्जीवति मे पिता । मारविद त्वां पृच्छामि कच्चिज्जीवति पार्वती ॥ 'I hope thy mother is living, I hope thy father is living, I ask thee, O mârâvid! (Parrot), I hope that Pârvati is living'.

संभावनेऽलमिति चेत् सिद्धाप्रयोगे ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संभावने, अलम्, इति, चेत्, सिद्ध-अप्रयोगे, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संभावनं, क्रियासु योग्यताध्यवसानं शक्तिश्रद्धानं, तदिहालमर्थेन विशेष्यते, अलमिति संभावनं, पर्याप्तमवितथं भवति, सिद्धाप्रयोग इत्यलमो विशेषणं, सिद्धः अलमोऽप्रयोगः, क्वचासौ सिद्धः, यत्र गम्यते चार्थो न चासौ प्रयुज्यते, तदीदृशे सम्भावनेऽलमर्थविशेषणे उपपदे सिद्धाप्रयोगे धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

154. The affix 'Lin' is employed after a root, when the expectation (of a person or thing being able or competent to do or suffer the action denoted by the verb) is implied (or expressed by any other word used along with them) than 'alam'.

The word लिङ् is understood here. the word संभावन means supposition and expectation in the power or ability of another to perform any action. This word is here qualified by the sense of the word अलं. The word अलं means 'adequate'; so that the above-mentioned संभावनं must be completed, full and true, *i. e.*, realised. The phrase सिद्धाप्रयोगे qualifies अलं, and means 'if the non-employment or omission of अलं is valid or unobjectionable When is that unobjectionable, when the sense of अलं is implied by the sentence, but this word itself is not used? The Potential Mood is employed when the expectation is of the kind above described. This rule debars all other tense-affixes. Thus अपि पर्वतं शिरसा भिन्द्यात् 'I expect he will break even the hill with his head'; अपि द्रोणपाकं भुञ्जीत 'I expect you will eat away even a *drona* of cooked food'.

Why do we use the word अलं 'competent to do'? Observe, विदेशस्थायी

देवदत्त प्रायेण गमिष्यति ग्रामम् 'I expect Devadatta who is living in a foreign country, will some day go back to his country'. Here though 'expectation' is expressed the idea conveyed by अलं, namely, the power to do something or adequacy to do is not present; and hence the Future is employed instead of the Potential.

Why do we use the phrase सिद्धाप्रयोगे 'when the actual result does not take place'? Observe, अलं देवदत्तो हस्तिनं हनिष्यति 'Devadatta is in a position to kill the elephant, and he will carry it out also'.

Under similar circumstances, in past and future times, when non-completion of action is indicated, the Conditional tense (लृङ्) must be invariably used in preference to every other tense. Professor Bohtlingk translates the sûtra thus: "The Potential is employed when it is expressed that some one is believed to be capable of doing something, pre-supposing that the actual performance of the action does not take place'.

विभाषा धातौ सम्भावनवचनेऽयदि ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, धातौ, सम्भावन-वचने, अयदि, (संभावने, अलमिति, चेत्, सिद्धाप्रयोगे, लिङ्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्भावनवचने धातावुपपदे यच्छब्दवर्जिते धातोर्विभाषा लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

155. The affix 'Liṅ' is optionally employed after a verb when it has another verb which expresses 'expectation', in construction with it, but not so when the word 'yat' is used.

The whole of the last sûtra qualifies this sûtra; the 'expectation' indicated here being of the kind mentioned in the last sûtra and governed by the conditions laid down in that aphorism. The word by which an 'expectation' is expressed such as संभावये अपि, or अभिजाने, is called संभावन वचन. This sûtra enjoins an option where by the last aphorism, there would have been necessarily the Potential Tense. Thus सम्भावयामि भुञ्जीत or भोक्ष्यते भवान् 'I expect you will eat'; अवकल्पयामि भुञ्जीत or भोक्ष्यते भवान् 'I hope you will eat'; श्रद्दधे भुञ्जीत or भोक्ष्यते भवान् 'I believe you will eat'. But no option is allowed, and the Potential must necessarily be used, when the word यद् is employed. As सम्भावयामि यद् भुञ्जीत भवान् 'I expect you will eat'.

The sutra may also be rendered thus. "The Potential is not necessarily employed where there is in connection with it a verb in the sense of 'to hold as possible', but not when यद् is employed."

हेतुहेतुमतोर्लिङ् ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतु-हेतुमतोः, लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः॥ हेतुभूते हेतुमति चार्थे वर्त्तमानाद् धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

156. The affix 'Liṅ' is optionally employed after both those verbs which express the condition and it consequence.

The word हेतु means 'cause or condition' and हेतुमत् means 'consequence or effect'. This supersedes all other tense-affixes; in other words, 'in conditional sentences in which one statement is made to depend upon another as its reason or ground, the Potential is used in both the antecedent and the consequent, otherwise called the *protasis* (हेतु) and *apodosis* (हेतुमत्), the former containing the condition or ground of argument, and the latter the conclusion based upon it'. Thus:—दक्षिणेन चेद्यायान्न शकटं पर्याभवेत् 'if he go by the right side, the cart will not be upset'; यदि कमलकमाह्वयेन्न शकटं पर्याभवेत् 'if he calls Kamalaka, the cart will not be upset'. Here 'going by the right side' is the *protasis* (हेतु), and 'not-upsetting' the *apodosis* (हेतुमत्).

This is an optional use of the Potential; we may use the Second Future in the alternative; thus दक्षिणेन चेद् यास्यति न शकटं पर्याभविष्यति 'if he goes by the south, the cart will not be upset'.

The word विभाषा 'optionally' used in the sûtra immediately preceding is also understood here.

Though the anuvritti of लिङ् could have been taken from the last aphorisms, its repetition here is for the sake of pointing out the particular time, namely, the Future, in which the Potential should be employed. Therefore it is not employed in the following sentences: हन्तीति पलायते 'he kills, therefore he flies'; वर्षति इति धावति 'it rains, therefore he runs'.

It, of course, follows that when the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional (लृङ्) should be employed, under these very circumstances. See examples under sûtra III. 3. 139.

इच्छार्थेषु लिङ्लोटौ ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा-अर्थेषु, लिङ्-लोटौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु धातुषूपपदेषु धातोर्लिङ्लोटौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कामप्रवेदनइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

157 The affixes 'Liṅ' and 'Loṭ' are employed after a root, when another verb having the sense of 'wishing 'in construction with it.

This supersedes all other tense-affixes. When words expressing 'wish', such as इष्, कम्, प्रार्थ &c., are used, the Potential or Imperative is used; thus इच्छामि कामये or प्रार्थये भुञ्जीत भवान् or भुङ्क्तां भवान् 'I wish, desire or pray that your honor may eat'.

Vart.—It is only when a desire is expressed that Potential or Imperative should be employed and not merely when the verb 'to wish' or its synonyms are in composition. Therefore the Potential or Imperative are not used here: इच्छन् करोति 'wishing, he does'.

The sûtra may be rendered thus: 'I connection with a verb in the sense of 'wishing' the Potential or the Imperative may be employed'.

समानकर्तृकेषु तुमुन् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-कर्तृकेषु, तुमुन्, (इच्छार्थेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु धातुषु समानकर्तृकेषूपपदेषु धातोस्तुमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

158. The affix 'tumun' comes after a verb, when another verb meaning 'to wish' is in construction, provided that the agent of both the verbs is the same.

Thus इच्छति, वष्टि or वांछति भोक्तुम् 'he desires to eat'; कामयते भोक्तुम् 'he wishes to eat': पिनाकपाणिं पतिम् आप्तुम् इच्छति 'desires to obtain for her husband the Pinâka-handed God Siva.'

But why do we say 'when the agent of the Infinitive and the verb are the same'? We can not say देवदत्तं भोक्तुम् इच्छति यज्ञदत्तः: 'Yajñadatta wishes Devadatta to eat'; for here the agents of भुज् and इष् are not the same. We must say, भुञ्जानम् instead of भोक्तुम् ।

Why do not we use it here :—इच्छन् करोति 'wishing, he does'? Because the Infinitive is never found in such constructions. In other words, the Infinitive in तुम् is employed when both the verbs have the same agent.

लिङ् च ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, (इच्छार्थेषु, समानकर्तृकेषु)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु समानकर्तृकेषु धातुषूपपदेषु धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

159. The affix 'Liṅ' is used after a verb when verbs meaning 'to wish' are in construction with it, and the agent of both the verbs is the same.

Under similar conditions, with words implying 'wish', the Potential is used in the sense of the Infinitive; Thus भुञ्जीय इति इच्छति 'he wishes that he may eat'; अधीयीयेतीच्छति 'he wishes that he will read.'

When the non-completion of the action is implied, the Conditional must be employed under rule III. 3. 139.

इच्छार्थेभ्यो विभाषा वर्तमाने ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा-अर्थेभ्यः, विभाषा, वर्तमाने, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेभ्यो धातुभ्यो वर्तमाने काले विभाषा लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

160. After roots meaning 'to wish', the Potential (Liṅ) is optionally used in denoting the present time.

This ordains लिङ् where there would have been otherwise लट्. Thus इच्छति or इच्छेत् 'he wishes'; वष्टि or उश्यात् ; कामयते or कामयेत ।

विधिनिमन्त्रणामन्त्रणाधीष्टसंप्रश्नप्रार्थनेषु लिङ् ॥१६१ ॥पदानि ॥ विधि-निमंत्रण-आमंत्रण-अधीष्ट-संप्रश्न-प्रार्थनेषु, लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विध्यादिष्वर्थेषु धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

161. The affix 'Liṅ' comes after a verb, when the agent either commands, invites, permits, politely expresses a wish, asks questions, or prays.

The word विधिः means 'commanding or directing a subordinate'; निमन्त्रणं 'means giving invitation'; आमन्त्रणं means 'expressing permission to do as one likes'; अधीष्टः means 'to politely express a wish'; सम्प्रश्नः means 'a question'; and प्रार्थना means 'a prayer'.

This excludes all other tense-affixes. Thus:—

(1) कटं कुर्यात् 'let him make the mat'; ग्रामम् भवान् आगच्छेत् 'you come to the village';

(2) and (3) इह भवान् भुञ्जीत 'you will or may dine here'; इह भवान् आसीत 'here you will or may sit';

(4) अधीच्छामो भवन्तं माणवकं भवानुपनयेत 'we wish that you should condescend to invitiate this boy';

(5) किं भो व्याकरणमधीयीय उत तर्कम् ? 'Sir, what shall I learn, the Grammar or the Logic ?

(6) भवति मे प्रार्थना व्याकरणं अधीयीय 'this is my prayer that I should learn Grammar'.

लोट् च ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोट्, च, (विधि-निमन्त्रण-आमंत्रण-अधीष्ट-संप्रश्न-प्रार्थनेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोटप्रत्ययो भवति धातोर्विध्यादिष्वर्थेषु ॥

162. The affix 'Loṭ' also is employed after a root in the sense of commanding, &c.

The Imperative Mood is employed also under the circumstances mentioned in the last aphorism. The division of this aphorism from the last, is for the sake of subsequent sûtras in which the anuvṛitti of लोट् only runs and not those of others. Thus:—

(1) कटं तावद् भवान् करोतु 'make the mat'; ग्रामं भवान् आगच्छतु।

(2 and 3) अत्र भवान् आस्ताम् 'there you are invited to, or you may, sit'.

(4) पुत्रम्भवान् अध्यापयतु 'you will teach, I hope, the son'.

(5) किं भो वेदमध्यै उत तर्कं 'Sir what shall I learn, the Veda or the Logic'?

(6) भवति मे प्रार्थना व्याकरणमध्यै छन्दोऽध्यै 'this is my prayer that I may learn the Grammar, or that I may learn the Prosody'.

प्रैषातिसर्गप्राप्तकालेषु कृत्याश्च ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रैष-अतिसर्ग-प्राप्तकालेषु, कृत्याः, च, (लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेषणं प्रैषः, कामचाराभ्यनुज्ञानमतिसर्गः, निमित्तभूतस्य कालस्यावसरः प्राप्तकालः, एतेष्वर्थेषु धातोः कृत्यसंज्ञकाः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

163. **The affixes called 'Kṛitya', and the affix 'Loṭ' come also after verbs, in the sense of direction, granting permission, and proper (particular) time.**

The word प्रैष means 'direction'; अतिसर्गः means 'permission to do as one likes'; प्राप्तकालः means 'arrival of appropriate occasion or time for the doing of an action'. The force of च is to introduce the word लोट् into this aphorism. Thus भवता कटः करणीयः, कर्तव्यः, कृत्यः or कार्यः 'you must, (may, or it is proper time for you to) make the mat'.

So instead of the Passive Potential Participles, for such the Kṛitya affix (III. 1. 95 &c.) may properly be called; we may have the Imperative also. Thus करोतु कटं 'you must (may or it is the appropriate time to) make the mat'.

It might be asked 'Why the *kritya* affixes are enjoined to come with the force of direction, permission &c'. They have been ordained most generically to come in denoting action in the Abstract (भाव) and object (कर्म) and *a fortiori* they will come in denoting the senses of direction, permission &c; for the latter are but a species of action. If you say that लोट् being ordained in these special senses, will (on the principle, that an apavâda or special rule excludes an utsarga or general rule within the jurisdiction of such special rule). exclude *kritya* affixes; we would reply, that *kritya* affixes will not be excluded, for the rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94) will apply'.

To this objection we answer 'the special mention of the word *kritya* in this sûtra, indicates the existence of the following maxim :—

'The rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94) does not *necessarily* apply in all cases after sûtra III. 3. 94 treating of primary affixes by which feminine nouns are formed'.

Q.—What is the difference between the word विधि and प्रैष ? Some say विधि means a precept enjoining something for the first time; while प्रैष means mere 'direction'.

लिङ् चोर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, ऊर्ध्व-मौहूर्तिके, (प्रैषातिसर्ग-प्राप्तकालेषु, कृत्याः, लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रैषादिषु गम्यमानेषु ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्तिकेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यथा प्राप्तञ्च ॥

164. **The affix Liṅ' (as well as the 'Kṛitya' and 'Loṭ') is used (under similar circumstances in the sense of direction, permission &c.) when the time is future by a Muhûrta (48 minutes or an Indian hour); (or the Potential may be used as well, when it signifies 'at this very moment').**

The words प्रैष &c. of the last sûtra must be read into this. The force of च is to introduce the words कृत्या and लोट् from the last sûtra, into this. Thus ऊर्ध्वं मुहूर्त्तादुपरि मुहूर्तस्य भवता खलु कटः कर्त्तव्यः, करणीयः, कार्यः, or भवान् खलु कटं कुर्यात् (Potential) or करोतु (Imperative). 'You may make the mat after an Indian hour'; or 'you must &c.', or 'it is proper time for you to make a mat just now'. Compare III. 3. 3. 9.

स्मे लोट् ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्मे, लोट्, (प्रैषातिसर्गप्राप्तकालेषु, ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्द उपपदे प्रैषादिषु गम्यमानेषूर्ध्वमौहूर्तिकेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाद्धातोर्लोट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

165. The affix 'Loṭ' comes after a verb, when the word 'sma' is in composition; (when the sense is that of 'direction' permission) *&c.* and referring to time future by a Muhûrta.

This supersedes the Potential (लिङ्) and Potential Passive Participles (कृत्या). Thus ऊर्ध्वं मुहूर्त्ताद् भवान् कटं करोतु स्म, ग्रामं गच्छतु स्म, माणवकमध्यापयतु स्म 'you (may, must or it is proper time to) make the mat, or go to the village, or teach Mâṇavaka just now'.

अधीष्टे च ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधीष्टे, च, (स्मे, लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्द उपपदेऽधीष्टे गम्यमाने धातोर्लोट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

166. And when 'wish' is meant (the Imperative may be used when the word 'sma' is in composition with the verb).

The word स्म is understood here. The word अधीष्ट has already been explained in sûtra III. 3. 161. This rule supersedes the Potential. Thus अङ्ग स्म राजन् माणवकमध्यापय or अङ्ग स्म राजन्नग्निहोत्रं जुहुधि 'O! King! I wish that you teach the boy or make Agnihotra sacrifice'.

कालसमयवेलासु तुमुन् ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-समय-वेलासु, तुमुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालादिषूपपदेषु धातोस्तुमुन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

167. The affix 'tumun' comes after a root, when the words 'kâla', 'samaya', and 'velâ' (all meaning time) are in composition.

Thus कालो भोक्तुम् 'time to eat'; समयः खलु स्नानभोजने सेवितुम् 'it is time to bathe and take food'; वेला भोक्तुम् 'time to eat'. In short, Infinitive in तुमन् may be used with words meaning 'time'; as अवसरोऽयमात्मानं प्रकाशयितुम् 'this is, indeed, the time to show myself'.

Why do not we use the Infinitive here? कालः पचति भूतानि 'time de-

vours all creatures'. The sense of 'direction &c', is understood in the sûtra; so when 'direction &c' is not meant, the Infinitive will not be used.

Why do not we use the Infinitive here, काले भोजनस्य 'proper time to eat'? Because, by the rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94), we can use also the affix ल्युट् (by which the word भोजन is formed). As we have already said in sûtras III. 3. 163 that after sûtras III. 1. 113 and forward, namely, in other sûtras than those treating of feminine affixes, the rule of III. 1. 94 may be employed as an *Anitya* or a non-universal rule.

लिङ् यदि ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, यदि, (कालसमयवेलासु)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्दे उपपदे कालादिषु धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

168. The affix 'Liṅ' comes after a root, when the word 'yad' is in composition, and the words 'kâla', &c. occur in construction.

This ordains the Potential and supersedes the Infinitive in '*tumun*'. Thus कालः, समयो, वेला वा यद् भवान् भुञ्जीत 'it is time that your honor should take your meals'.

अर्हे कृत्यतृचश्च ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्हे, कृत्य-तृचः, च, (लिङ्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्हे कर्त्तरि वाच्ये गम्यमाने वा धातोः कृत्यतृचः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

169. The affixes 'kṛitya', and the affix 'tṛich' are added to a root, when fitness as regards the agent is implied, (as well as the affix 'liṅ').

The force of च is to introduce the Potential (लिङ्) into this, from the last. Thus भवता खलु कन्या वोढव्या वाह्या or वहनीया, (kṛitya); or भवान् खलु कन्याया वोढा (tṛich); or भवान् खलु कन्यां वहेत् (liṅ) 'your honor is fit to marry the girl'.

Why specifically enjoin '*kritya*' and '*trich*' in the sense of fitness? They being enjoined universally, would *a fortiori*, be applied when *fitness* is to be denoted? Because the लिङ् being *specially* enjoined to denote fitness, and being an *Apavâda*, would have debarred *krítya* and *trich*, which being universal affixes, would give way. Nor can we, to prevent this contingency, take shelter under rule III. 1. 94 of 'non-uniform affixes', for we have seen that that rule is not universally valid.

आवश्यकाधमर्ण्ययोर्णिनिः ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ आवश्यक-आधमर्ण्ययोः, णिनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आवश्यकविशिष्टे आधमर्ण्यविशिष्टे च कर्त्तरि वाच्ये धातोर्णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

170 The affix 'ṇini is added to the root in denoting agent, showing that there is some 'necessity'

or indebtedness or obligation on the part of the agent in connection with the action denoted by the verb.

Thus अवश्यं कारी 'must be done'. The compounding here takes place by II. 1. 72. So also शतं दायी 'ought to be given a hundred'; सहस्रं दायी; निष्कं दायी &c.

कृत्याश्च ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्याः, च, (आवश्यकाधमर्ण्ययोः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यसंज्ञकाश्च प्रत्यया आवश्यकाधमर्ण्यविशिष्टेऽर्थे धातोर्भवन्ति ॥

171. The affixes called 'kṛitya' also come after a root when the sense to be indicated is that of 'necessity or obligation'.

Thus भवता खलु अवश्यं कटः कर्त्तव्यः, करणीयः, कार्यः or कृत्यः 'you ought to make the mat'; भवता शतं दातव्यं, देयं, &c, 'you ought to pay a hundred'.

Q.—Where is the necessity of this aphorism? The *kritya* affixes, being enjoined universally without any limitation would, of course, come under these special circumstances also.

A.—They would be excluded by the special affix णिनि of the last sûtra, which comes especially with the force of 'necessity' and 'obligation'.

Q.—Not so, for णिनि comes in denoting the 'agent' (कर्त्ता), while *kritya* denotes the 'action' (भाव) and the 'object' (कर्म); so their scope being different, how can one supersede the other?

A—Well, to remove this objection, some say, that *kritya* words like भव्य, गेय &c. (III. 4. 68) which especially refer to the *agent*, are the proper examples to be given under this aphorism; and not examples of kṛitya-formed words in general.

शकि लिङ् च ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शकि, लिङ्, च, (कृत्याः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्नोत्यर्थोपाधिके धात्वर्थे लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात् कृत्याश्च ॥

172. And the affix 'Liṅ' as well as the 'kṛitya' affixes come after a verb, when the sense is that of 'capability'.

The word 'capability qualifies the root so that the sense of capability must be inherent in the root. Thus भवता खलु भारो वोढव्यः, वहनीयः, वाह्यः (kṛitya), or भवान् खलु भारं वहेत् 'you can carry the load'.

Though kṛitya-affixes would have come in this sense, even without any special rule, for they are general affixes, their special mention in this sûtra is to guard against their being superseded by लिङ्, for rule III. 1. 94 is not universally valid.

आशिषि लिङ्लोटौ ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, लिङ्-लोटौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशीर्विशिष्टेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाद्धातोर्लिङ् लोटौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

173. The affixes 'Lin' and Lot' come after a verb by which 'benediction' is intended.

The word आशीस् means the wish to obtain an object which one desires, a blessing, an expression of one's good wishes. The लिङ् here referred to is what is known as the आशीर्लिङ् or the Benedictive tense. Its conjugation is different from the conjugation of the ordinary लिङ् which we have called the Potential or Optative ; as चिरं जीव्याद् भवान् or चिरं जीवतु भवान् 'may you live long'!

Why do we say 'when denoting benediction'. Observe चिरं जीवति देवदत्तः 'Devadatta lives long'.

क्तिच्क्तौ च संज्ञायाम् ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तिच्-क्तौ, च, संज्ञायाम्, (आशिषि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि विषये धातोः क्तिच्क्तौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः समुदायेन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

174. The affixes 'ktich' and 'kta' are employed after a root, when benediction is intended, provided that the whole word so formed, is an appellative.

The affixes therefore, 'give the sense of the agent, with the addition that the action is simply the object of a prayer of some one who wishes that that may be the action of that agent, the sense being simply appellative.' Thus तन्तिः = तनुतात् 'a weaver' (lit. may he weave); सातिः or सतिः = सनुतात् (VI.4.45) wealth or gift'; भूतिः = भवतात् 'success ; मन्तिः = मनुतात् 'respect'. These are examples of words formed by the affix क्तिच् । Of words formed by क्त in this sense, we have देवदत्तः = देवा एनं देयासुः 'Devadatta (lit. may the Gods give him). Though the affix क्त has already once been generally ordained, its repetition here is to prevent its being superseded by क्तिच् । The च् of क्तिच् is qualifying only, distinguishing it from क्तिन् &c. and is useful in sûtra VI. 4. 39.

माङि लुङ् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ माङि, लुङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोर्लुङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

175. The affix 'Lun' comes after a verb when the word 'mân' is used in connection with it.

This sets aside all other tense-affixes. As मा कार्षीत् 'let him not do' मा हार्षीत् 'let him not take'.

How have we then the Imperative and the Future tenses in the following sentence instead of the Aorist ? मा भवतु तस्य पापं मा भविष्यति । This sentence is against good usage. Or, we may explain it by saying that there is another मा which has not the indicatory ङ; and with that मा, other tenses may be used. The augment is elided after the prohibitive particle मा, by VI. 4. 74.

स्मोत्तरे लङ् च ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्म, उत्तरे, लङ्, च, (माङि, लुङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दोत्तरे माङ्युपपदे धातोर्लङ् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराल्लुङ् च ॥

176. When the word 'mâñ' is followed by 'sma', the affix 'Lañ' as well as Luñ' may be employed after a verbal root.

By च we introduce लुङ् into the aphorism. Thus मास्म करोत् or कार्षीत् 'let him not make'; मास्म हरत् or हार्षीत् 'let him not take'.

ओ३म्

अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER VI.

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धातुसम्बन्धे प्रत्ययाः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातु-सम्बन्धे, प्रत्ययाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वर्थानां सम्बन्धो धातुसम्बन्धः, विशेषणविशेष्यभावः, तस्मिन्सति अयथाकालोक्ता अपि प्रत्ययाः साधवो भवन्ति ॥

1, When there is a syntactical relation between the senses of the verbs, the affixes are valid, even in denoting time other than that for which they have been specifically enjoined.

The above sûtra is thus translated by Professor Bohtlingk :—"Words formed with affixes stand, (in reference to the time) in closer relation to the verb (with which they are allied)". Thus III. 2. 85 has taught that words like अग्निष्टोमयाजिन् have a past significance, *i. e.*, they denote a person who *has* already *performed* the ceremony of Agnishoṭoma. According to the present sûtra, in spite of this past significance, inherent in the word, one may use this word with a future tense, whereby it is reduced to a future-denoting word. Thus अग्निष्टोमयाज्यस्य पुत्रो जनिता means 'to him a son will be born who will perform the said Agnishṭoma sacrifice'.

The above is not a literal translation but rather an adaptation. The literal translation will be somethieg like this: "Affixes are employed in de. noting relation (संबन्ध) between the senses of verbs". The word धातुसम्बन्ध is a Genitive Compound meaning 'relation of root'. The word धातु 'root' is figuratively used for धात्वर्थ 'sense of root'; so that the above compound means 'relation of the senses of roots'. In other words, the relation between the roots should be that of qualifier and the qualified. When there exists such a relation between the senses of two verbs, namely, that of qualifier and the thing qualified, then the affixes may be employed in denoting other times than that specifically ordained for them. In other words, to quote from the Guide to Pâṇini: "It is to be observed' that when primitive words are joined with verbs so as to qualify them, the time of the verbs being mainly the time that controls the sentence, any time denoted by the primitive affixes, by which the former words have been formed will be subordinate to and regulated by, but need not correspond to, the time ef the verbs, so far as the form of those words is concerned."

Thus तत्र वसन् ददर्श 'living there, he saw'; अग्निष्टोमयाज्यस्य पुत्रो जनिता 'to him a son will be born, a performer of the Agnishṭoma sacrifice'; कृतः कटः श्वो भविता 'he will be to-morrow maker of the mat'; भाविकृत्यमासीत् ।

Here, though the time of the action of living denoted by वसन् is present, (III. 2. 124), this action is present only in relation to the action of seeing, and though because the latter action is past, the former action also is past with refer ence to the speaker or writer, this circumstance does not affect the form of वसन्, which therefore may ramain as it is. In other words, affixes are related directly to the root, and not to the whole sentence'.

Similarly the word अग्निष्टोमयाजी is formed by an affix (III. 2. 85) denoting past time, while the word जनिता is in the Future tense. Now, this linking together of a word in the Past tense with a word in the future is a valid usage. Here the time of the qualified verb भविता does not affect the special time of the qualifier *Agnishtomayâjî.*

Q.—Why has the word प्रत्यय been repeated in this sûtra, when it was understood in this form III. 1. 1 ? Ans.—The repetition for the sake of indicating that affixes which are not ordained to come after roots (धातु), but which are enjoined to come after nouns &c. such as Taddhita affixes, are even valid in other tenses than those in which they have been specifically enjoined when related to a verb. Thus गोमानासीत् 'he was possessed of a cow'; गोमान् भविता 'he will be qossessed of a cow'. Here the Taddhita affix मतुप् is added to the noun गो 'cow', with a present sigdification (V. 2. 94), the word गोमत् meaning 'who *has* cows' or 'in which there *are* cows.' This word गोमत्, however, is related and validly so, to the words आसीत् and भविता—one in the Past tense and the other in the Future.

क्रियासमभिहारे लोट् लोटो हिस्वौ वा च तध्वमोः ॥२॥ पदानि॥

क्रिया-समभिहारे, लोट्, लोटो, हि-स्वौ, वा, च, त-ध्वमोः, (धातुसम्बन्धे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समभिहारविशिष्टक्रियावचनाद्धातोर्लोट्प्रत्ययो भवति सर्वेषु कालेषु, सर्वलकाराणामपवादः तस्य च लोटो हि स्व इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः, तध्वमभाविनस्तु वा भवतः ॥

2. When the (frequency or) repetition of an action is indicated, the affix 'Loṭ' is added to the root, and the verb is repeated. And the affixes 'hi' and 'sva', or the affixes 'tâ' and 'dhvam' are the substitutes of 'Loṭ'.

Professor Bohtlingk translates this as follows: "When the repetition of an action is expressed, the Imperative is used, and though the second person singular is used, it may also stand for the second person plural."

The phrase धातुसंबन्ध of the last sûtra is understood here also. The frequency or repetition of an action is called समभिहारः । This word qualifies the sense of the original. In other words, "when the sense of frequency &c. is under-

stood in connection with the action, this sense not being included in that of the verb, as it may be in the case of a verb from frequentative roots."

This Imperative mood is employed in all Tenses and Persons in connection with all mood. But this peculiar use of the Imperative is confined to the 2nd. person singular and plural Parasmaipada(हि and त);and 2nd. person singular and plural Atmanepada (स्व and ध्वम्). In other words, "the Imperative second person (Parasmaipada and Atmanepada) is repeated, though the subject of the main verb be different any the verb be in and tense." Thus लुनीहि लुनीहीत्येवायं लुनाति 'he cuts repeatedly', as if some one was always calling out to him 'cut thou, cut thou'. लुनीहि लुनीहीत्येव इमौ लुनीतः or इमे लुनन्ति 'they cut often and often'. So also लुनीहि लुनीहीत्येव त्वं लुनासि, युवां लुनीथः or यूयं लुनीथ 'thou or you two or you all cut repeatedly' as if some one was calling out to you 'cut you, cut you'.

So also लुनीत लुनीतेत्येव यूयं लुनीथ, अहं लुनामि, अलावीत् &c. 'you cut I cut, he has cut repeatedly', as if some one was calling out to us 'cut ye, cut ye'. Similarly with Atmanepada roots; as अधीष्वाधीष्वेत्येवायमधीते, इमौ अधीयाते इमे अधीयते &c. 'he or they study hard' as if some one was calling out to them study thou, study thou'.

So also अधीध्वमधीध्वमित्येव यूयमधीध्वे &c. Similarly in every tense, mood and person; as. अधीष्वाधीष्वेत्येवाहमधीये, आवामधीवहे, वयमधीमहे ।

The Intensive verbs in यङ् also have this meaning of frequency, but there the verb is not repeated, as the sense of frequency there is inherent in the verb; in this case we must repeat the verb to express frequency. See VIII. 1. 4.

This use of the Imperative is not found in Literature (Bohtlingk), but in Marathi.

समुच्चयेऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समुच्चये, अन्यतरस्याम्, (लोट्, लोटो, हिस्वौ, वा, तध्वमोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुच्चीयमान क्रियावचनाद्धातोरन्यतरस्यां लोट् प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य लोटो हिस्वादेशौ भवतः ॥

3. The affix 'Lot' is similarly added to the root optionally, when several themes follow one after another.

In this case also the terminations of the second person singular and plural Atmanepada and Parasmaipada are employed; namely, हि, स्व, or त and ध्वम् । Thus भ्राष्ट्रमट मठमट खदूरमट स्थाल्यपिधानमटेत्येवायमटति or इमावटतः, or इमेऽटन्ति ।

Similar examples can be formed as is in the last aphorism; only the Imperative is not doubled as in the last case.

Similarly छन्दोऽधीष्व, व्याकरणमधीष्व, निरुक्तमधीष्वेत्येवायमधीते, or इमावधीयाते or इमेऽधीयते 'he or they two or they all learn, learning Prosody, learning Grammar, learning Nirukta'.

This being an optional rule, we have these forms also; व्याकरणमधीते,

छन्दोऽधीते, निरुक्तमधीते, इत्येवायमधीते, इमावधीयाते, इमेऽधीयते । छन्दोऽधीषे, व्याकरणमधीषे, निरुक्तमधीषे, इत्येव त्वमधीषे, युवामधीयाथे, यूयमधीध्वे । छन्दोऽधीये व्याकरणमधीये, निरुक्तमधीय इत्येवाहमधीये, आवामधीवहे, वयमधीमहे ।

यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगः पूर्वस्मिन् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा-विधि, अनुप्रयोगः, पूर्वस्मिन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वस्मिन् लोड्विधाने यथाविध्यनु प्रयोगो भवति ॥

4. In the first case (comprised under sûtra III. 4. 2.) the same verb must be used in the subsequent clause, as the verb which was put in the Imperative mood.

The examples have already been given under sûtra III. 4. 2. We cannot say लुनीहि लुनीहीत्येवायं छिनत्ति; we must use a verb from the root लू 'to cut' Such as लुनाति, &c. So also अधीष्वाधीष्व takes अधीते only after it and not a synonymous verb like पठति &c.

समुच्चये सामान्यवचनस्य ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समुच्चये, सामान्य-वचनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीये लोड् विधाने समुच्चये सामान्यवचनस्य धातोरनुप्रयोगः कर्तव्यः ॥

5. In the second case (III. 4. 3) where many actions are spoken of together, the verb that is made to follow, should be such as has the sense common to all those verbs.

Thus ओदनं भुङ्क्ष्व, सक्तून्पिब, धानाः खादेत्येवायमभ्यवहरति 'he takes his meals, eating rice, drinking saktu, and tasting fried corn'. Here the verb अभ्यवहरति has a sense common to all the verbs in the Imperative mood. The object of taking the second verb, having the senses common to all the antecedent verbs, is to prevent the repetition of *all* the previous ones. In the secular vernacular, the brevity, however, is often not approved.

छन्दसि लुङ्लङ्लिटः, ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, लुङ्-लङ्-लिटः, (धातुसम्बन्धे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये धातुसम्बन्धे सर्वेषु कालेषु लुङ् लङ् लिटः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

6. In the Vedas, the Aorist, Imperfect and Perfect are optionally employed in all tenses, in relation to verbs.

The words धातुसम्बन्धे and अन्यतरस्याम् are understood here also. By saying 'optionally', other tense-affixes may be similarly employed.

Thus देवो देवेभिरागमत् (Rig. I. 1. 5.) 'O God Agni! come hither with the gods'. Here the Aorist आगमत् has the force of the Imperative. ये भूतस्य प्रचेतस

इदं तेभ्योऽकरं नमः 'I make salutation &c. &c'. (Rig. X. 85. 17) Here अकरं is Aorist (लुङ्) and has the sense of the Present.

So also अग्निमद्य होतारमवृणीतायं यजमानः। Here लङ् is used instead of लट्।
So also अद्या ममार = अद्य म्रियते। Here लिट् is used instead of लट्।

लिङर्थे लेट् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङर्थे, लेट्, (छन्दसि, अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङर्थे यत्र लिङ् विधीयते, विध्यादिहेतुहेतुमतोर्लिङित्येवमादिस्तत्र छन्दसि विषये ऽन्यतरस्यां लेट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. The affix 'Leṭ' is optionally employed in the Vedas, wherever the Potential can be used.

Thus in the sense of 'command' &c., लेट् may be employed instead of लिङ्. This is called the Vedic Subjunctive and is peculiar to the Vedas only. Thus जोषिषत् (Rig. II. 35. 1) 'may he make us beautiful'. तारिषत् (Rig. I. 25. 12) 'may he increase'. पताति दिद्युत् (Rig, VII. 25. 1) 'may the thunder-bolt fall'. भवाति (Rig. V. 37. 5) 'may he become'. So also नन्दिषत्, नेता, नेषत्, तक्षिषत्, उदधिं च्यावयाति।

उपसंवादाशङ्कयोश्च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसंवाद-आशंकयोः, - च, (छंदसि, लेट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसंवादे आशंकायां च गम्यमानायां छन्दसि विषये लेट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. Where a contingent promise (a reciprocal agreement), or apprehension is implied, the affix 'Leṭ' is employed after a root, in the Chhandas Literature.

The word उपसम्वाद means 'reciprocal agreement, contracting to do'. Thus यदि मे भवानिदं कुर्यात् अहमपि भवत इदं दास्यामि 'If you do this for me, I will give this to you'. Agreements like these are called उपसम्वाद; while guessing or inferring the result from a cause is called आशङ्का 'apprehension or fear'.

Thus अहमेव पशूनामीशै ॥ मदग्रा एव वो ग्रहा गृह्यान्तै ॥ मद्देवत्यान्येव वः पात्राण्युच्यान्तै ॥ नेज्जिह्मायन्त्यो (or नेज्जिह्मायन्त्यो) नरकं पताम ॥ (Nir. I. 11. Bohtlingk) = जिह्मचरणेन नरकपात आशंक्यते ॥ All the above examples have the sense of Potential, but the Subjunctive (Leṭ) must be employed necessarily in these senses and not optionally, which anuvṛitti was understood in the last sûtra.

तुमर्थे सेसेनसेअसेनक्सेकसेनध्यैअध्यैन्कध्यैकध्यैन्शध्यैन्तवैतवेङ्-तवेनः ॥९॥ पदानि ॥ तुमर्थे, से-सेन्-असे-असेन्-कसे-कसेन्-अध्यै-अध्यैन्-कध्यै-कध्यैन्-शध्यै शध्यैन्-तवै-तवेङ्-तवेनः, (छन्दसि) ॥

तुमुनोऽर्थस्तुमर्थः, तत्र छन्दसि विषये धातोः सेयादयः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

9. In the Vedas the following affixes come

after roots with the force of the affix 'tumun', viz:— 'se', 'sen', 'ase', 'asen', 'kse', 'kasen', adhyai', 'adhayin', 'kadhyai', 'kadhyain', 'śadhyai', śadhyain', 'tavai', 'taveṅ' and 'taven'.

In the Vedic literature the Infinitive is formed by the above 15 affixes. These, when stripped of their indicatory letters, will be found to consist of the following five affixes :— 1) से = से, सेन् and क्से ॥ (2) असे = असे, असेन् and कसेन् ॥ (3) अध्यै = अध्यै, अध्यैन्, कध्यै, कध्यैन्, शध्यै and शध्यैन् ॥ (4) तवै ॥ (5) तवे = तवेङ् and तवेन् ।

The difference in the affixes is made by four indicatory letters, viz. न्, क्, श् and ङ्। The forces of क्, श् and ङ् have already been explained; the indicatory न् makes the word take the *udâtta* accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). Thus से is acute (III. 1. 3) सेन् has acute on the first syllable of the word (VI. 1. 197); असे has accent of the affix (III. 1. 3); असेन् throws the accent on the first syllable of the word; the indicatory श makes the numbers 11 and 12 Sârvadhâtuka, and the root takes the proper Vikaraṇa of its class before these affixes; while before तवै, the acute falls both on the first syllable and the last syllable simultaneously (VI. 1. 200, VI. 2. 51).

Before going to give examples of these affixes, let us explain what is meant by तुमर्थ 'the sense of the affix तुम्'। The word तुमर्थ is here equivalent to भाव or 'action'; for the *pratyayas* or affixes, to which no meaning has been assigned in grammar, convey the meaning of the bases to which they are added. Thus no special meaning having been attached to तुमुन्, it will convey the meaning of the root to which it is added, *i. e.*, it will denote the 'action' of the verb, or Infinitive mood. (1) से—वक्षे रायः। (2) सेन्—ता वामेषे रथानाम् (Rig. V. 66. 3). (3 and 4) असे and असेन्—अस्मे शतं शरदो जीवसे धा (Rig. III. 36. 10). So also क्रत्वे दक्षाय जीवसे (Rig. X. 57. 4). With असेन् the word will be जीवसे। (5) क्से—प्रेषे भगाय। (6) कसेन्—गवामिव श्रियसे (Rig. V. 59. 3). It has not the नित् accent (VI. 1. 197) which would have given us श्रियसे। (7 and 8) अध्यै, अध्यैन्—कर्मण्युपचाराध्यै। (9) कध्यै—इन्द्राग्नी आहुवध्यै (Rig. VI 60. 13). (10) कध्यैन्—श्रियध्यै। (11 and 12) शध्यै शध्यैन—पिबध्यै (Rig. IV. 27. 5); the accent however is on पि। सह मादयध्यै (Rig. VI. 60. 13). (13) तवै—सोममिन्द्राय पातवै। (14) तवेङ्—तं ते गर्भं हवामहे दशमे मासि सूतवे (Rig. X. 184. 3) (15) तवेन् = गंतवे (Rig. I. 46. 7); कर्तवे (Rig I. 85. 9), हर्तवे ॥

प्रयै रोहिष्यै अव्यथिष्यै ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयै, रोहिष्यै, अव्यथिष्यै, (तुमर्थे, छंदसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रयै रोहिष्यै अव्यथिष्यै इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते छन्दसि विषये ॥

10. The words 'prayai', 'rohishyai' and 'avyathishyai' are irregular Vedic Infinitives.

Thus (1) प्रयै देवेभ्यो महीः (Rig. I. 142. 6); प्र + या + कै = प्रयै = प्रयातुम्। (2) अपामी पवीनां रोहिष्यै। रुह् + इष्यै = रोहिष्यै = रोढुमाय। (3) अ + व्यथ् + इष्यै = अव्यथिष्यै = अव्यथनाय।

दृशे विख्ये च ॥११॥ पदानि॥ दृशे, विख्ये, च, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृशे विख्ये इत्येतौ छन्दसि निपात्येते ॥

11. The words 'driśe' and 'vikhye' are anomalous Vedic Infinitives.

Thus दृशे विश्वाय सूर्यम् (Rig. I. 50. 1) = द्रष्टुम्। विख्येत्वा हरामि = विख्यातुम्।

शकि णमुल्कमुलौ ॥१२॥ पदानि ॥ शकि, णमुल्-कमुलौ, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्नोतौ धातावुपपदे छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे णमुल्कमुल् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

12. The affixes 'ṇamul' and 'kamul' are added to roots in the Chhandas to form Infinitives, when they are governed by the verb 'śak' (to be able).

Of the affix णमुल् the real affix is अम्; the letter ण् causes vriddhi (VII. 2. 115; and ल regulates the accent (VI. 1. 193). So also of कमुल, the letter क् prevents guṇa and vriddhi substitution (I. 1. 5).

Thus अग्निं वै देवा विभाजं नाशक्नुवन् 'the Gods were not able to divide Agni' विभज् + णमुल् = विभाजं = विभक्तुम्। So also अपलुपं नाशक्नुवन् instead of अपलोप्तुम्।

ईश्वरे तोसुन्कसुनौ ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईश्वरे, तोसुन्-कसुनौ, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईश्वरशब्द उपपदे छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे धातोस्तोसुन्कसुन्प्रत्ययौ भवतः।

13. The affixes 'tosun' and 'kasun' are added to roots in the Chhandas, to form Infinitives, when the words 'iśvara' is in composition.

Thus ईश्वरोऽभिचरितोः = अभिचरितुम्। ईश्वरो विलिखः विलिखितुम्। ईश्वरो वितृदः = वितर्दितुम्।

कृत्यार्थे तवैकेन्केन्यत्वनः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य-अर्थे, तवै-केन्-केन्य-त्वनः, (छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यानामर्थो भावकर्मणी, तस्मिन् कृत्यार्थे छन्दसि विषये तवै केन् केन्य त्वन् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

14. The affixes 'tavai,' 'ken,' 'kenya' and 'tvan' are added to roots in the Chhandas, in the sense of the 'Kritya-affixes.'

The force of *kritya* affixes is to denote 'action' (भाव) and 'object' (कर्मन्). Thus अन्वेतवै = अन्वेतव्यम् परिधातवै = परिधातव्यम्; नावगाहे = नावगाहितव्यम्; दिदृक्षेण्यः (Rig.

I. 146. 5) = विहृषितव्यम् ; शुश्रूषेण्यः = शुश्रूषितव्यम् ; कर्त्वम् ; (Rig. I. 10. 2) = कर्तव्यम्।

The affix तवै was mentioned in sûtra III. 4. 9 also ; there it has the force of the Infinitive, and here that of the Passive Participle, For its accent, see VI. 1. 200 ; 2. 51.

अवचक्षे च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवचक्षे, च, (कृत्यार्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवपूर्वाच्चक्षिङ एश्प्रत्ययो निपात्यते ॥

15. The word 'avachakshe' is an anomalous passive participle in the Vedas.

Thus रिपुणा नावचक्षे (Rig. IV. 58. 5) = नावख्यातव्यम्। अव + चक्ष् + एश् = अवचक्षे। The sûtra II. 4. 54 is not applied here.

भावलक्षणे स्थेण्कृञ्वदिचरिहुतमिजनिभ्यस्तोसुन् ॥१६॥ पदानि॥ भाव-लक्षणे, स्था-इण्-कृञ्-वदि-चरि-हु-तमि-जनिभ्यः, तोसुन्, (कृत्यार्थे, छन्दसि)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावो लक्ष्यते येन तस्मिन्नर्थे वर्तमानेभ्य स्थादिभ्यो धातुभ्यश्छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे तोसुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix 'tosun' comes in the Vedas after the following verbs, when mere name of the action is indicated, viz :— 'sthâ' (to stand), 'in' (to go), 'krin' (to make), 'vad' (to speak), 'char' (to walk), 'hu' (to sacrifice), 'tam' (to grow tired) and 'jan' (to produce).

These are also Infinitives. The phrase कृत्यार्थे is not to be read into this sûtra. The word भावलक्षण qualifies the sense of the root (भावो लक्ष्यते येन). Thus, स्था—आ संस्थातोर्वेद्यां सीदन्ति = आसमाप्तेः सीदन्ति। इण्—पुरा सूर्यस्योदेतोराधेयः। कृञ्—पुरा वत्सानामपाकर्तोः। वद्—पुरा प्रवदितोरग्नौ प्रहोतव्यम्। चर्—पुरा प्रचरितोराग्नीध्रीये होतव्याः। (Gopatha Brahmana II. 2. 10) हु—आ होतोरप्रमत्तस्तिष्ठति। तम्—आ तमितोरासीत (Taitt. Br. I. 4. 4. 2) जन्—आ विजनितोः सम्भवाम Taitt. S. II. 5 1. 5).

सृपितृदोः कसुन् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सृपि-तृदोः, कसुन्, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सृपितृदोर्धात्वोर्भावलक्षणेऽर्थे वर्तमानयोश्छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे कसुन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. In the Vedas, the affix 'kasun' comes afaer the verbs 'srip' (to creep) and 'trid' (to injure), in the sense of Infinitives indicating name of action.

Thus विसृपः। पुरा क्रूरस्य विसृपो (Yaj. I. 28.); आतृदः (Rig: VIII. 1. 12); पुरा जत्रुभ्य आतृदः (Rig. VIII. 1. 12). These words are Indeclinable by I. 1. 40.

अलंखल्वोः प्रतिषेधयोः प्राचांक्त्वा ॥१८॥ पदानि ॥ अलं-खल्वोः, प्रतिषेधयोः, प्राचां, क्त्वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अलं खलु इत्येतयोः प्रतिषेधवाचिनोरुपपदयोः प्राचां मतेन क्त्वा प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. According to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'ktvâ' comes after a verb, when there are in combination with it, the words 'alam' and 'khalu,' expressing the sense of prohibition.

The anuvritti of the words 'in the Vedas &c.' does not extend further. Thus अलं कृत्वा 'do not make'; खलु पीत्वा 'do not drink'; अलं बाले रुदित्वा 'do not weep, O girl!

Why do we say 'when there are अलं and खलु'? Witness मा कार्षीः 'do not make.' Why do we say 'when expressing prohibition'? Observe अलङ्कारः 'decoration.'

The phrase 'in the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians' shows that it is an optional rule. Therefore we have अलंरोदनेन 'do not weep.' Or if rule III. 1. 94 be applied, then the use of the word प्राचां is for the sake of merely showing respect (pûjârtha); the rule could have stood without it.

उदीचां माङो व्यतीहारे ॥१९॥ पदानि॥ उदीचां, माङः, व्यतीहारे, (क्त्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ माङो धातोर्व्यतीहारे वर्तमानादुदीचामाचार्याणां मतेन क्त्वाप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. According to the opinion of the Northern Grammarians, the affix 'ktvâ' is added to the root 'meṅ' (to exchange), when the sense is that of interchange, (though the action denoted by the former word is not prior to the action denoted by the latter word).

Thus अपमित्य याचते 'having offered an exchange, he asks' अप+मे+क्त्वा =अप+मा+ल्यप्=अप+मि+तुक्+य (VI. 1. 45 and 71)=अप+मित्य (VII. 4. 40). This is an optional rule, as the phrase 'according to the northern' indicates. So we have in the alternative, याचित्वाऽपमयते 'having asked he exchanges'; and this is the more general use of *ktva*; namely, it comes after that verb which is concerned about a time *anterior* to that of the other; see rule 21. The present sûtra is an exception to III. 4. 21.

The root मेङ् has been exhibited in the sûtra as माङ्, with the vowel आ instead of ए. This indicates the existence of the following Paribhâshâ:—

"A root, which, when destitute of anubandhas, ends in either ए, ओ or ऐ, must not be considered to have ceased to end in either ए, ओ, or ऐ, when an anubandha has been attached to it." By this Paribhâshâ दैप् must be regarded as ending in ऐ, and as therefore आ may be substituted for the vowel ऐ (VI. 1. 45), even while प् remains, दैप् does assume the form दाप् and is consequently, by the prohibition अदाप in sûtra I. 1. 20, forbidden to be termed घु।

परावरयोगे च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ पर-अवर-योगे, च, (क्त्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परेण पूर्वस्य योगे गम्यमाने अवरेण च परस्य धातोः क्त्वा प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

20. The affix 'ktvâ' is added to a root, to denote what is situate on that (para) side or on this (avara) side of something.

The situation on the पर 'the other' side and अवर 'this' side, is called परावरयोगः । Thus अप्राप्य नदीम् पर्वतः स्थितः 'the mountain is situate without having reached the river, *i. e.*, on this side of the river, the river being on the other side. Here the word पर्वत is qualified by the word नदी which is the point from which the situation is taken; and which in this case, is on the other side of the mountain. Similarly अतिक्रम्य तु पर्वतं नदी स्थिता 'the river is situate on the other side of the mountain.' Here the relation between the 'mountain' and the 'river' is of अवर and पर ।

In other words :—" The gerund of a root may be used to imply the situation of a thing with reference to the situation of another spoken of as the agent of the action denoted by that root and of the action denoted by another verb or primitive word used along with the gerund; though the action referred to in the gerund is not prior to the other "—G. P.

समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-कर्तृकयोः, पूर्व-काले, (क्त्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानःकर्ता ययोर्द्धात्वर्थयोस्तत्र पूर्वकालेधात्वर्थे वर्तमानाद्धातोः क्त्वाप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आस्यं व्यादाय स्वपिति चक्षुषी संमील्य हसतीत्युपसंख्यानमपूर्वकालत्वात् ॥

21. When two actions have the same agent, the affix 'ktvâ' comes after that verb which takes place in a time anterior to that of the other (i. e. the Absolutive in 'tva' refers to that action which precedes in time).

Thus भुक्त्वा व्रजति 'having eaten he goes'; पीत्वा व्रजति 'having drunk, he goes.'

The rule is not confined to the case of *two* verbs: thus, स्नात्वा, पीत्वा, भुक्त्वा, दत्त्वा व्रजति 'having bathed, drunk, eaten and given, he goes.'

Why do we say 'having the same agent'? When the agents are different, the gerund cannot be used, but the Locative Absolute construction will have to be used to express the same sense. Thus भुक्तवति ब्राह्मणे गच्छति देवदत्तः the 'Brahmana having been fed, Devadatta goes.'

Why do we say 'which denotes *prior* action'? For, if the actions are co-eval, the gerundial construction will not be employed. Thus व्रजति च जल्पति च 'he goes and chatters.'

Vart.—The phrase आस्यं व्यादाय स्वपिति, संमील्य हसति 'he sleeps, with his mouth open, and laughs with his mouth closed', is valid, though the affix क्त्वा is not added to the verb denoting prior action.

आभीक्ष्ण्ये णमुल् च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि॥ आभीक्ष्ण्ये, णमुल्, च, (समानकर्तृकयोः, पूर्वकाले) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आभीक्ष्ण्यविशिष्टेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affixes 'ṇamul' and 'ktvâ' come after a root, when re-iteration is to be expressed.

The phrases 'when the agent of both the verbs is the same' and 'after the verb whose actions occurs first in time' are to be read into this sûtra to complete the sense. The force of च is to introduce the affix क्त्वा into this sûtra. The affixes *ktvâ* and *ṇamul* express 're-iteration' then only when the verb is doubled, and not singly. See rule VIII. 1. 4. Thus भोजं भोजं व्रजति 'having eaten repestedly, he goes'; similarly भुक्त्वा भुक्त्वा पायं पायं व्रजति 'having drunk repeatedly he goes'.

न यद्यनाकाङ्क्षे ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यदि, अनाकाङ्क्षे, (क्त्वा, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्द उपपदे धातोः क्त्वाणमुलौ प्रत्ययौ न भवतोऽनाकाङ्क्षे वाक्ये ॥

23. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'ṇamul' are not added to a root, when the word 'yad' is used, in a simple sentence, which does not depend upon another to complete the sense.

The word आकांक्षा means 'inter-dependence' or the inability of a word, phrase or sentence, to indicate the intended sense in the absence of another word, phrase, or sentence. In other words, when there are two actions one prior and another subsequent and they complete the sense of the sentence, without standing in need of any other verb; in such a case, *ktvâ* and *namul* are not used, when the word *yad* is in composition. This sûtra prohibits the affix *ktvâ* also, though the affix *namul* is in immediate context. Thus यदयं भुङ्क्ते ततः पचति, यदयमधीते ततः शेते, having eaten, he cooks; having read, he sleeps'.

But when there is inter-dependence or आकांक्षा, we have यदयं भुक्त्वा व्रजति, अधीत एव ततः पठ्‍ । Professor Bohtlingk translates it thus: "In connection with यद् the above-mentioned Absolutives will not be applied, unless the two verbs required one more as complement."

विभाषाग्रेप्रथमपूर्वेषु ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि । विभाषा, अग्रे-प्रथम-पूर्वेषु, (समानकर्तृकयोः, पूर्वकाले, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्रे प्रथम पूर्व इत्येतेषूपपदेषु समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले धातोः क्त्वाणमुलौ प्रत्ययौ विभाषा भवतः ॥

24. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'ṇamul' come optionally after that verb which denotes the prior action, when both verbs have the same agent, provided that the following words are in composition:—'agre', 'prathama' and 'pûrva'.

This is an *Aprápta-vibháshá*. The word 're-iteration' is not understood here. Thus अग्रे, प्रथमं, पूर्वं वा भोजं भुक्त्वा व्रजति 'having first eaten he goes'.

By using the word 'optionally' it is indicated that the regular Tenses, such as the Present &c., may be employed also. Thus अग्रे भुङ्क्ते ततः व्रजति he eats first and then goes'.

Q.—The affixes of *Lat* (Present tense) &c. would have been applied by the rule of वाऽसरूप (III. 1. 94); why then use the word 'optionally'?

Ans.—The very use of the word 'optionally' in this sûtra indicates the existence of this *Paribhâshâ*:—"The rule III. 1. 94 has no concern with the affixes *ktvá* and *namul*, when both these affixes are enjoined at one and the same time by a single rule".

Therefore, we cannot apply III. 1. 94 and use the affixes *Lat* &c., when 're-iteration' is meant. That is the exclusive province of क्त्वा and णमुल्।

Why is not here the Upapada compounding by rule II. 2. 20? For an answer to this, see the commentary on II. 2. 20. Had only णमुल् been enjoined by this sûtra, and not क्त्वा also, then we coald have formed the उपपद समास, for such is the force of the word एव in that sûtra.

कर्मण्याक्रोशे कृञः खमुञ् ॥२५॥ पदानि॥ कर्मणि, आक्रोशे, कृञः, खमुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे कृञो धातोः खमुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति आक्रोशे गम्यमाने ॥

25. The affix 'khamuñ' is added to the verb 'kṛi' (to make), when a word in the accusative case is in construction with it, if the sense intended implies 'abuse'.

Of the affix खमुञ, the efficient portion is अम्; the indicatory ख inroduces the augment मुम् (VI. 3. 67). Thus चौरं कारमाक्रोशति 'he reviles him as thief, *i. e.*, he calls out in abuse 'thou art a thief, thou art a robber, &c. &c.' The person is not really made a thief, but making him a thief is to express one's indignation.

स्वादुमि णमुल् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वादुमि, णमुल्, (कृञः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वाद्वर्थेषूपपदेषु कृञो णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. (When the actions, signified by the verbs 'kṛi' and another have the same agent), the affix 'ṇamul' is added to the verb 'kṛi' (which is concerned

about a time anterior to that of the other), provided that a word signifying 'sweet' is in composition.

The words within brackets are to be read into the sûtra by anuvṛitti from III. 4. 21. Thus स्वादुङ्कारं or सम्पन्नंकारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats, having made his food sweet or seasoned'.

In the sûtra, the word स्वादुम् is used ending with a म्. It is an anomalous form, and indcates that a म् must be added to the upapadas in these cases the object served by this form being that rule IV. 1 44, by which feminine of words like स्वादु ending in उ is formed by long ई, does not apply here. Thus स्वाद्वीम् कृत्वा यवागूम् भुङ्क्ते= स्वादुङ्कारं यवागूम् भुङ्क्ते । Here though यवागू is feminine, the attribute is still स्वादु and not स्वाद्वी ।

It might be said 'why not use the previous affix खमुञ् ? That will solv all difficulties ; and will give us the augment मुम्' । To this, however, there is a fatal objection. The augment मुम् will, no doubt, come in the last example, but it will *not* come when the word to be formed is an Indeclinable (VI. 3. 67), such as, when the sense is of the affix च्वि and all *chvi*-ending words are Indeclinables (I. 4. 61). Therefore, the affix खमुञ् will not remove the difficulty in the following case ; अस्वाद्वीं स्वाद्वीं कृत्वा भुङ्क्ते=स्वादुङ्कारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats, having firs sweetened what was not sweet before'.

By applying rule III. 1. 94, we have the affix क्त्वा in the alternative. Thus स्वादु कृत्वा भुङ्क्ते । All these affixes form abstract nouns (भाव) as they have the sense of the affix तुमुन् (III. 4. 16). In connection with णमुल्, the Instrumental case can not, however, be used, *i. e.* we cannot use the Passive construction ; *e. g*, स्वादुंकारं यवागू: भुज्यते देवदत्तेन will be wrong.

अन्यथैवंकथमित्थंसु सिद्धाप्रयोगश्चेत् ॥२७॥ पदानि॥ अन्यथा-एवं-कथम्-इत्थंसु, सिद्ध-अप्रयोगः, चेत्, (कृञ, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः॥ अन्यथादिषूपपदेषु कृञो णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति सिद्धाप्रयोगश्चेत्करोतेर्भवति ॥

27. When the words 'anyathâ' (otherwise), 'evam' (so), 'katham' (how) and 'ittham' (thus) are compounded with the verb, then 'ṇamul' comes after 'kṛi' (to make), if it be such that its omission would be unobjectionable.

When is the non-employment of कृञ् vaild ? When the same sentence will remain correct by omitting कृ, *i. e.* when without employing it, the same idea will be expressed. Thus अन्यथाकारं, एवंकारं, कथंकारं or इत्थंकारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats otherwise, he eates so, how does he eat, or he eats thus'. In fact, the sentence अन्यथाकारं भुङ्क्ते is equivalent to अन्यथा भुङ्क्ते ।

Why do we say 'if the non-employment would be valid'? Witness

अन्यथा कृत्वा शिरो भुङ्क्ते 'he eats, having turned his head aside'. Here कृञ् could not be spared.

यथातथयोरसूयाप्रतिवचने ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा-तथयोः, असूया-प्रतिवचने, (कृञः, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथा तथा शब्दयोरुपपदयोः कृञो णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति, असूया प्रतिवचने गम्यमाने ॥

28. The affix 'ṇamul' is added to the root 'kṛi' (to make), the words 'yathâ' and 'tathâ' being compounded with it, when angry reply is made: (if the omission of 'kṛiñ' is unobjectionable).

When one questions or replies in indignation, displeasure or anger, then is this construction valid. Thus यथाकारं भोक्ष्ये, किं तवानेन 'I will eat in that way; what is that to you'? Similarly तथाकारं भोक्ष्ये, किं तवानेन।

Why do we say 'when an angry reply is made'? Observe यथाकृत्वाऽहं भोक्ष्ये तथा द्रक्ष्यसि 'in what way I will eat' that thou wilt see'.

Why do we say 'when the omission of कृञ् would be valid'? Witness यथाकृत्वाऽहं शिरो भोक्ष्ये किं तवानेन 'what is that to you, in what way turning my head I will eat'?

कर्मणि दृशिविदोः साकल्ये ॥२९॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, दृशि-विदोः, साकल्ये, (णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे साकल्यविशिष्टेऽर्थे दृशिविदोर्धात्वोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति।

29. When the object is compounded with it, the verb 'dṛiś' (to see), or 'vid' (to know)' takes the affix 'ṇamul', to denote the total number of such objects.

Thus कन्यादर्शं वरयति 'he woos every girl that he sees, *i. e.*, all the girls seen'. ब्राह्मणवेदं भोजयति 'he feeds as many Brâhmaṇas as he knows, *i. e.*, all'.

Why do say 'when denoting the total number of such objects'? Observe ब्राह्मणं दृष्ट्वा भोजयति 'having seen the Brâhmaṇa he feeds him'.

यावति विन्दजीवोः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ यावति, विन्द-जीवोः, (णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावच्छब्द उपपदे विन्दतेर्जीवतेश्च णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the verb 'vid' (to get) and 'jîv', (to live), when then the word 'yâvat' is combined with them.

As यावद्वेदं भुङ्क्ते he eats all that he gets'. यावज्जीवमधीते 'he studies as long as he lives, *i. e.* throughout his life'.

चर्मोदरयोः पूरेः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चर्म-उदरयोः, पूरेः, (कर्मणि, णमुल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चर्मोदरयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः पूरयतेर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the verb 'pûr' (to fill), when the words 'charman' and 'udar' are compounded with it as object.

Thus उदरपूरं भुंक्ते 'he eats so as to fill his belly'? चर्मपूरं स्तृणाति 'he spreads so as to cover the skin.'

वर्षप्रमाण ऊलोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥३२॥ पदानि॥ वर्ष-प्रमाणे, ऊ-लोपः, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, (कर्मणि, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूरयतेर्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ऊलोपश्चास्य पूरयतेरन्यतरस्यां भवति समुदायेन चेद्वर्षस्य प्रमाणमियत्ता गम्यते ॥

32. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the verb 'pûr' (to fill)' when the word so formed expresses a measure of rain-fall; and optionally the long 'û' of this 'pûr' is elided.

Thus गोष्पदपूरं or गोष्पदप्रं वृष्टो देवः 'it rained filling up small puddles (lit. the impression made by the foot of the cow on the soil).' सीतापूरं or सीताप्रं वृष्टो देवः 'it rained filling up all furrows.'

Why have we used the word अस्य 'of this pûr' in the sûtra? The long ऊ of पूर् is to be elided, and not the long ऊ, if there be any, of the *upapada*. Thus मूषिकाबिलपूरं or मूषिकाबिलप्रं वृष्टो देवः। Here the long ऊ of मू is not shortened.

चेले क्नोपेः ॥३३॥ पदानि॥ चेले, क्नोपेः, (कर्मणि, णमुल, वर्ष-प्रमाणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्नूयी शब्दे उन्दने च, अस्माण्ण्यन्ताद्धातोश्चेलार्थेषु कर्मसु उपपदेषु णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति वर्षप्रमाणे गम्यमाने ॥

33. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the causative of the root 'knûy' (to wet), when there is compounded with it a noun denoting 'clothing,' in the accusative case, as an upapada, if the whole word so formed expresses a measure of the rain-fall.

The verb क्नोपि is the causative root formed from the simple root क्नूय् 'to wet.' Thus चेलक्नोपं वृष्टो देवः or वस्त्रक्नोपं or वसनक्नोपं &c. 'it rained so as to wet the clothes.'

निमूलसमूलयोः कषः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निमूल-समूलयोः, कषः (कर्मणि, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निमूल समूलशब्दयोः कर्मवाचिनोरुपपदयोः कषेर्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the verb 'kash' (to rub), when the words 'nimûla' and 'samûla' are compounded with it in the accusative case.

Thus निमूलकाषं कषति 'he scrapes down to the roots'; समूलकाषं कषति 'he scrapes up to the roots.' In fact, the gerund of the root and the root itself denote the same thing; the whole sentence निमूलकाषंकषति being equal to निमूलं कषति. From this sûtra up to sûtra III. 4. 46, the subsequent verb governing the previous word, must be derived from the same root from which the gerund is derived; see sûtra III. 4. 46.

शुष्कचूर्णरूक्षेषु पिषः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुष्क-चूर्ण-रूक्षेषु, पिषः, (कर्मणि णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुष्कादिषु कर्मवाचिषूपपदेषु पिषेर्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the verb 'pish' (to grind), when the words 'śushka' (dry), 'chûrna' (powder), and 'rûksha' (dry), in the accusative case are compounded with it.

Thus शुष्कपेषं पिनष्टि = शुष्कं पिनष्टि 'he grinds it dry'; चूर्णपेषं पिनष्टि 'he grinds to powder'; रूक्षपेषं पिनष्टि 'he grinds it dry.' Here also an appropriate verb from the same root पिष् must be used to govern the gerund.

समूलाकृतजीवेषु हन्कृञ्ग्रहः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ समूल-अकृत-जीवेषु, हन्-कृञ्-ग्रहः, (कर्मणि, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समूल अकृत जीव इत्येतेषु शब्देषु कर्मसूपपदेषु यथासंख्यं हन् कृञ् ग्रह् इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the verbs 'han' (to kill), 'kri' (to make) and 'grah' (to seize), when the words 'samûla,' 'akṛita' and 'jîva' in the accusative case are respectively compounded with them.

Thus समूलघातं हन्ति (VIII. 3. 32 and 54) 'he destroys so as to tear up by the roots, *i. e.*, he totally extirpates'; अकृतकारं करोति 'he does a thing which was not done before'; तं जीवग्राहं गृह्णाति 'captures him so as to preserve his life, *i. e.*, captures him alive.' Here also appropriate verbs from the same *roots* are used to govern the gerund.

करणे हनः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, हनः, (णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करण उपपदे हन्तेर्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the verb 'han,'

when a word in the Instrumental case is in composition with it.

Thus पाणिघातं वेदिं हन्ति (VII. 3. 32 and 54)=पाणिना वेदिं हन्ति 'he strikes the *Vedi* with the hand; पादघातं भूमिं हन्ति 'he strikes the ground with the foot.' Reading this sûtra along with III. 4. 48, we find that हन् here does not mean 'to kill,' and the further difference between this aphorism and that is, that in the case of this sûtra a cognate verb from the same root must be used, as the gerund; not so in sûtra III. 4 48; or this sûtra may be for the sake of forming Invariable compounds with the upapadas, such as पादघातं।

According to Pâtanjali, this affix comes after हन् under this aphorism, even when हन् means 'to injure'; thus counteracting rule III. 4. 48, by anticipation, and in opposition to the general principle of interpretation enunciated in rule 1. 4. 2 Thus असिघातं हन्ति 'he kills with the sword'; शरघातं हन्ति 'he kills with arrows.'

Rule III. 4. 46 applies here also, and an appropriate verb from the same root is employed to govern the gerund.

स्नेहने पिषः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्नेहने, पिषः, (करणे, णमुल्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्नेहनवाचिनि करण उपपदे पिषेर्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

38. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the verb 'pish' (to grind), when a word in the Instrumental case denoting 'liquid' is in composition.

Thus उदपेषं पिनष्टि=उदकेन पिनष्टि (VI. 3. 58.) 'he grinds with water'; तैलपेषं पिनष्टि 'he grinds with oil.' Here also III. 4. 46 applies, and an appropriate verb from the same root is employed to govern the gerund.

हस्ते वर्तिग्रहोः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्ते, वर्ति-ग्रहोः, (करणे, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्तवाचिनि करणे उपपदे वर्तयतेर्गृह्णातेश्च णमुल प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the verbs 'varti' (causative of vrit) and 'grah,' when a word denoting 'hand,' in the Instrumental case, is in composition

Thus हस्तवर्तं, करवर्तं or पाणिवर्तं वर्तयति=हस्तेन वर्तयति 'he revolves by the hand.' So also, तम् हस्तग्राहम् गृह्णाति 'he takes him by the hand': so पाणिग्राहम्, करग्राहम् &c.

Here also rule III. 4. 46 applies and appropriate verbs from the same roots must be employed to govern the gerund.

स्वे पुषः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वे, पुषः, (करणे, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्ववाचिनि करणे उपपदे पुषेर्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the verb 'push' (to feed), when a word in the Instrumental case, having the sense of 'sva' is in composition.

The word स्व means 'self,' 'kinsmen' and 'property.' Thus स्वपोषं पुष्णाति 'he feeds himself', आत्मपोषं, गोपोषं, पितृपोषं, मातृपोषं, धनपोषं, रैपोषं &c. See I. 1. 68. Rule 46 applies here also.

अधिकरणे बंधः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरणे, बंधः, (णमुल्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणवाचिन्युपपदे बध्नातेर्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

41. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the verb 'bandh' (to bind), when a word expressing location is in construction with it.

Of course, rule III 4. 46 applies here also, and the gerund must be governed by a verb from the same root *bandh.* Thus चक्रबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds to the wheel; कूटबन्धं बध्नाति he binds in a snare'; मुष्टिबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds in the fist.' चोरकबन्धं बध्नाति = चोरके बध्नाति ।

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (बंधः, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायाम् विषये बध्नातेर्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

42. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the verb 'bandh' (to bind) when the word so formed denotes an appellative.

Thus क्रौंचबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds in the manner called *krauncha-bandhan* or 'heron-knot.' मयूरिकाबन्धं बध्नाति or बद्धः 'he binds or is bound in a 'peacock-knot,' अट्टालिकाबन्धं बद्धः 'bound in a knot called *aṭṭálíká bandhan.*'

All the above, *krauncha-bandhan* &c. are names of various sorts of 'bonds or knots.' The rule III. 4. 46. also applies here.

कर्त्रोर्जीवपुरुषयोर्नशिवहोः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्रोः, जीव-पुरुषयोः, नशि-वहोः, (णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीवपुरुषयोः कर्तृवाचिनोरुपपदयोः यथासंख्यम् नशिवहोर्धात्वोर्णमुल्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the roots 'naś' (to perish) and 'vah' (to carry), when the words 'jîva' (life) and 'purusha' (person) expressing the agent of these verbs, are respectively in construction with them.

Thus जीवनाशं नश्यति = जीवो नश्यति 'perishes, so that his life perishes, *i. e.*, dies away'; पुरुषवाहं वहति 'the man carries', *i. e.*, the man becoming a servant, carries another on him = पुरुषः प्रेष्यो भूत्वा वहति ।

Why do we say 'when denoting an agent'? Observe, जीवेन नष्टः 'destroyed by life'; पुरुषेणोढः 'carried by a man.'

ऊर्ध्वे शुषिपूरोः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊर्ध्वे, शुषि-पूरोः, (कर्त्रोः, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्ध्वशब्दे कर्तृवाचिन्युपपदे शुषिपूरोर्धात्वोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the roots 'śush' (to dry), and 'pûr' (to fill), when the word 'ûrdhva,' denoting an agent, is in composition with them.

Thus ऊर्ध्वशोषं शुष्यति वृक्षः = ऊर्ध्वं शुष्यति 'the tree is dried up while it is still standing.' Compare यद्वोर्ध्वशोषतृणवद्विशुष्कः 'or wither like the up-heaved grass drying up' (Bhatti. III. 14); ऊर्ध्वपूरं पूर्यते 'is filled full to the brim.' Rule III. 4. 46 applies here also.

उपमाने कर्मणि च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमाने, कर्मणि, च, (कर्त्रोः, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमाने कर्मण्युपपदे चकारात् कर्तरि धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

45. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after a root, when an object or an agent, denoting similitude, is in composition with it.

The word 'agent' is read into the sûtra, by virtue of the word च 'also.' That with which any thing is compared is called उपमान or 'object of comparison or similitude.' As घृतनिधायम् निहितम् जलम् 'water was kept as ghee would be kept.' सुवर्णनिधायम् निहितः 'was kept as gold.' The force is that of इव ; thus घृतनिधायम् निहितः = घृतमिव निहितः । So also when the object of comparison is as agent: thus, अजनाशं नष्टः 'he perished like a goat.' So also चूडकनाशम्, दन्तनाशम्, &c,

कषादिषु यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कष-आदिषु, यथा-विधि, अनुप्रयोगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निमूलसमूलयोरित्येतदारभ्य कषादयः, एतेषु यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगो भवति ॥

46. The same verb should be employed after the gerunds formed from the verbs 'kash' &c; as the verb from which the gerund is derived.

From sûtra III. 4. 34 up to sûtra III. 4. 45 a verb from the same root must be employed in the subsequent part, as *anuprayoga*, from which the gerund in *namul* was formed. This rule has been illustrated in the examples under the previous aphorisms.

The present is a restrictive or *niyama* rule. This chapter deals with affixes employed in denoting syntactical relation between two verbs (धातुसम्बन्धे प्रत्ययाः) । See III. 4. 1: so a gerund in *namul*, would, of course, be followed by some verb as *anuprayoga* ; the present sûtra declares that the *other* verb must be from the same root as the gerund.

उपदंशस्तृतीयायाम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपदंशः, तृतीयायां,(णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दंश दशने, अस्माद्धातोरुपपूर्वात्तृतीयान्त उपपदे णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the root 'dans' (to bite) preceded by the preposition 'upa'; when a word ending with the third case-affix is in composition with it.

The *Upapada samásá* is optional in this case (II. 2. 21). Thus मूलकोपदंशं भुङ्क्ते or मूलकेनोपदंशम् भुङ्क्ते 'he eats after having relished the food with radish.' Similarly आर्द्रकोपदंशम् or आर्द्रकेणोपदंशम् 'relished with ginger.'

The words मूलक &c. in the above examples are the 'objects' of the verb उपदंश् and 'instruments' of the verb भुज् ।

By the rule of वाऽसरूप (III. 1. 94) the affix क्त्वा (or its substitute ल्यप्) may be optionally used, wherever we may use the affix णमुल् । Thus मूलकेनोपदश्य भुङ्क्ते ।

हिंसार्थानां च समानकर्मकाणाम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिंसा-अर्थानां, च, समान-कर्मकाणां, (णमुल्, तृतीयायां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिंसा प्राण्युपघातः, तदर्थानां धातूनामनुप्रयोगधातुना समानकर्मकाणां तृतीयान्त उपपदे णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after roots having the sense of 'hins' (to strike), when the object of this gerund is the same as the object of the main verb, and when the noun with which it is compounded ends with the third case-affix.

Thus दण्डोपघातम् गाः कालयति 'he collects together cows, beating them with a club.' The compounding is optional (II. 2. 21.) Thus we have also दण्डेनोपघातम् । Similarly with other verbs having the sense of हिंस; thus, दण्डताडम् or दण्डेन ताडम् ।

Why do we say 'when the object of the gerund is the same as the object of the main verb'? When the objects are different, णमुल् will not be employed. Thus चोरम् दण्डेनोपहत्य, गोपालको गाः कालयति 'having beaten the thief with the club, the cowherd collects together the cows.'

सप्तम्यां चोपपीडरुधकर्षः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तम्यां, च, उप-पीड-रुध-कर्षः, (तृतीयायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वेभ्यः पीडरुधकर्षेभ्यः सप्तम्यन्त उपपदे चकारात्तृतीयान्त उपपदे णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

49. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the roots 'piḍ' (to press), 'rudh' (to obstruct), and 'krish' (to draw),

when they are preceded by the preposition 'upa', and when they are compounded with nouns ending with the 7th case-affix or the 3rd case-affix.

The phrase '3rd case-affix' must be read into the sûtra by virtue of the word च। Thus पार्श्वोपपीडं शेते 'he sleeps pressing on his sides'. The compounding is optional (II. 2. 21); so we have in the alternative, पार्श्वयोरुपपीडम् or पार्श्वाभ्यामुपपीडम्।

So also व्रजोपरोधम् (or व्रजे उपरोधम् or व्रजेनोपरोधम्) गाः स्थापयति 'he stations the cows so that they are all in the fold'. पाण्युपकर्षं (or पाणावुपकर्षम् or पाणिनोपकर्षम्) धानाः संगृह्णाति। It is Bhvâdi कृष् here, and not Tudâdi.

समासत्तौ ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ समासत्तौ, (सप्तम्यां, तृतीयायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समासत्तौ गम्यमानायां तृतीयासप्तम्योरुपपदयोर्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50. (The affix 'ṇamul' comes after a root, when a word in the Locative or Instrumental case is in composition with it), and when immediate contiguity is intended, i. e., 'to fall together by the ears'.

The word समासत्तिः means 'immediate contiguity'. Thus केशग्राहम् (or केशेषु ग्राहम् or केशैर्ग्राहम्) युध्यन्ते 'having closely caught each other by the hair, they fight'. Similarly हस्तग्राहम् or हस्तेषु ग्राहम् or हस्तैर्ग्राहम्; so also यष्टिग्राहम् 'taking a stick'; कोष्टग्राहं &c. see II. 2. 21.

प्रमाणे च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रमाणे, च, (तृतीयायां, सप्तम्यां ; णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणे गम्यमाने तृतीयासप्तम्योरुपपदयोर्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after a root, when a noun in the Instrumental or Locative case is in composition with it, and when measure of length is intended.

The word प्रमाणम् means 'length or extension'. Thus द्व्यङ्गुलोत्कर्षं (द्व्यंगुले उत्कर्षम् or द्व्यङ्गुलेनोत्कर्षम्) खण्डिकां छिनत्ति 'he cuts pieces of the lenth of two fingers'. See II. 2. 21.

अपादाने परीप्सायाम् ॥५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपादाने, परीप्सायां, (णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परीप्सायां गम्यमानायां अपादाने उपपदे धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

52. The affix 'ṇamul' is added to the root, when a noun in the Ablative case is in composition, and when 'haste' is intended.

The word परीप्सा means 'haste, hurry' Thus शय्योत्थायं (or शय्याया उत्थायं) धावति 'having risen from bed, he runs away'. That is to say, he runs with such a haste that he does not perform even the necessary ablutions &c., but as soon as he rises from the bed, he runs off. Similarly रन्ध्रापकर्षम् पयः पिबति 'he drinks milk from a hole in the vessel', he being in such a haste, that he does not care to drink from the proper aperture भ्राष्ट्रापकर्षमपूपान् भक्षयति 'he eats cakes hot from the frying pan', not waiting til they are placed on a dish.

Why do we say 'when meaning hurry' ? Observe, आसनादुत्थाय गच्छति 'having risen from the seat, he goes'. Here 'haste' not being intended. the affix क्त्वा (ल्यप्) is employed. See II. 2. 21.

द्वितीयायां च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीयायां, च, (परीप्सायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्त उपपदे परीप्सायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

53. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after a verb, when a word in the Accusotive case is in composition, and when 'haste' is intended.

Thus यष्टिग्राहम् (or यष्टिं ग्राहम्) युध्यन्ते 'they fight, having taken up sticks', That is, they are in suche haste to fight, that they do not tarry to take up the proper weapons, offensive and defansive, but engage in fight with anything that is at hand, such as sticks, stones &c, Similarly लोष्टग्राहम् or लोष्टं ग्राहम् ।

स्वाङ्गेऽध्रुवे ॥ ५४ ॥पदानि॥ स्वाङ्गे, अध्रुवे द्वितीयायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्रुवे स्वांगवाचिनि द्वितीयान्त उपपदे धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

54. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after a root, when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, signifying the limbs of one's own body, when the limb is such that its loss will not destroy life.

Thus भ्रूविक्षेपं कथयति 'he narrates, throwing his eye-brows (glances) about in all direction'. अक्षिनिकाणम् जल्पति 'he prattles, having closed the eyes'.

The स्वाङ्ग word is "a word denoting a thing which not being liquid or gaseous, and being capable of being perceived by the senses, and not being one produced by a change from the natural state, exists in a living being, or though found elsewhere actually or at any particular time, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to hove actually, (not figuratively) the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being."

The word अध्रुव means 'non-vital organ', or a limb which even being cut off, does not necessarily destroy life. Therefore, we cannot use the affix

णमुल् in the following, as *head* is not an अध्रुव limb:——उत्क्षिप्य शिरः कथयति 'he narrates, having trhown the head on one side.' Compare VI. 2. 177.

परिक्लिश्यमाने च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिक्लिश्यमाने, च, (स्वाङ्गे, द्वितीयायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिक्लिश्यमाने स्वाङ्गवाचिनि द्वितीयान्त उपपदे धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

55. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after a root, when a word in the Accusative case denoting a limb of one's own body, which is completely afflicted by the action, is in composition.

The word परिक्लिश्यमान means 'completely hurt or affected.' Thus उरः प्रतिपेषं or उरःपेषं युध्यन्ते = कृत्स्नमुरः पीडयन्तः 'they fight so as to afflict their whole bosom.' So also शिरःपेषं or शिरःप्रतिपेषं ।

The difference between this and the last sûtra consists in this, that this sûtra applies even to vital organs, such as 'breast,' 'head' &c.; while the last aphorism applies 'non-vital organs' only.

विशिपतिपदिस्कन्दां व्याप्यमानासेव्यमानयोः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशि-पति-पदि-स्कन्दां, व्याप्यमान-आसेव्यमानयोः, (द्वितीयायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्त उपपदे विशयादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति व्याप्यमाने आसेव्यमाने चार्थे गम्यमाने ॥

56. The affix 'ṇamul comes after the verbs 'viś' (to enter), 'pat' (to fall), 'pad' (to go) and 'skand' (to leap), when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, and when the sense denoted is that of complete pervasion and total absorption.

The word व्याप्ति (or व्याप्यमान) means the full and complete pervasion of the substances with the actions (denoted by the verbs विश्, &c). The word आसेवा means 'assiduous performance of any action, or absorption into it.' In other words, 'frequency' of an action is आसेवा । The word व्याप्ति therefore refers to the noun (in the accusative case) and आसेवा to the verb (such as *vis* &c). These two words have the same significance here as the words नित्य and वीप्सा in sûtra VIII. 1. 4. and by the application of that rule, both the noun and the verb require to be repeated. That rule, however, will not apply here, when there is compounding by II. 2. 21. But when there is no compounding, (for rule II. 2. 21., makes composition only optional) then there is repetition of the noun if व्याप्ति 'all' is meant; and of the verb, if आसेवा 'frequency or assiduous performance' is meant. Thus गेहानुप्रवेशमास्ते, (or गेहं गेहमनुप्रवेशमास्ते or गेहमनुप्रवेशमनुप्रवेशमास्ते) 'having entered the house, he sits down,' meaning either, 'having en-

tered every house in succession, he sits down,' or 'having repeatedly entered the house, he sits down.'

Similarly with the root पद्, we may have three examples as in the last, and so also with the roots पद् and स्कन्द् । Thus गेहानुप्रपातमास्ते (or गेहंगेहमनुप्रपातमस्ते or गेहमनुप्रपातमनुप्रपातमास्ते); गेहानुप्रपादमास्ते (or गेहंगेहमनुप्रपादं or गेहमनुप्रपादमनुप्रपादम्); गेहावस्कन्दमास्ते (or गेहंगेहमवस्कन्दं or गेहमवस्कन्दमवस्कन्दम्) ।

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of *all* or *frequency*? Observe गेहमनुप्रविश्य भुङ्क्ते 'having entered the house, he eats.'

Q.—By sûtra III. 4. 22, *namul* would have been valid, when *abhikshna* was meant; and *abhikshna* and *aseva* mean the same thing, *i. e.*, 'frequency.' Why then ordain *namul* again, by the present sûtra, in the sense of *aseva*? If you say, "we repeat it, in order to prevent the coming of the affix क्त्वा", that is not so. For क्त्वा would come by वाऽसरूप rule; (see III. 1. 94 and III. 4. 47).

A.—The repetition is for the sake of *Upapada-samasa* with a word in the accusative case. Under rule 22, there was no *upapada*, while in the present case there is an *upapada*.

Professor Bohtlingk translates this sûtra thus:—"विश्, पत्, पद्, and स्कन्द् in composition with an accusative, from the absolutive gerund in अम् (namul), when one wishes to express that every object of that name is completely affected by the action, or that the action is constantly repeated in that object."

अस्यतितृषोः क्रियांतरे कालेषु ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यति-तृषोः, क्रिया—अंतरे, कालेषु, (द्वितीयायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रिया मन्तरयति क्रियान्तरः, क्रियाव्यवधायकः, क्रियान्तरे धात्वर्थे वर्त्तमानाभ्यामस्यतितृषिभ्यां द्वितीयान्तेषु कालवाचिषूपपदेषु णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

57. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the verbs 'as' (to throw) and 'trish' (to thirst), when it is intended to express an intermission of the action denoted by the root, provided that a word in the accusative case denoting time, is in composition.

The word क्रियान्तर means 'the interval between two actions.' Thus द्व्यहात्यासं or द्व्यहमत्यासम् गाः पाययति 'he gives drink to the cows, after an interval of two days, *i. e.* every third day.' So also द्व्यहतर्षं or द्व्यहं तर्षं गाः पाययति 'having kept the cows thirsty for two days, he makes them drink., That is to say, 'having given them a drink today, he gives them another drink after an interval of two days'; &c.

Why do we say 'after the verbs अस् and तृष्'? Because the affix णमुल् will not be applied after other roots, though the sense be that of interval of time. Thus द्व्यहमुपोष्य भुंक्ते 'having fasted for two days, he eats.'

Why do we say 'when denoting an intermission of action'? Observe अहरत्यस्येषु गतः ; here there is no intermission in the action of 'going.'

Why do we say 'denoting time'? Observe योजनमत्यस्य गाः पाययति 'allowing an interval of eight miles to pass, he gives drink to the cows, *i. e.*, he waters the cows at every eight miles.' Here the interval is that of 'space' and not of 'time,' and hence the affix is ल्यप् and not णमुल् ।

नाम्न्यादिशिग्रहोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नाम्नि, आदिशि-ग्रहोः, (द्वितीयायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नामशब्दे द्वितीयान्त उपपदे आदिशेर्ग्रहेश्च धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

58. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the roots 'âdiś' and 'grah,' when the word 'nâman' (name) in the Accusative, is in composition.

Thus नामादेशमाचष्टे 'he mentions it, telling his name.' नामग्राहं नामाह्वयति 'he calls me by taking my name (*i. e.* by my name).'

अव्ययेऽयथाभिप्रेताख्याने कृञः क्त्वाणमुलौ ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्यये, अयथा-अभिप्रेत-आख्याने, कृञः, क्त्वा-णमुलौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यय उपपदेऽयथाभिप्रेताख्याने गम्यमाने करोतेः क्त्वाणमुलौ भवतः ॥

59. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'ṇamul' come after the root 'kri' (to make), when an Indeclinable word is in composition with it, and the meaning is the communication of anything in a disagreeable or undesired way.

The word अयथाभिप्रेताख्यान means literally 'to denote the expression of that which is not really intended', *i. e.*, a manner not suited to the proper communication of that news, such as communicating a bad news in a loud voice and good news in a low voice. The compounding being optional, the affix क्त्वा may be replaced by ल्यप्. Thus we have three forms' नीचैःकृत्य, नीचैःकृत्वा, or नीचैःकारम्. Thus if one had communicated an agreeable news like the birth of a son in a low voice, the other may retort "किं तर्हि वृषल नीचैः कृत्वा, नीचैः कृत्य or नीचैःकारमाचष्टे"; and so, if one had communicated an unpleasant news as ब्राह्मण कन्याते गर्भिणी in a loud voice, the other may reply "किं तर्हि वृषलोच्चैःकृत्वा, उच्चैः कृत्य, or उच्चैःकारमाचष्टे" । (See II. 2. 22 for compounding.)

Why do we say 'communicating in an undesired manner'? Observe उच्चैःकृत्वाऽऽचष्टे पुत्रस्ते जातः । Here only क्त्वा is added. Why have we repeated क्त्वा in this sûtra, when in this chapter, by the rule of वाऽसरूप (III. 1. 94), *ktvá* would have presented itself in the alternative? The repetition is for the sake of *samasa* or composition, by the application of II. 2. 22. The repetition

of णमुल् is for the sake of the subsequent sutras, into which the anuvritti of *ktvá* and *namul* runs concurrently.

तिर्यच्यपवर्गे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ तिर्यचि, अपवर्गे, (कृञः, क्त्वा-णमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिर्यक्शब्द उपपदे कृञः क्त्वाणमुलौ प्रत्ययौ भवतोऽपवर्गे गम्यमाने ॥

60. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'ṇamul' come after the root 'kṛi,' when the word 'tiryak' is in composition in the sense of 'carrying to the end.'

The word अपवर्ग means 'completing or finishing.' Thus तिर्यक् कृत्य, तिर्यक् कृत्वा ar तिर्यक्कारं गतः = समाप्य गतः 'having compleced, he went away.'

Why do we say 'when meaning completion'? Observe तिर्यक् कृत्वा काष्ठं गतः 'having placed the wood *obliquely*, he went away.' Here णमुल् is not employed. See II. 2. 22 for compounding. The word तिर्यचि is the locative of the *word-form* तिर्यच्, and not of the *word* तिर्यच् । Other examples are: स्वदेाम् (V. 3. 5); अदसो मात् (I. 1. 12).

स्वाङ्गे तस्प्रत्यये कृभ्वोः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गे, तस्-प्रत्यये, कृ भ्वाः, (क्त्वा-णमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्प्रत्यये स्वाङ्गवाचिनि उपपदे करोतेर्भवतेश्च धातोः क्त्वाणमुलौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

61. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'ṇamul' are added to the roots 'kri' (to make) and 'bhû' (to become), in composition with a word denoting a member of one's own body; when the affix 'tas' is joined thereto.

The word स्वाङ्ग has already been defined in sûtra III. 4. 54. The *svánga* word in the present case must be such as should end in the affix तस्— a *taddhita* affix technically called तसि and तसिल् (V. 3. 78 &c). Though here there are two roots कृ and भू, and there are two affixes to be applied, *i. e*, क्त्वा and णमुल; yet the rule of 'respective allocation' (I. 3. 10) does not apply here. Both the affixes are applied to each of the roots. Thus मुखतः कृत्य गतः or मुखतः कृत्वा गतः or मुखतः कारंगतः । Similarly पृष्ठतः भूयः तिष्ठति or पृष्ठतः भूत्वा तिष्ठति or पृष्ठतः भावं तिष्ठति ।

Why do we say 'a word denoting a limb of one's own body'? Observe सर्वतः कृत्वा गतः ।

Why do we say 'ending in the affix तस्'? Observe मुखीकृत्य गतः, मुखीभूय गतः ।

Why do we use the word 'the affix'? If तस् is not an affix, but a verb the rule will not apply. Thus मुखे तस्यति = मुखतः 'throws in the mouth.' With this मुखतः so formed, we cannot apply the rule. Thus मुखतः कृत्वा गतः ।

नाधार्थप्रत्यये च्व्यर्थे ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ना-धा-अर्थ-प्रत्यये, च्वी-अर्थे, (कृभ्वोः, क्त्वा-णमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाधार्थप्रत्यये शब्दे च्व्यर्थउपपदे कृभ्वोर्धात्वोः क्त्वाणमुलौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

62. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'ṇamul' are added to the roots 'kṛi' and bhû', when a word ending in the affix 'nâ' (V. 2. 27) or in an affix having the force of 'dhâ' (V. 3. 42), or having the sense of the affix 'chvi' (to make or to become something with it had not been before, V. 4, 50), is in composition.

Two words नाना 'various' and विना 'without' are formed by the affix ना (V. 2. 27); affixes having the force of धा are धा, ध्यमु, धमु and एधा (V. 3. 42 to 46) which are added to numerals in the sense of 'part' or 'fold' &c. The force of *chvi* has already been explained.

Thus अनाना नाना कृत्वा गतः = नाना कृत्य गतः Similarly नाना कृत्वा or नानाकारं गतः । So also विना कृत्य, विना कृत्वा or विना कारं गतः । So also नाना or विना भूय—भूत्वा or भावं गतः । With words formed by धा and cognate affixes, we have:—द्विधा or द्वैधं कृत्य—कृत्वा—कारं—भूय—भूत्वा or भावं गतः । But not so in हिरुक् कृत्वा, पृथक् कृत्वा ।

Why do we use the word 'affix (प्रत्यय)' in the sûtra? Without it, the sûtra would have run thus: नाधार्थे च्व्यर्थे, and then any word, having the sense of ना, which has the force of 'except', 'various' or the sense of धा which means 'part or fold', when in composition with कृ or भू. would have taken the affix णमुल् and क्त्वा. But that is not so. Thus the words हिरुक् 'except' and पृथक् 'separately' have the sense of ना and धा respectively; as हिरुक्कृत्वा, or पृथक् कृत्वा ।

Why do we say 'when the upapada has the force of the affix *chvi*'? Observe नाना कृत्वा काष्ठानि गतः ।

The word अर्थ in नाधार्थ qualifies only the term धा, and not ना, for there are no other affix having the sense of ना, which is a single affix taught in V. 2. 27; while, as shown above, there are other affixes having the force of धा । The composition optionally takes place by II. 2. 22.

तूष्णीमि भुवः ॥६३॥ पदानि ॥ तूष्णीमि, भुवः, (क्त्वा-णमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तूष्णींशब्दउपपदे भवतेर्धातोः क्त्वाणमुलौ भवतः ॥

63. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'ṇamul' are added to the root 'bhû', when the word 'tûshṇîm' (silently) is in composition.

Thus तूष्णींभूय, तूष्णीं भूत्वा, or तूष्णीभावम् 'having become silent'. The repetition of भू in this sûtra, shows that the anuvṛitti of कृ does not run into it and altogether ceases.

अन्वच्यानुलोम्ये ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्वचि, आनुलोम्ये, (भुवः, क्त्वा-णमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्वक्शब्द उपपदे भवतेर्धातोरानुलोम्ये क्त्वाणमुलौ भवतः ॥

64. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'ṇamul' come after the root 'bhû', when the word 'anvak', in the sense of being favourably disposed, is in composition.

The word आनुलोम्य means 'agreeable, friendly or favourably disposed, or doing according to the wish of another'. Thus अन्वग्भूय—अन्वग्भूत्वा or अन्वग्भावमास्ते 'he is favourably disposed'.

Why do we say 'when meaning friendly'? Observe अन्वग्भूत्वा तिष्ठति 'he remains behind'.

शकधृषज्ञाग्लाघटरभलभक्रमसहार्हास्त्यर्थेषु तुमुन् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक-धृष-ज्ञा-ग्ला-घट-रभ-लभ-क्रम-सह-अर्हा, अस्ति-अर्थेषु, तुमुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शकादिषूपपदेषु अस्त्यर्थेषु च धातुमात्रात् तुमुन्प्रत्ययो भवति ।

65. The affix 'tumun' is added to every verb, when another verb having the sense of 'śak' (to be able), 'dhrish' (to make bold), 'jñâ' (to know, 'glai' (to be wearied), 'ghat' (to strive), 'rabh' (to begin), 'labh' (to get), 'kram' (to set about), 'sah' (to bear), 'arh' (to be pleased or to condescend), and 'as' (to be), is in construction.

The use of the Infinitive in तुमुन् formed by this rule, differs from that given in sûtra III. 3. 10. In that sûtra the Infinitive had the force of 'purpose' and here there is no such force. Moreover in this case there is an *upapada* in consturuction, though that *upapada* is a verb; in rule III. 3. 10, there was no such *upapada*.

Thus शक्नोमि भोक्तुम् 'I am able to eat'. Similarly जानाति—ग्लायति—घटते आरभते—लभते—प्रक्रमते—सहते—अर्हति—अस्ति—भवति—or विद्यते भोक्तुम् 'he knows', he is wearied, he strives, he begins, he gets, he proceeds, he bears, he condescends or he is, to eat'.

This sûtra presents a knotty point. Bhattoji Dikshita says अर्थग्रहणमस्तिनैव सम्बध्यते अनन्तरत्वात् *i. e*, the sûtra gives roots from शक् to अर्ह and roots having the same sense as अस् 'to be'. But this is hardly consistent with the almost overwhelming evidence of usage. According to Dikshita's interpretation, पारय 'to be able' cannot be used with the Infinitive, but न पारयामि निवेदयितुम् (S. 4), पारयिष्यस्यत्रभवत्यनुपरोद्धुम् (M. 3.) are instances from a standard author; similarly विद् 'to know' cannot be used with the Infinitive; but नच वेद सम्यग् द्रष्टुम् न सा (R. VI. 30) is as good an instance. We must, therefore, suppose

that the sûtra indicates the existence of an interpretation connecting अर्थ with all the preceding roots; otherwise we shall have to condemn as wrong, all such constructions as those given above. Taking this view I have interpreted the sûtra, connecting अर्थ with all the above roots.—*Aptes Composition.*

पर्याप्तिवचनेष्वलमर्थेषु ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्याप्ति-वचनेषु, अलम्-अर्थेषु, (तुमुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्याप्तिवचनेष्वलमर्थेषूपपदेषु धातोस्तुमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

66. The affix 'tumun' comes after a verb having in composition with it, 'alam' and its synonyms, when these words express 'to be capable of something.'

The word पर्याप्ति means 'capability, ability, fulness.' Thus लिखितमपि ललाटे प्रोज्झितुम् कः समर्थः (Hitopadesa) 'who is able to avoid that which is stamped on his forehead.' लोकान् अलं दग्धुम् हि तत्तपः (Kumâra II. 56) 'his penance is able to burn the worlds.' अस्ति मे विभवः सर्वं परिज्ञातं, (Vikramorvasi 2) 'I have power to know every thing.' भोक्तुम् प्रवीणः कुशलः पटुर्वा 'skilful in eating.'

Another interpretation of the sûtra is "the affix *tumun* is added to a verb, when it has in composition with it, the word पर्याप्ति or अलम् or a *synonym* of *alam* having the sense of *paryápti.* Thus पर्याप्तो भोक्तुम्, अलं भोक्तुम्, भोक्तुम् पारयति ।

Why do we say 'having the sense of capability'? Observe अलङ्कृत्वा ।

Why do we say 'having the meaning of अलम्'? Observe पर्याप्तम् भुङ्क्ते ।

The word शक् in the preceding sûtra has not the sense of अलम् in that aphorism. With the sense of अलम्, the present sûtra will apply: as शक्यमेवं कर्तुम् ।

कर्तरि कृत् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, कृत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्संज्ञकाः प्रत्ययाः कर्तरि कारके भवन्ति ॥

67. The affixes called 'kṛit' are used in the sense of an agent.

The words formed by *krit* affixes have the sense of agency; when no other special sense has been assigned to them by any rule, then this rule will apply, and fix the force of the affix. This rule will not, therefore, apply to *krit* affixes like ल्युट् (III. 2. 5 and 6) to which a special sense has been assigned, but affixes like ण्वुल् and तृच् &c. (III. 1. 133). Thus कारकः means a 'doer'; कर्ता 'an agent'; नन्दनः 'one who causes happiness'; ग्राही 'who seizes'; पचः who cooks.'

भव्यगेयप्रवचनीयोपस्थानीयजन्याप्लाव्यापात्या वा ॥ ६८ ॥ प० ॥ भव्य-गेय-प्रवचनीय-उपस्थानीय-आप्लाव्य-आपात्याः, वा, (कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भव्यादयः शब्दाः कर्तरि वा निपात्यन्ते ॥

68. The words 'bhavya,' 'geya,' 'pravachaniya,'

'upasthânîya,' 'janya,' 'âplâvya' and 'âpâtya' may optionally be used to denote the agent.

These words are formed by *kritya* affixes and therefore by rule III. 4. 70, they would generally denote an action in the abstract, and the object, but not the agent. The present sûtra, however, makes them denote optionally the agent also. In the alternative they denote the action-name and the *object* also. Thus भव्य may mean 'existed,' 'existence,' or 'one who exists'; गेय means 'a singer,' 'a song,' or 'singing'; प्रवचनीय means 'one who explains,' 'what ought to be explained,' or 'an explanation'; उपस्थानीय means 'who waits upon,' 'what ought to be waited upon or served,' or 'waiting upon or attendance'; जन्य = जायतेऽसौ or जन्यमनेन means 'one who gives birth, *i. e.*, a father,' 'birth' or 'what is born'; आप्लाव्य = आप्लवतेऽसौ or आप्लाव्यमनेन means 'who immerses,' one 'immersing,' or 'what ought to be immersed'; आपात्य = आपतत्यसौ or आपात्यमनेन means 'what falls upon,' 'falling upon,' or 'what ought to fall upon.' Thus गेयो माणवकः साम्नां 'the boy is the singer of the Sâma'; or गेयानि माणवकेन सामानि 'the boy ought to sing the Sâma'; प्रवचनीयो गुरुः स्वाध्यायस्य 'the guru is the expounder of the lesson'; प्रवचनीयो गुरुणा स्वाध्यायः 'the lesson ought to be explained by the teacher'; उपस्थानीयोऽन्तेवासी गुरोः 'the pupil is the servant of the teacher'; उपस्थानी- शिष्येण गुरुः 'the teacher ought to be served by the pupil.'

लः कर्मणि च भावे चाकर्मकेभ्यः ॥६९॥ पदानि ॥ लः, कर्मणि, च, भावे; च, अकर्मकेभ्यः, (कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लकारः कर्मणिकारके भवन्ति, चकारात् कर्तरि च, अकर्मकेभ्यो धातुभ्यो भावे भवन्ति, पुनश्चकारात् कर्तरि च ॥

69 The tense-affixes called 'la' are used in denoting the object and the agent; and after intransitive verbs, they denote the action as well as the agent.

The term ल् means the ten affixes known as लट्, लिट्, &c.; ल् is the common element of them all; and these affixes when stripped of all indicatory letters, leave behind only the letter ल् which is thus common name for them all. The लः in the sûtra, is the nominative plural of ल् । By the word च in the sûtra, we draw in the word कर्ता or 'agent' from the last sûtra into this. The force of these tense-affixes, when placed after transitive verbs is to denote the object and the agent; and when placed after intransitive verbs, is to denote either 'action' (भाव) or it may denote the 'agent.'

The verb itself denotes the action; to be or to do, generally; or to be or to do, in a particular manner. In the active voice the affix marks the agent; in the passive voice of a transitive verb, it marks the object; but in the passive form of an intransitive verb, the action itself. Thus गम्यते ग्रामो देवदत्तेन 'the village is gone to by Devadatta'; here ते of गम्यते denotes the object

and is in passive construction. गच्छति ग्रामं देवदत्तः 'Devadatta goes to the village'; here the affix ति of गच्छति denotes the agent, and the sentence is in active construction. The verb गम् being a transitive verb, can take both the active and passive constructions or, to use the Sanskrit technical phraseology, the tense-affixes, after transitive verbs, denote the agent and the object. They can never denote भाव or action after transitive verbs, that is, transitive verbs cannot be used impersonally. Let us now give examples of Intransitive verbs; आस्यते देवदत्तेन 'it is seated by Devadatta'; the verb आस्यते here denotes merely भाव or 'action.' In other words, we may call this an impersonal construction. आस्ते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sits'; here the verb आस्ते denotes the agent or is in the active voice.

Professor Bohtlingk translates the sûtra thus:—"A finite verb expresses the agent as well as the object; but the Intransitive verbs denote, in addition to that, the Impersonal idea of the action." The word भाव means action considered in the abstract.

तयोरेव कृत्यक्तखलर्थाः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ तयोः, एव, कृत्य-क्त-खलर्थाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तयोरेव भावकर्मणोः कृत्यसंज्ञकाः क्तखलार्थाश्च प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

70. The affixes called 'kṛitya' and the affix 'kta' and those that have the sense of 'khal,' have only these last two senses, namely, an action and an object (bhâva and karma).

The word तयोः 'of those two' refers to भाव 'an Impersonal act,' and कर्म, 'object.' The word एव 'only' is used in the sûtra to exclude the word 'agent' from it. Thus कर्तव्यः कटो भवता 'the mat must be made by you'; भोक्तव्यः ओदनो भवता 'the rice must be eaten by you.' Here the affix तव्य has the force of denoting the object; we may, therefore, call it the Potential Passive Participle affix. So also आशितव्यं भवता 'thou must eat'; शयितव्यं भवता 'thou must lie down.' Here the sense of the affix तव्य being that of the action itself, which being Impersonal, is in the singular number, as it is one only, and neither male nor female, there is, from the nature of the case, a singular affix, and the neuter gender is employed.

Similarly the affix क्त denotes both the object and the action; कृतः कटो भवता 'the mat is made by you'; भुक्त ओदनो भवता 'the rice is eaten by you.' Here त is used with the force of denoting the object and may be called the past passive participle.

Similarly त may be used in denoting the mere act; आसितं भवता 'you sat'; शयितं भवता 'you lay down.'

Similarly the affixes having the sense of खल् (III. 3. 126) denote both

the object and the Impersonal act. In the following examples the affixes denote the object; ईषत्करः कटो भवता 'this mat is made, by little at a time, by you'; सुकरः 'what is made with ease'; दुष्करः 'what is made with difficulty.' In the following examples the affixes denote the act. ईषदाढ्यंभव भवता and स्वाढ्यंभवं भवता।

After transitive verbs, the *kritya* the *kta* and the *khalartha* affixes only denote the object, but never denote the भाव or 'an Impersonal action.'

आदिकर्मणि क्तः कर्तरि च ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-कर्मणि, क्तः, कर्तरि, च, (भावे, कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिकर्मणि यः क्तो विहितः स कर्तरि भवति, चकारात् यथाप्राप्तं भावकर्मणोः ॥

71. The affix 'kta' also denotes the agent, when it expresses a beginning of an action.

The word आदिकर्मणि means 'the beginning of an action' or when the action signified by the roots, is intended to be expressed merely as having been simply begun. The force of च in the sûtra is to indicate that even when the beginning of an action is intended to be expressed, the क्त may be used to denote the act and the object as well. Thus प्रकृतः कटं देवदत्तः here the agent is dencted प्रकृतः कटो देवदत्तेन; here the object is denoted. प्रकृतम् देवदत्तेन; here mere action is denoted, Similarly प्रभुक्त ओदनं देवदत्तः (agent); प्रभुक्त ओदनो देवदत्तेन (object); प्रभुक्तं देवदत्तेन (act),

गत्यर्थाकर्मकश्लिषशीङ्स्थासवसजनरुहजीर्यतिभ्यश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्यर्थ-अकर्मक-श्लिष-शीङ्-स्था-आस-वस-जन-रुह-जीर्यतिभ्यः, च, (क्तः, कर्तरि, भावे, कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽकर्मकेभ्यः श्लिषादिभ्यश्च यः क्तः स कर्तरि भवति, चकाराद्यथाप्राप्तं च भावकर्मणोः ॥

72. The affix 'kta' is employed in denoting the agnet as well as the act and the object, after verbs implying motion, after intransitive roots, and after the verbs 'ślish' (to embrace), 'śi' (to lie down), 'sthâ' (to stand), 'âs' (to sit), 'vas' (to dwell), 'jan' (to produce), 'ruh' (to mount) and 'jṛi' (to grow old).

The phrase 'the act and the object' has been added into the sûtra by virtue of the word च. Thus गतो देवदत्तो ग्रामम् 'Devadatta is gone to the village' (agent); देवदत्तेन ग्रामः गतः 'the village was gone to by Devadatta (object); गतं देवदत्तेन 'Devadatta went' (act). The past participle forms from Intransitive verbs denote the agent and the act only; or in other words, they are used impersonally and in the Active voice, but never in the Passive voice or denoting the object. Thus ग्लानो भवान् 'you were wearied' (agent), ग्लानं भवता (object); आसितो

भवान् 'you sat' (agent), आसितं भवता (object); उपश्लिष्टो गुरुम् भवान् 'you embraced the teacher' (agent), उपश्लिष्टो गुरुः भवता 'the guru was embraced by you' (object), उपश्लिष्टम् भवता 'you embraced' (act); उपशयितो गुरुम् भवान् 'you lay near the guru' (agent), उपशयितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपशयितं भवता (act); उपस्थितो गुरुम् भवान् (agent), उपस्थितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपस्थितं भवता (act); उपासितो गुरुम् भवान् (agent), उपासितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपासितं भवता (act); अनूषितो गुरुम् भवान् (agent), अनूषितो गुरुः भवता (object), अनूषितं भवता (act); अनुजातो माणवको माणविकाम् (agent), अनुजाता माणवकेन माणविका (object), अनुजातं माणवकेन (act); आरूढो वृक्षं भवान् (agent), आरूढो वृक्षो भवता (object), आरूढं भवता (act); अनुजीर्णो वृषलीं देवदत्तः (agent), अनुजीर्णा वृषली देवदत्तेन (object), अनुजीर्णं देवदत्तेन (act). The verbs श्लिष् &c, become transitive with certain prepositions or *upasargas*, hence they have been mentioned here. Otherwise there was no necessity of mentioning them separately; as they, being intransitive verbs, when without prepositions, would be Included in the word *akarmaka* of the sûtra.

दाशगोघ्नौ संप्रदाने ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाश-गोघ्नौ, संप्रदाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाशगोघ्नौ शब्दौ सम्प्रदाने कारके निपात्येते ॥

73. The word 'dâśa' and 'goghna' are irregularly formed, and the affix in these denotes the idea of the Dative or Recipient.

The word दाश comes from the root दाशृ 'to give' by adding the affix अच् under rule III. 1. 134. This being a कृदन्त word would have otherwise denoted the agent by rule III. 4. 67 of this chapter. The present sûtra makes it denote the recipient or have the force of the dative case. Thus दाश means 'to whom somethiing is given *i. e.* a servant'. Similarly *goghna* does not mean 'the killer of cow' but 'he on whose coming the cow is killed in order to give him, that is to say, a guest'. It is this irregularly-formed word *goghna* which is made applicable to the priests, guests, sons-in-law &c, and not the regularly-formed word *goghna* which means 'a killer of cow' or a 'Chandâl'. Thus दाशः = दाशन्ति तस्मै; गोघ्नः = तस्मै दातुं गां घ्नन्ति ॥

भीमादयोऽपादाने ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भीम-आदयः, अपादाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भीमादयः शब्दा अपादाने निपात्यन्ते ॥

74. The words 'bhîma' &c. are irregularly formed and denote ablation.

These words are formed by *Unâdi* affixes. Thus भी + मक् = भीम (Uṇ. 1. 145, 148); भी + षुक् + मक् = भीष्म (Uṇ. I. 148) &c. By the next sûtra, *Unádi* words do not denote ordinarily the recepient and the ablation.

The present sûtra makes them do so in the case of भीमादि words. The following is a list of Bhimâdi words :—भीमः, भीष्मः, भयानकः (Uṇ. III. 82), वरुः, भूरुः,

(Uṇ. I. 7), भूमिः (Uṇ. IV. 45), रजः (Uṇ. IV. 217), संस्कारः, संक्रन्दनः, समुद्रः, स्रुचः, or स्रुवः (Un. II. 61), स्रुक् (Un. II. 62) खबतिः ।

ताभ्यामन्यत्रोणादयः ॥७५॥ पदानि॥ ताभ्यां, अन्यत्र, उणादयः॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उणादयः शब्दास्ताभ्यामपादानसंप्रदानाभ्यामन्यत्र कारके भवन्ति ॥

75. The words formed by 'Uṇâdi' affixes denote other ideas than these two, i. e., recepient and ablation.

The *Unádi* affixes being a subdivision of *krit* affixes, would have, by rule III. 4. 67, denoted the agent. By the present sûtra they are made to denote the object, the instrument and the location also. The word ताभ्यां has been used in the sûtra in order to include the word *sampradána* also. For had the sûtra been अन्यत्रोणादयः, only the *Apádna káraka* would have been excluded, as being the nearest; but not so the *Sampardána káraka*. Thus कृषितोऽसौ = कृषिः (Uṇ. IV. 120) ,agriculture *i. e.* what is ploughed' (object); तन्यत इति = तन्तुः Uṇ. I. 69) 'a thread *i. e.* what is drawn out', वृत्तमिति वर्त्म (Un. IV. 145) 'a way *i. e.* what is established'; चरितं = चर्म (Un. IV. 145) 'skin' (in which they live).

क्तोऽधिकरणे च ध्रौव्यगतिप्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥

क्तः, अधिकरणे, च, ध्रौव्य-गति-प्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः, (क्तः, भावे,कर्मणि,कर्तरि)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ध्रौव्यगतिप्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यो यः क्तो विहितः सोऽधिकरणे भवति चकाराद्यथाप्राप्तं च ॥ ध्रौव्यार्थेभ्यः कर्तृभावाधिकरणेषु, गत्यर्थेभ्यः कर्तृकर्मभावाधिकरणेषु, प्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः कर्मभावाधिकरणेषु ।

76. The affix 'kta' which is ordained after roots denoting fixedness (to cling to a place), motion and taking, gives the sense of location as well.

The verbs denoting ध्रौव्य or 'persisting in a place' are Intransitive verbs. Tne word *pratyavasâna* means 'eating' also; the force of च in the sûtra is that the affix *kta* expresses other relations also. Thus after verbs denoting 'fixedness' or *dhrauvyártha* it denotes the agent, the act and the location; after verbs denoting 'motion' it gives the sense of agent, object, act and location; after verbs denoting 'taking or eating', it has the sense of object, act and location. Thus आसितो देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sat'; आसितम् तेन 'sitting by him (act); इदमेषामासितम् 'this was their seat' (location); यातो देवदत्तो ग्रामम् 'Devadatta went to the village' (active); यातो देवदत्तेन ग्रामः (passive); यातं देवदत्तेन (abstract); इदमेषां यातम् 'this is their place of going' (location); भुक्त ओदनो देवदत्तेन (passive); भुक्त ओदनं देवदत्तः (active); देवदत्तेन भुक्तम् (abstract); इदमेषां भुक्तम् location); कथं भुक्ता ब्राह्मणाः । पीता गावः । The आ in भुक्ता and पीता has the force of मतुप् (IV. 2. 85) भुक्तमेषामस्ति or पीतमेषामस्ति ।

लस्य ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लस्येत्ययमधिकारः, यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामो लस्येत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

77. In the place of 'la' will be substituted the affixes which we shall announce hereafter.

Thus sûtra consists of one word लस्य meaning 'of ल'. It is an *adhikára* sutra. The word लस्य is the genitive singular of ल, the अ in ल being for the sake of pronunciation. The ल means the ten affixes: लट् present, लिट् perfect, लुट् first future, लृट् second future, लोट् imperative लेट् Vedic subjunctive, लङ् imperfect, लिङ् potential and benedictive, लुङ् aorist, लृङ् conditional. Six of these tenses have indicatory ट्, and four have indicatory ङ् ।

Professor Bohtlingk translates this sûtra thus :—In the following sûtras the word लस्य should be supplied to complete the sense, *i. e.*, the phrase 'in the place of all those endings which are known as the Personal endings of various tenses and moods, and are known in their totality as ल' ।

तिप्तस्झिसिप्थस्थमिब्वस्मस्तातांझथासाथांध्वमिड्वहिमहिङ् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिप्-तस्-झि-सिप्-थस्-थ-मिप्-वस्-मस्-त-आताम्-झ-थास्-आथाम्-ध्वम्-इट्-वहि-महिङ्, (लस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लस्य तिबादय आदेशा भवन्ति ॥

78. The following are the substitutes of 'la':—'tip,' 'tas,' 'jhi'; 'sip,' 'thas,' 'tha'; 'mip,' 'vas,' 'mas'; 'ta,' 'âtâm', 'jha'; 'thâs,' âthâm,' 'dhvam'; 'it,' 'vahi,' mahin.

These are the well-known Conjugational-affixes, called also Personal endings, and are ordained generally after all the ten tenses. But as a matter of fact, they undergo various additions and alterations in the different tenses. Some of these changes have already been mentioned before; see sûtra II. 4. 85, III. 1. 33, &c. Others will be mentioned hereafter. It is only in the present tense or लट् that the affixes as above given, may be applied to the root, in some cases, without any alteration

The प in तिप्, सिप् and मिप् is for the sake of accent (III. 1. 4); the ट् in इट् for distinguishing it in the sutra इटोऽत् (III. 4. 106); and the ङ in महिङ् for forming the *Pratyáhára* तिङ् which is the general name of the above 18 conjugational or personal affixes. Stripped off their indicatory letters, the following table shows the conjugational affixes as added under various tenses :—

PRESENT TENSE.—लट् ।

	Parasmaipada.			Atmanepada.		
	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st. pers.	मि	वस्	मस्	ए	वहे	महे
2nd. ,,	सि	थस्	थ	से	आथे	ध्वे
3rd. ,,	ति	तस्	अन्ति	ते	आते	अन्ते

IMPERFECT OR FIRST PRETERITE.—लङ् ।

	Parasmaipada. Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	Atmanepada. Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st. pers.	अम्	व	म	इ	वहि	महि
2nd. ,,	स्	तम्	त	थास्	आथाम्	ध्वम्
3rd. ,,	त्	ताम्	अन्	त	आताम्	अन्त

POTENTIAL OR OPTATIVE.—विधिलिङ् ।

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st. pers.	याम्	याव	याम	ईय	ईवहि	ईमहि
2nd. ,,	यास्	यातम्	यात	ईथास्	ईयाथाम्	ईध्वम्
3rd. ,,	यात्	याताम्	युस्	ईत	ईयाताम्	ईरन्

IMPERATIVE.—लोट् ।

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st. pers.	आनि	आव	आम	ऐ	आवहै	आमहै
2nd. ,,	हि	तम्	त	स्व	आथाम्	ध्वम्
3rd. ,,	तु	ताम्	अन्तु	ताम्	आताम्	अन्ताम्

PERFECT OR SECOND PRETERITE.—लिट् ।

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st. pers.	अ	व	म	ए	वहे	महे
2nd. ,,	थ	अथुस्	अ	से	आथे	ध्वे
3rd. ,,	अ	अतुस्	उस्	ए	आते	इरे

FIRST FUTURE OR DEFINITE FUTURE.—लुट् ।

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st. pers.	तास्मि	तास्वस्	तास्मस्	ताहे	तास्वहे	तास्महे
2nd. ,,	तासि	तास्थस्	तास्थ	तासे	तासाथे	ताध्वे
3rd. ,,	ता	तारौ	तारस्	ता	तारौ	तारस्

SECOND FUTURE OR INDEFINITE FUTURE.—लृट् ।

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st. pers.	स्यामि	स्यावस्	स्यामस्	स्ये	स्यावहे	स्यामहे
2nd. ,,	स्यसि	स्यथस्	स्यथ	स्यसे	स्येथे	स्यध्वे
3rd. ,,	स्यति	स्यतस्	स्यन्ति	स्यते	स्येते	स्यन्ते

AORIST OR THIRD PRETERITE.—लुङ् ।

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st. pers.	सम्	स्व	स्म	सि	स्वहि	स्महि
2nd. ,,	सीस्	स्तम्	स्त	स्थास्	साथाम्	ध्वम्
3rd. ,,	सीत्	स्ताम्	सुस्	स्त	साताम्	सत

PRECATIVE OR BENEDICTIVE.—आशीर्लिङ् ।

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st. pers.	यासम्	यास्व	यास्म	सीय	सीवहि	सीमहि
2nd. ,,	यास्	यास्तम्	यास्त	सीष्ठास्	सीयास्थाम्	सीध्वम्
3rd. ,,	यात्	यास्ताम्	यासुस्	सीष्ट	सीयास्ताम्	सीरन्

CONDITIONAL.—लृङ् ।

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st. pers.	स्यम्	स्याव	स्याम	स्ये	स्यावहि	स्यामहि
2nd. ,,	स्यस्	स्यतम्	स्यत	स्यथास्	स्येथाम्	स्यध्वम्
3rd, ,,	स्यत्	स्यताम्	स्यन्	स्यत	स्येताम्	स्यन्त

टित आत्मनेपदानां टेरे ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ टितः, आत्मनेपदानाम्, टेः, ए, (लस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ टितो लकारस्य स्थाने यान्यात्मनेपदानि तेषां टेरेकारादेशो भवति ॥

79. The substitute 'e' replaces the last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, of the 'Atmanepada' substitutes of that 'la' which has an indicatory 'ṭ.'

The ल or the tense-affixes that have an indicatory ट are six :—लट्, लिट्, लुट्, लृट्, लोट्, लेट्। In these tenses the final portion called टि of the Atmanepada affixes is changed into ए। Thus त becomes ते, आताम् becomes आते, झ becomes झे &c, as shown in the foregoing table.

The affixes शानच्, and कानच् are also Atmanepada affixes. Why are not their finals changed into ए as in पचमानः, यजमानः ? Because the word आत्मनेपदानां in the sutra refers by context to the Atmanepada affixes included in the pratyâhâra तिङ्।

थासस्से ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ थासः, से, (लस्य, टितः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ टितो लकारस्य यस्थासस्तस्य सेशब्द आदेशो भवति ॥

80. The word 'se' is the substitute of 'thâs' in those tenses that have an indicatory 'ṭ.'

In the six tenses already mentioned in the last sutra, the Atmanepada थास् is replaced by से, as we have already shown in the preceding table. Thus पचसे, पेचिषे, पक्तासे, पक्ष्यसे।

लिटस्तझयोरेशिरेच् ॥८१॥पदानि॥ लिटः, त-झयोः, एश्, इरेच्॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिडादेशयोस्तझयोर्यथासंख्यमेश् इरेच् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

81. The words 'eś' and 'irech' are the substitutes of 'ta' and 'jha' respectively in the Perfect tense.

The श् of एश् indicates that it replaces the whole of the affix त (I. 1. 55) The च् of इरेच् is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 165). Thus पेचे, पेचाते पेचिरे। See the foregoing table of tenses for the Atmanepada.

परस्मैपदानां णलतुसुस्थलथुसणल्वमाः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्मैपदानां, णल्-अतुस्-उस्-थल्-अथुस्-अ-णल्-व-माः, (लिटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिडादेशानां परस्मैपदसंज्ञकानां यथासंख्यं तिबादीनां णलादयो नवादेशा भवन्ति ॥

82. In the room of the Parasmaipada affixes, the following are substituted in the Perfect tense:

Sing	ṇal (अ)	thal (थ)	ṇal (अ)
Dual.	atus (अतुः)	athus (अथुः)	va (व)
Plural.	us (उः)	a (अ)	ma (म)

The indicatory ल् in णल् and थल् is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 193). The indicatory ण् is for the sake of causing वृद्धि (VII. 2. 25.) Thus पपाच, पेचतुः, पेचुः, पेचिथ or पपक्थ, पेचथुः, पेच, पपाच or पपच, पेचिव पेचिम ।

विदो लटो वा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदः, लटः, वा,(परस्मैपदानां, णलतुसुस्थलथुसणल्वमाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद ज्ञाने, अस्माद्धातोः परेषां लडादेशानां परस्मैपदानां णलादयो नव विकल्पेनादेशा भवन्ति ॥

83. The above nine affixes of the Perfect tense are optionally added in the Present tense also after the verb 'vid.'

Thus:—

Singular.	वेद or वेत्ति	वेत्थ or वेत्सि	वेद or वेद्मि
Dual.	विदतुः or वित्तः	विदथुः or वित्थः	विद्व or विद्वः
Plural.	विदुः or विदन्ति	विद or वित्थ	विद्म or विद्मः

ब्रुवः पञ्चानामादित आहो ब्रुवः ॥८४॥पदानि॥ ब्रुवः, पञ्चानाम्, आदितः, आहः, ब्रुवः, (परस्मैपदानां, णलतुसुस्थल०, लटः, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रुवः परस्य लटः परस्मैपदानां पंचानामादिभूतानां पंचैव णलादय आदेशा भवन्ति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च ब्रु व आहयब्द आदेशो भवति ॥

84. Instead of the first five tense-affixes, in the Present tense coming after the verb 'brû' (to speak), there may optionally be the affixes of the Perfect; 'âha' being, at the same time, the substitute in the room of 'brû.'

Thus आह 'he says'; आहतुः 'they two say'; आहुः 'they say'; आत्थ thou sayst'; आहथुः 'you two say'; the rest like ब्रू as shown below :—

Singular.	आह or ब्रवीति	आत्थ or ब्रवीषि	ब्रवीमि
Dual.	आहतुः or ब्रूतः	आहथुः or ब्रूथः	ब्रूवः
Plural.	आहुः or ब्रुवन्ति	ब्रूथ	ब्रूमः

The word आदितः 'first' is used in the sûtra to indicate that the substitution should not take place in the case of the last four affixes. The repetition of the word ब्रुवः in the sûtra indicates the original expression which is to be replaced; and shows that this change occurs in the Parasmaipada affixes only.

लोटो लङ्वत् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोटः, लङ्वत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोटो लङ्वत्कार्यं भवति ॥

85. The personal endings of the Imperative are as those of the Imperfect.

This is an अतिदेश sutra; as in the लङ् there are the affixes ताम्, तम्, त, व and म, so also in the लोट्। Thus पचताम्, पचतम्, पचत, पचाव, पचाम ।

Q—If लोट् is like लङ्, why have we not the augment अट्, आट्, or the substitution of जुस् for झि (see III. 4. 111) in the case of लोट् also?

A.—The वा of sûtra III. 4. 83 is understood in this sûtra also, so that the analogy between लोट् and लङ् is a limited analogy and does not make all the rules which are applicable to लङ्, equally applicable to लोट् also.

एरुः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, उः, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोडादेशानामि कारस्य उकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हिन्योरुत्वप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

86, In the Imperative, 'u' is substituted for 'i'.

Thus ति becomes तु, अन्ति becomes अन्तु as have already been given in the above table.

Vârt.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of affixes हि and नि of लोट्। In the case of these two affixes, the इ is not changed into उ, either because they have been so taught in the sûtras, or because the वा of sûtra III. 4. 83 is understood here also and makes this rule an optional rule of limited scope as in the last sûtra (व्यवस्थित विभाषा). Thus पचतु, पचन्तु।

In fact, this sûtra is confined to ति and न्ति only, and does not apply to सि to which the next sûtra applies.

सेर्ह्यपिच्च ॥ ८७ ॥ सेः, हि, अपित्, च, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोडादेशस्य सेर्हि इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

87. In the Imperative, 'hi' is substituted for 'si', and this has not the indicatory 'p' of 'sip', i. e., it is acutely accented.

The substitute being like the original expression (I. 1. 56), हि substituted for सिप् would have been a पित् affix, but for this sûtra, which clearly states in its latter portion that this हि is not to be regarded as having an indicatory प।

Thus लुनीहि पुनीहि, राध्नुहि, तक्ष्णुहि; and as this affix is अपित्, rule I. 2. 4 makes it ङित् also, and thereby no guṇa takes place.

वा छन्दसि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, छन्दसि, (सेर्ह्यपित्, लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदेशश्छन्दसि विषये हिशब्दो वाऽपिद्भवति ॥

88. In the Vedas, the substitute 'hi' is optionally treated as not having an indicatory 'p'

The result is that in the Chhandas the second person singular of लोट् has two forms as प्रीणाहि or प्रीणीहि; युयुधि or युयोधि, धि being substituted for हि in the Vedas, by rule (VI. 4. 103) as in the following verse:

अग्ने नय सुपथा राये अस्मान्विश्वानि देव वयुनानि विद्वान् ।

युयोध्यस्मज्जुहुराणमेनो भूयिष्ठां ते नमउक्तिं विधेम ॥

—Rig 1. 189. 1: Yajur Veda. 40. 16.

मेर्निः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मेः, निः, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोडादेशस्य मेर्निरादेशो भवति ॥

89. In the Imperative, 'ni' is substituted for the affix 'mi'.

This supersedes the rule relating to the change of इ into उ, and the rule of *lopa*; see the table; thus पचानि, पठानि ।

आमेतः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ आम्, एतः, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट् सम्बन्धिन एकारस्य आमित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

90. In the Imperative 'âm' is substituted for what would have substituted otherwise 'e' by III 4. 79.

This relates to the Atmanepada affix ए. In the Atmanepada, आम् is substituted for ए in the Imperative; see the table; पचताम्, पचेताम्. पचन्ताम् ।

सवाभ्यां वामौ ॥९१॥ प० ॥ स-वाभ्यां, व-अमौ, (लोटः, एतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारवकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य लोट् सम्बन्धिन एकारस्य यथासंख्यं व अम इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

91. For such an 'e' coming after 's', is substituted 'v', and for that coming after 'v', is substituted 'am', in the Imperative.

This supersedes the आम् substitution of the last sûtra. Thus, for से we have स्व, and for ध्वे we have ध्वम्; see the table; thus पचस्व, पचध्वम् ।

आडुत्तमस्य पिच्च ॥९२॥ पदानि ॥ आट्, उत्तमस्य, पित्, च (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट् सम्बन्धिन उत्तमपुरुषस्याडागमो भवति स चोत्तमपुरुषः पिद्भवति ॥

92. In the Imperative 'âṭ' is the augment of the affixes the first person and the termination is as if it had an indicatory 'p'.

This is clear. Thus in the Parasmaipada, we have आनि, आव, आम । Thus करवाणि, करवाव, करवाम; करवै, करवावहै, करवामहै ।

एत ऐ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतः, ऐः, (लोटः, उत्तमस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोडुत्तमसम्बन्धिन एकारस्य ऐकारादेशो भवति ॥

93. The 'ai' is substituted for 'e' forming part of the affixes of the first person of the Imperative.

This relates to the Atmanepada affix. Thus करवै, करवावहै, करवामहै ।

But the ए resulting from sandhi, is not to be changed into ऐ । Thus पचाव + इदम् = पचावेदम्, पचाम + इदम् = पचामेदम् । Here, no doubt, the ए belongs to the Imperative by VI. 1. 85, being the substitute of अ of म and इ. But this is not to be changed into ऐ on the maxim that this ए is the result of a बहिरङ्ग rule, for

the rule of sandhi (VI. 1. 87), is a बहिरङ्ग rule, while the present sûtra is an अन्तरङ्ग rule; because of the following Paribhâshâ, असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे 'that which is Bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect, when an Antaranga rule is to be applied.

लेटो ऽडाटौ ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लेटः, अट्-आटौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेटोऽडाटावागमौ भवतः पर्यायेण ॥

94. The augments 'aṭ' and 'âṭ' are added to the personal endings of the Vedic Subjunctive.

The augments अट् and आट् are not to be added at once, but by turns. Thus जुष् + सिप् + अट् + त = जोषिषत्; तारिषत्; मन्दिषत्; similarly पत् + आट् + ति = पताति; च्यावयाति । See III. 1. 34 for the addition of सिप् in one above.

आत ऐ ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, ऐ, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट् सम्बन्धिन आकारस्य ऐकारादेशो भवति ॥

95. In the Subjunctive, 'ai' is the substitute of 'â' in the first and second person dual of the Atmanepada.

Thus मन्त्रयैते, मन्त्रयैथे, करवैते, करवैथे । Why is not the augment आट् changed into ऐ? Because otherwise the rule enjoining आट् would be superfluous.

वैतोऽन्यत्र ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, एतः, अन्यत्र, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट् सम्बन्धिन एकारस्य वा ऐकारादेशो भवति अन्यत्रेत्यनन्तरो विधिरपेक्ष्यते । आत ऐ इत्येतद्विषयं वर्जयित्वा एत ऐ भवति ॥

96. In the Subjunctive, 'ai' is optionally the substitute of 'e' in other places than those mentioned in the last sûtra.

Thus सयै, ईशै, &c, in the following examples:—सप्ताहानि शयै, अहमेव पशूनामीशै, मदया इव वो ग्रहा गृह्यान्तै, यद्वैवत्यान्येव वः पात्राण्युच्यान्तै । And in the alternative we have simply ए, as यत्र क्व च ते मनो दक्षं दधस उत्तरम् ।

Why do we say 'in other places than those governed by the last sûtra'? Observe मन्त्रयैते, मन्त्रयैथे ।

इतश्च लोपः परस्मैपदेषु ॥९७॥ पदानि॥ इतः, च, लोपः, परस्मैपदेषु, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट् संबंधिन इकारस्य परस्मैपदविषयस्य लोपो भवति वानुवृत्तेः पक्षे श्रवणमपि भवति ॥

97. In the Parasmaipada affixes the 'i' is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

The वा of the last sûtra is understood here also. Thus जोषिषत् (Rig. II. 35. 1). तारिषत् (Rig. I. 25. 12). मन्दिषत् । In the alternative, it is not elided as पताति विद्युत (Rig. VII. 25. 1). उदधिं च्यावयाति । The इ of इट्, वहि and महि of the Atmanepada are not elided.

स उत्तमस्य ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, उत्तमस्य, (लेटः, वा, लोपः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट् सम्बन्धिन उत्तमपुरुषस्य सकारस्य वा लोपो भवति ॥

98. The 's' of the first person is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

As करवाव or करवावः, करवाम or करवामः। The first person is used in the sûtra to indicate that the स् is not elided in any other person.

नित्यं ङितः॥९९॥पदानि॥ नित्यं, ङितः, (लस्य, उत्तमस्य, सः, लोपः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङितो लकारस्य य उत्तमस्तस्य नित्यं सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

99. There is always elision of the 's' of the first person of the affixes that come in the room of that 'la' which has an indicatory 'ṅ.'

The tense-affixes having indicatory ङ् are four, namely, लङ्, लिङ्, लुङ् and लृङ्। In their case, the elision of स् is not optional as was the case in the last sûtra, but compulsory. See the table already given. In other words, in the Imperfect, Potential, Aorist and Conditional, the स् is elided in the 1st person. Thus अपचाव, अपचाम। The word नित्यं 'always' is used in order to stop the anuvritti of the word 'optionally.'

इतश्च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, च, (ङितः, नित्यं, लोपः,लस्य)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङिल्लकारसम्बन्धिन इकारस्य नित्यं लोपो भवति ॥

100. And there is elision of the 'i' of that Parasmaipada affix which is the substitute of a 'la' having an indicatory 'ṅ.'

Thus, for ति we have त्, for सि we have स्, &c, as in the above table. The इ of Atmanepada is, however, not elided,-because the anuvritti of Parasmaipada is understood here from sûtra III. 4. 97. Thus अपचत्, अपाक्षीत्, but अपचावहि and अपचामहि।

तस्थस्थमिपां तान्तंतामः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्-थस्-थ-मिपाम्, तां-तं-त-आमः, (ङितः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङिल्लकारसम्बन्धिनां चतुर्णां यथासंख्यं तामादय आदेशा भवन्ति ॥

101. The affixes 'tâm,' 'tam,' 'ta' and 'âm' are the substitutes of the four affixes 'tas,' 'thas,' 'tha' and 'mip' respectively, of any 'la' which has an indicatory 'ṅ.'

This we have shown in the above table. Thus अपचताम्, अपचतम्, अपचत, अपचम्, अपाक्ताम्, अपाक्तम्, अपाक्त, अपाक्षम्।

लिङस्सीयुट् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङः, सीयुट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशानां सीयुडागमो भवति ॥

102. The personal endings of the Potential and the Benedictive take the augment 'sîyuṭ'.

The ट् of सीयुट् is indicatory and shows that this augment is to be placed before the affixes (I. 1. 46). The उ is for the sake of pronunciation; this rule applies to the Atmanepada affixes. In the Potential, the स् of this augment is elided by VII. 2. 79, and the य् also, before a personal-ending beginning with a consonant, is dropped according to VI. 1. 66. In this way, we have पचेत, पचेयाताम्, and by III. 4. 105, पचेरन् । In the Benedictive, the augment retains its full form, only so far as it is not geverned by VI. 1. 66. Thus पक्षीट, पक्षीयास्ताम् पक्षीरन् ।

यासुट् परस्मैपदेषूदात्तो ङिच्च ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यासुट्, परस्मै-पदेषु, उदात्तः, ङित्, च, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्मैपदविषयस्य लिङो यासुडागमो भवति सीयुटोऽपवादः सचोदात्तो भवति, ङिच्च॥

103. When the Parasmaipada affixes of the Potential follow, then 'yâsuṭ' acutely accented, is their augment, and the termination is regarded as having an indicatory 'ṅ'.

The debars सीयुट्; the उट् of यासुट् is indicatory; the real augment is यास्. All augments being anudâtta, the present sûtra therefore especially uses the word udâtta to show that this augment is an exception to the general rule. Though लिङ् has an indicatory ङ्, and therefore by the rule I. 1. 56, its substitutes would also be regarded as having an indicatory ङ्, the repetition of the word ङित् in this sûtra shows the existence of the paribhâshâ "that the ङ् belonging to ल does not influence its substitutes;" in other words, the substitutes of लङ्, लिङ्, लुङ् and लृङ् are not to be regarded as having an indicatory ङ् (लकाराश्रयङित्वमादेशानां न भवति). In the Potential, the स् of यासुट् is elided by VII. 2. 79. So we get the forms कुर्यात्, कुर्याताम्, and by applying III. 4. 108 and VI. 1. 96, कुर्युस् । For the Benedictive लिङ् the following sûtra applies.

किदाशिषि ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कित्, आशिषि, (लिङः, यासुट्, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि यो लिङ् तस्य यासुडागमो भवति सचोदात्तः किद्वद्भवति ॥

104. The augment 'yâsuṭ' comes after that 'liṅ' also which denotes benediction, and it is acutely accented, and the substitutes of this 'liṅ' are as if they had an indicatory 'k'.

The कित् of this sûtra refers to the personal affixes of the Benedictive mood and not to the augment यासुट्, for that would have been unnecessary

being already ङित् by the last rule. ङित् and ञित् are equal in prohibiting guṇa and vṛiddhi, but ङित् is distinguished from ञित् inasmuch as ङित् causes the guṇa of जागृ (VII. 3. 85), and also there is distinction between them with regard to the change of semi-vowel to vowel (VI. 1. 15 and 16). Thus इष्यात् इष्यास्ताम्, इष्यासुः, and जागर्यात्, जागर्यास्ताम् and जागर्यासुः। In the Potential, वच्यात् (no samprasâraṇa); in the Benedictive, उच्यात् (vocalisation). So also जागृयात् in the Potential.

झस्य रन् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ झस्य, रन्, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झस्य लिङादेशस्य रन्नित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

105. The affix 'ran' is the substitute of 'jha' in the 'Liṅ' (Potential and Benedictive).

The झ in other places, is replaced generally by अन्त (VII. 1. 3.), but in लिङ्, it is replace by रन्। Thus पचेरन्, यजेरन्, कृषीरन्।

इटोऽत् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इटः, अत्, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशस्य इटोऽदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

106. Short 'a' is the substitute of 'i' of the Atmanepada first person singular in the Potential and Benedictive.

Thus पचेय, यजेय, कृषीय, हृषीय।

Q.—In the sûtra, the word अत् is used, and the final त् belongs to the विभक्ति, therefore by rule I. 3. 4, this त् is not indicatory; why is it made so?

A.—This त is not any portion or member of the substitute अत्; it is added to अ merely for the sake of euphony.

The इट् refers to the आत्मनेपद affix of the first person singular; and not to the augment इट् on the strength of the maxim अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य। A combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning denotes whenever it is employed in grammar, that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote the same combination of letters void of a meaning.

सुट् तिथोः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुट्, ति-थोः, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ् संबन्धिनोस्तकारथकारयोः सुडागमो भवति ॥

107. The augment 'suṭ' is added to the affixes 'ta' and 'tha' when part of the affixes of the Potential and Benedictive.

The letters त and थ are the objects to which the augment सुट् is to be added; provided that the त and थ are the initial of the affixes employed in लिङ्।

The augment सीयुट् is applied to लिङ् as such; in other words, लिङ् is

there the आगमी, but in the case of सुट्, सिट् is not the आगमी, but त and थ are the आगमी । The scope of सीयुट् and सुट् being thus different, one does not debar the other.

In the sutra, the word ति is used; the इ of ति is merely for the sake of pronunciation, Thus कृषीट, कृषीयास्ताम् कृषीरन्, कृषीष्ठाः, कृषीयास्थाम् । In the Potential, the स् is elided by VII. 2. 79.

झेर्जुस् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ झेः, जुस्, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशस्य झेर्जुस् आदेशो भवति ॥

108. In the Potential and Benedictive, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi,' the ending of the first person plural Parasmaipada.

This debars अन्त (VII. 1 3); thus पचेयुः, यजेयुः ।

सिजभ्यस्तविदिभ्यश्च॥१०९॥सिच्-अभ्यस्त-विदिभ्यः,च,(झेर्जुस्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिचः परस्य अभ्यस्त संज्ञकेभ्यो वेत्तेश्चोत्तरस्य जुसादेशो भवति ॥

109. (In those tenses which are marked with an indicatory 'ṅ') 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi,' when it comes after an Aorist in 'sich,' or the Imperfect of a reduplicated verb, or the root 'vid' (to know).

This applies to tenses having ङ् other than that of लिङ् namely the लङ् and लुङ् ।

सिच् is employed in forming the first Aorist. The reduplicated verbs, as well as the verb विद्, form their third person plural in जुस्, in the tenses other than लिङ्, and those that take सिच् । The word ङितः of sutra III. 4. 99, is understood here also; and therefore this rule is restricted to the Imperfect (लङ्) of the reduplicated verb. Thus of सिच्, we have अकार्षुः, अहार्षुः । Similarly, after the Imperfect of the reduplicated verbs, we have अबिभयुः, अजिह्रयुः, अजागरुः । In the case of विद्, we have अविदुः ।

आतः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, (झेर्जुस्, सिच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिच आकारान्ताच्च परस्य झेर्जुसादेशो भवति ॥

110 (When 'sich' is elided), 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi,' after an Aorist stem which ends in long 'â.'

The सिच् is elided by rule (II. 4. 77). Thus अदुः, अधुः, अस्थुः । In other words, in those cases, where सिच् is elided by rules II. 4. 77, 78 and 79, only जुस् is the substitute of झि where the verbs end in long आ । In other words, this sûtra restricts the scope of the last sûtar, by which after every सिच्, जुस् was to replace झि ।

The Present sûtra says that after verbs in which सिच् has been elided,

जुस् does not replace झि in the case of any other verb than that which ends in long आ; it is thus a *niyama* rule.

Thus, by rule II. 4. 77, सिच् is elided after the verb भू but as भू does not end in long आ, its 3rd person plural Aorist will not be in जुस्। Thus, अभूवन्। Here, by the last rule, and on the maxim that 'though सिच् is elided, yet its force remains (I. 1. 62)'; जुस् would have replaced झि; but the present sûtra prohibits that. But where the सिच् is not elided, there, of course, जुस् does come. Thus अकार्षुः, अहार्षुः।

लङः शाकटायनस्य ॥१११॥ पदानि॥ लङः, शाकटायनस्य, (झेः; जुस्, आतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तादुत्तरस्य लङादेशस्य झेर्जुसादेशो भवति शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

111. In the opinion of Sâkatâyana only 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi,' in the Imperfect of the roots which end in a long 'â'.

Thus अयुः, अयुः। In the alternative, we have अयान् and अवान्।

Why is लङ् repeated here, when the context would have supplied this word; for the sûtra applies to ङित् tenses, of which लुङ् being dealt with in the last, would leave लङ् only to be dealt with by this aphorism for no other ङित् tense (like लिङ् or लृङ्) can end in आ? The repetition shows that the rule applies to those affixes which come after लङ् as लङ्, and not to those which come after another tense which is treated *like* लङ्। Thus लोट् is treated *like* लङ्, but for the purposes of this rule, लोट् would not be so treated. Thus the झि of लोट् will not be changed into जुस् by III. 4. 109. Thus बिभ्यतु, जाग्रतु विदन्त। The word च has been used in the sûtra for the sake of the subsequent stûra.

द्विषश्च॥११२॥पदानि॥ द्विषः, च, (लङः, शाकटायनस्य, झेर्जुस्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विषः परस्य लङादेशस्य झेर्जुसादेशो भवति शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

112. In the opinion of Sâkatâyana only, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi,' in the Imperfect after the verb 'dvish' (to hate).

Thus अद्विषुः। But according to others, अद्विषन्।

तिङ्शित्सार्वधातुकम् ॥ ११३ ॥ प० ॥ तिङ्-शित्, सार्वधातुकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङः शितश्च प्रत्ययाः सार्वधातुकसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

113. All personal endings (III. 4. 78) and all affixes with an indicatory 'ś,' are called 'sârvadhâtuka.'

Of course, this applies to the affixes which have been already treated before, namely, the affixes which relate to verbal roots and not to तद्धित affixes &c. Thus, स्वपिति, रोदिति, पचमानः, यजमानः। लिट and आशीर्लिङ are exceptions.

आर्द्धधातुकं शेषः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आर्द्धधातुकम्, शेषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङः शितश्च वर्जयित्वाऽन्यः प्रत्ययः शेषो धातुसंशब्दनेन विहित आर्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

114. The remainder, i. e., the affixes other than 'tin,' and those with an indicatory 'ś' subjoined to a verbal root, are called 'ardhadhâtuka.'

Thus the affixes तृ, तुम्, तव्यत् &c. are आर्धधातुक affixes as in the following words—लविता, लवितुम्, लवितव्यम् । Here the augment इट् is added because of these affixes being called *ardhadhátuka* by VII. 2. 35.

The word धातोः whose anuvritti began with sûtra III. 1. 91, is understood here also. So that the affixes in relation to the verbal roots get the name of *sârvadhâtuka* and *árdhadhátuka*; the affixes applied to nouns do not get these names. Thus the case-affix भ्याम् when added to the noun लू, is not called an *árdhadhatuka* affix, and therefore we have लूभ्याम्, लूभिः &c. Had these affixes been *árdhadhátuka*, they would have caused the *guna* of the base (VII. 3. 84). Similarly the affixes त्वं and ता in the words वृक्षत्वं and वृक्षता are not *árdhadhátaka* affixes. Had they been so, there would have been the insertion of the the augment इट् (VII. 2. 35).

Similarly in sûtra III. 1. 5 the affix सन् is used without changing the sense, after the roots गुप्, तिज् and कित् । But as this affix is added without the enunciation of the word धातोः as it is in sûtra III. 1. 7. this सन् is not called *árdhadhátuka*, and does not take the augment इट्, as जुगुप्सते ।

लिट् च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिट्, च, (आर्द्धधातुकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिडादेशस्तिङार्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

115. The personal endings of the Perfect are also called 'ârdhadhâtuka.'

This debars them from being called *sárvadhátuka* and, being *ârdhadhátuka*, some of them take the augment इट्; as पेचिथ, शेकिथ । Moreover by their being *árdhadhátuka* they do not admit of the Vikaranas शप् &c.

So from ग्लै (ग्ला, VI. 1. 45) we have जग्ले; here the आ is elided by VI. 4 64, the affix being treated as *árdhadhátuka;* similarly मम्ले from म्लै ।

लिङाशिषि ॥११६॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, आशिषि, (आर्द्धधातुकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि विषये यो लिङ् स आर्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

116. When the sense is that of Benediction, the substitutes of 'lin' are called 'ârdhadhâtuka', i. e., the personal endings of the Benedictive are 'ârdhadhâtuka'.

This debars these affixes from being called *sárvadhátuka.* Being *árdhadhátuka* they take the augment इट् and before these affixes the root does

not take the Vikaranas शप् &c. Thus from the root लू 'to cut,' we have in the आशीर्लिङ्, लविषीष्ट; and from the root पू 'to purify,' पविषीष्ट. But in the विधिलिङ् (Potential), we have the proper Vikaranas &c. as लुनीयात्, पुनीयात् ।

छन्दस्युभयथा ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ छंदसि, उभयथा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति सार्वधातुकमार्द्धधातुकं च ॥

117. In the Vedas this distinction of 'sârvadhâtuka' and 'ârdhadhâtuka is not always maintained, and the affixes are promiscuously employed.

In the Vedas, there is no hard and fast rule about *sárvadhátuka* and *árdhadhátuka* affixes. Sometimes the तिङ् and शित् are treated as if they were *árdhadhátuka*. Thus वर्धन्तु त्वा सुष्टुतयः ।* Here the affixes of the लोट् are treated as *árdhadhátuka* and consequently there is the elision of the णिच् by rule VI. 4.51; the proper form of this word would be वर्धयन्तु । Sometimes *árdhadhátuka* affixes are treated like *sárvadhátuka* affixes; as विशृण्विरे; here the affixes of the लिट् are treated as *sárvadhátuka* and so there is the Vikarana श्नु and the उ is changed into व । Thus, वि+श्रु+श्नु+इरे=वि+शृ+नु+इरे (III. 1. 74) =वि+शृ+ण्व्+इरे (VI. 4. 87)=विशृण्विरे । Similarly, सुन्विरे । The लिङ् is sometimes treated in the Vedas both as *sárvadhátuka* and *árdhadhátuka* at one and the same time; as उपस्थेयाम शरणं बृहन्तम् । Here. by treating the affix as *sárvadhátuka*, there is elision of स in the लिङ् (VII. 2. 79) and by treating it again as *árdhadhátuka*, the आ of स्था is changed into ए । So also in स्वस्ति the affix is treated as *sárvadhátuka* and there is no substitution of भू for अस् as required by II. 4. 52.

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ओ३म् ।

अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER FIRST.

ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङी-आप्-प्रातिपदिकात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम आपञ्चमाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेर्ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकादित्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. (From this point forward as far as the end of Book Fifth, whatever we shall treat of, should be understood to come), after what ends with the feminine affixes ङी, or आप्, or after a Nominal stem.

This is an 'adhikâra' aphorism pure and simple. It simply consists of terms which other aphorisms, in order to complete their sense, are under the necessity of borrowing. In other words, this sûtra points out the base प्रकृति to wich the affixes beginning with सु treated of in the next sûtra, and ending with कप् (V. 4. 151), are to be applied.

The sûtra consists of three words. The term ङी is a common name for the three affixes ङीप्, ङीष्, and ङीन् ॥ The term आप्, is the common name for the three affixes टाप्, डाप् and चाप् ॥ These are feminine affixes and are taught from sûtra 4 to 65 of this chapter. The word प्रातिपदिक means 'a Nominal stem' and has been defined in sûtra I. 2. 45, 46, i. e. that which is possessed of a meaning, not being a root or an affix; or what ends with a Krit or a Taddhita affix. The word ङ्याप् प्रातिपदिकात् is a Samâhâra-dvandva or Collective aggregate of these three words.

Q. All affixes are placed after the base (See Sûtra III. 1. 2); the affixes treated of in the last Book were to be placed after the root ('dhâtu'); the remaining affixes taught in Books Fourth and Fifth, will therefore, be placed after all such bases प्रकृति which are not roots (dhâtu); and such bases remaining are prâtipadika and feminine words. What is then the necessity

of making this sûtra, when these prâtipadika &c.. are the only bases left to us to apply the affixes taught herein-after?

A. To this we reply, the necessity of making this sûtra arose from the following considerations: that the word ङ्याप् प्रतिपदिकात् should qualify the words 'वृद्ध' 'अवृद्ध,' 'the letter अ,' 'अनुदात्तादि', and 'द्व्यच्,' wherever used in the following sûtras. So that, where a rule says: "let such an affix be applied to a Vṛiddha word," we must understand it to mean, "let such an affix be applied to a Vṛiddha word which is a prâtipadika, or which ends with 'ṅî' or 'âp'; and not to every Vṛiddha word." The principal aphorism, besides the present, which regulates the application of Taddhita affixes, is IV. I. 82, which declares:—"The taddhita affixes, on the alternative of their being employed al all, come after the word that is signified *by the first of the words in construction.*" Thus IV. I. 157 says;—"The affix फिञ् is added, according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, in the sense of 'descendant,' after a word which is entitled to the designation of Vṛiddham, provided it does not end with a Gotra affix." Thus the idea, 'the son of Amragupta,' may be expressed either by the phrase 'आम्रगुप्तस्यापत्यम्'; or by adding the affix 'phiñ' to the first of the word in construction, viz, 'âmraguptasya,' which is a Vṛiddha word (I. I. 73). But can we apply the affix 'phiñ' to the first of the word in construction in the following, 'ज्ञानाम् ब्राह्मणानामपत्यम्', because the word 'jñânâm' the genitive plural of 'jña', is a Vṛiddha word? Certainly not, because the word 'prâtipadikât' must be read into this sûtra IV. I. 157, and the affix 'phiñ' should be added after that Vṛiddha word which is in its crude-form also a Vṛiddham, and not that which becomes Vṛiddham only in construction. Now the prâtipadika of 'jñânâm' is 'jña', the latter is not a vṛiddham, therefore, the rule does not apply to it. So also the word 'jñâ' is a vṛiddham in its prâtipadika state; but in the following phrase, it loses its vṛiddha nature; 'ज्ञयोर्ब्राह्मण्योरपत्यम्' meaning 'the son of two wise Brâhman ladies'. Still the affix 'phiñ' must be added to the word 'jñyor', because its prâtipadika is a vṛiddha word. (2) Similarly the word 'अवृद्ध' (sûtra IV. I. 160; 'the affix phiñ is applied diversely to a non-vṛiddha word, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians') must be qualified by the word 'prâtipadika'; otherwise it would lead to similar incongruous results as in the last aphorism.. (3) Similarly the word अत् in Sûtra IV. I. 95 ('the affix इञ् is added after a word which ends in the letter अ') must be qualified by the word 'prâtipadika'; that is to say, the word in its crude-form must end in अ, and not necessarily when it is in construction. If it were not so; then the affix 'इञ्' will apply only to the word 'दक्षस्य' in 'दक्षस्यापत्यम् but will not apply to the words 'दक्षयोः', or 'दक्षानाम्' in the phrases 'दक्षयोरपत्यम्' or 'दक्षानामपत्यम्' ॥ But the affix 'इञ्' applies to all these three words.

(4). Similarly the word 'अनुदात्तादेः' in IV. 2. 44, (the affix 'अञ्' is added to a word which has the grave accent on its beginning), must be qualified by the word prâtipadika. That is, the word in its crude form must have the grave accent on its initial, though in construction, it may or may not have grave accent. Otherwise, the affix 'इञ्' will apply to the words 'वाचः' and 'त्वचः' which in construction are anudâttâdi as in 'वाचो विकारः' 'त्वचो विकारः' (VI. 1. 168); but which in their crude-forms (वाक्, त्वच्) are udâttâdi. And conversely, the affix 'अञ्,' will not apply to the word 'सर्वेषाम्' which in construction is udâttâdi, as, 'सर्वेषाम् विकारः,' but which in its crude-form is anudâttâdi.

(5). Similarly the word 'द्व्यचः' in IV. 4. 7, (the affix 'ठन्' is employed after words consisting of two vowels, when the sense is that of crossing), must be qualified by the word prâtipadika. That is, the word in its prâtipadika state must consist of two vowels, though in construction it may consist of more than two syllables. Otherwise, this affix will not apply to the word घटेन in the phrase 'घटेन तरति', while it will apply to the words 'वाचा' and 'त्वचा' in the phrases, 'वाचा तरति,' 'त्वचा तरति'. But this is undesirable.

Q Why have we employed the word 'ṅy-âp' in the aphorism ? Is not the word prâtipadika wide enough to include the words ending with the feminine affixes, by virtue of the paribhâshâ:—"A prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude-form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender." ?

A. Not so. The paribhâshâ you quote applies to that case, where there is a rule, relating to an individual word-form, given in the Sûtra itself. In other words, "this paribhasha is applicable when a word is employed in grammar which either denotes prâtipadikas generally (as the word 'prâtipadika' does in this sûtra) or denotes a praticular prâtipadika, (such as the words युवा, खलति, पलित, वलिन, and जरति, in II. 1. 67)." That is, in II. 1. 67, the masculine form yuvâ, also includes the feminine : but not so every-where. Moreover the words, ङी, आप् have been employed in the Sûtra, in order to make the Taddhita affixes applicable to feminine words ending in long ई (ङी) or long आ (आप्). Thus the feminine of 'काल', and 'हरिण' is, 'काली', and 'हरिणी', the feminine of 'खट्व' and 'माल' is 'खट्वा' and 'माला' । After these words we can apply the Taddhita affix तरप्': as 'कालितरा', हरिणितरा,' खट्वातरा', and 'मालातरा' ॥

Now, had we not used the word 'ṅy-âp' in the Sûtra, and wished to express the same idea as is done, say, by the word 'kalitarâ,' we could not have got this form at all.

Q. The word काल takes ङीप् by IV. 1. 42; to which when तरप् is added, the vowel is shortened by VI. 3. 43; and we shall get the form कालितर ॥ Why do you then say that the Taddhita affixes could not be applied, but for the words ṅy-âp ?

A. To this we answer, that by the rule of vipratishedha, the Taddhita would have debarred the feminine. Thus, when feminine alone is meant and not comparison, we shall have काली ; and when comparison alone is meant and not feminine, we shall have कालतर; but when both feminine and comparison are meant, then would arise the difficulty; and according to the general maxim, the Taddhita would have debarred the feminine. But by using the word ṅy-âp, it is shown that *first* the feminine affixes are to be added, and then the comparison making affixes.

स्वौजसमौट्छष्टाभ्यांभिस्ङेभ्यांभ्यस्ङसिभ्यांभ्यस्ङसोसाम्ङ्योस्सुप् ॥ २ ॥
पदानि ॥ सु-औ-जस्, अम्-औट्-शस्, टा-भ्यां-भिस्, ङे-भ्यां-भ्यस्, ङसि-भ्यां-भ्यस्, ङस् ओस्-आम्, ङि-ओस्-सुप् (ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात् स्वादयः प्रत्ययाः भवन्ति ॥

2. (After what ends with the feminine terminations ङी or आप, or after a Nominal stem the following case affixes are employed for declension) :—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
1st.	su (s)	au	jas (as)
2nd.	am	auṭ (au)	śas (as)
3rd.	ṭâ (â)	bhyâm	bhis
4th.	ṅe (e)	bhyâm	bhyas
5th.	ṅasi (as)	bhyâm	bhyas
6th.	ṅas (as)	os	âm
7th.	ṅi (i)	os	sup (su)

In the above affixes, letters like उ in सु are 'anubandhas' employed either for the sake of facility of pronunciation, or as distinguishing marks. The final प is employed for the sake of forming the pratyâhâra सुप्, which is the collective name for the above 21 case-affixes. The force and meaning of these affixes have already been explained in a former part of this work ; and therefore, need not be repeated here. We shall now give examples of the application of these affixes to words formed by ङीप्, as, कुमारी ; by ङीष् as, गौरी ; by ङीन् as शार्ङ्गरवी ; by टाप् as खट्वा; by डाप् as बहुराजा; and by चाप् as कारीषगन्ध्या ; and lastly to a prâtipadika. as. दृषद् ।

कुमारी ।

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	कुमारी	कुमार्यौ	कुमार्यः
2nd	कुमारीम्	कुमार्यौ	कुमारीः
3rd	कुमार्या	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमारीभिः
4th	कुमार्यै	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमारीभ्यः
5th	कुमार्याः	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमारीभ्यः
6th	कुमार्याः	कुमार्योः	कुमारीणाम्
7th	कुमार्याम्	कुमार्योः	कुमारीषु

खट्वा ।

1st	खट्वा	खट्वे	खट्वाः
2nd	खट्वाम्	खट्वे	खट्वाः
3rd	खट्वया	खट्वाभ्याम्	खट्वाभिः
4th	खट्वायै	खट्वाभ्याम्	खट्वाभ्यः
5th	खट्वायाः	खट्वाभ्याम्	खट्वाभ्यः
6th	खट्वायाः	खट्वयोः	खट्वानाम्
7th	खट्वायाम्	खट्वयोः	खट्वासु

दृषद् ।

1st	दृषद्	दृषदौ	दृषदः
2nd	दृषदम्	दृषदौ	दृषदः
3rd	दृषदा	दृषद्भ्याम्	दृषद्भिः
4tn	दृषदे	दृषद्भ्याम्	दृषद्भ्यः
5th	दृषदः	दृषद्भ्याम्	दृषद्भ्यः
6th	दृषदः	दृषदोः	दृषदाम्
7th	दृषदि	दृषदोः	दृषत्सु

The words गौरी and शार्ङ्गरवी are declined like कुमारी ; and बहुराजा and कारीषगन्ध्या are declined like खट्वा ॥

स्त्रियाम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोयम् । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः स्त्रियामित्येव तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

3. When feminine nature is to be indicated, the affixes which we shall treat of hereinafter must be employed.

This is an adhikâra sûtra pure and simple. The phrase 'when feminine nature is to be indicated', must be read in all the following aphorisms upto 81 inclusive. The anuvṛitti of the word 'prâtipadika' should be read into this sûtra, from the first sûtra, not so, however, the anuvṛitti of the words 'ङी-आप्'; for we are now going to form words by the application of ङी and आप् affixes.

अजाद्यतष्टाप् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजादि-अतः-टाप् (स्त्रियाम् ङ्याप्प्रा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्योऽकारान्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां टाप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

4. The affix टाप् is employed to indicate feminine nature, after the Nominal-stem 'aja' &c, and after the stems ending in short अ ॥

Of the affix टाप्, the letters ट् and प् are इत्, the real affix is आ ॥ The letter प् indicates that the affix has anudâtta accent (III. 1. 4); the letter ट् is employed to distinguish this affix from चाप् and डाप् ॥

The words अज &c, are given below. Thus अज 'a he goat,' अजा 'a she-goat'. The words ending in short अ are such as, देवदत्त whose feminine will be देवदत्ता ॥ The word अत् is used in the aphorism, the indicatory त् shows (I. 1. 70) that the short अ having one mâtra should be taken; and not the long आ ॥ Prâtipadikas that end in long आ, such as कीलालपा or शुभंया (III. 2. 74) do not form their feminine by taking टाप्, but are both masculine and feminine. Thus, शुभंयाः कीलालपाः ब्राह्मणी 'the auspicious-going, nectar-drinking Brâhmanî'. Had the feminine of such words been formed by टाप्, then the case-affix स् of the nominative singular would have been elided after them (VI. 1. 68).

Following are the words belonging to the अजादि class :—

1.	अज	अजा	2.	एडक	एडका	3.	कोकिल	कोकिला
4.	चटक	चटका	5.	अश्व	अश्वा	6.	मूषिक	मूषिका

N. B. The above words denote 'jâti' or kind and though they end in short अ in the masculine, they would have taken, but for the present sûtra, the affix 'ṅîsh' (IV. 2. 63) in the feminine.

7.	बाल	बाला	8.	होड	होडा	9.	पाक	पाका
10	वत्स	वत्सा	11	मन्द	मन्दा	12.	विलात	विलाता

N. B. The above six words are descriptive of age, and though they end in short अ in the masculine, but for the present sûtra, they would have taken the affix 'ङीप्' (IV. 1. 20) in the feminine.

13.	पूर्वापहरण,	पूर्वापहरणा;	14.	अपरापहारण	अपरापहारणा;

N. B. These two words are formed by the affix ल्युट्, and being टित्, would have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 15) but for this sûtra.

15.	संफल,	संफला;	16	भस्त्रफल;	भस्त्रफला;
17	अजिनफल,	अजिनफला;	18.	शणफल,	शणफला;
19.	पिण्डफल,	पिण्डफला;	20.	त्रिफल,	त्रिफला;

N. B. The above words ending in 'phala' would have taken the affix ṇish (IV. I. 64) but for their enumeration in the 'ajâdi' class; 'त्रिफला' when a Dvigu Compound forms its feminine as त्रिफला; when a Bahuvrîhi Compound, its feminine is त्रिफली ॥

21. सत्पुष्प,	सत्पुष्पा;	22. प्राक्पुष्प,	प्राक्पुष्पा;
23. काण्डपुष्प,	काण्डपुष्पा;	24. प्रान्तपुष्प	प्रान्तपुष्पा;
25. शतपुष्प,	शतपुष्पा;	26. एकपुष्प,	एकपुष्पा;

The above words ending in पुष्प would have taken ṇîsh by IV. 1. 64.

27. शूद्र　शूद्रा

B. N. But the feminine of शूद्र is शूद्री when the meaning is 'the wife of a śûdra'; so also when the word शूद्र is compounded with the word महत् as, महाशूद्री 'a woman of 'महाशूद्र' class'.

The term 'महाशूद्र' is applied to the caste of Abhiras: and this compound word would have taken the affix 'टाप्' by the rule of tadanta vidhi given in I. 1. 72, but for the vârtika, viz 'शूद्रा चामहत पूर्वा जातिः' It might be objected that the tadanta vidhi cannot apply here on the strength of the following maxim :—"That which cannot possibly be anything but a prâtipadika does not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself". Therefore, the word 'śûdra' which cannot be anything but a prâtipadika, does not denote 'mahâ-śûdra'. This objection is futile: the very fact of this vârtika indicates by implication (jñâpaka), that with regard to the application of the feminine affixes, the tadanta-vidhi is valid and does apply. Thus we have the forms like अतिधीवरी अतिपीवरी and अतिभवती

28. क्रुंच्　क्रुंचा　29. उष्णिह्　उष्णिहा　30. देवविश्　देवविशा

N. B. The above words end in consonants and would not have taken 'टाप्' but for their being included in the 'अजादि' class.

31. ज्येष्ठ　ज्येष्ठा　32. कनिष्ठ　कनिष्ठा　33. मध्यम　मध्यमा

B. N. The above words denoting matrimonial realtion would have taken the affix 'ṅîsh' by IV. 1. 46.

34. अमूल अमूला The word 'mûla' preceded by the negative particle nañ, would have otherwise taken 'ṅîsh' by IV. 1. 64.

ऋन्नेभ्योङीप् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्-नेभ्यः, ङीप्, (स्त्रियाम् ङ्याप्प्रा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तेभ्यो नकारान्तेभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

5. The affix ङीप् is employed, in forming the feminine, after Nominal stem ending in ऋ or in न्।

Of the affix ङीप्, the letter ङ् is taken in order to make a common term with ङीष् and ङीन्; and the प् is taken to distinguish ti from those

affixes; the real affix is ई। Thus, कर्तृ ;—*f.* कर्त्री ; हर्तृ—*f.* हर्त्री ; दण्डिन् —*f.* दण्डिनी ; छत्रिन् ,—*f.* छत्रिनी ॥

उगितश्च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उगितः, च, (स्त्रियां ङीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उग् इत् यस्य संभवति यथा कथंचित् तदुगिच्छब्दरूपं, तदन्तात् स्त्रियां ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ धातोरुगितः प्रतिषेधोवक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अंचते श्चोपसंख्यानम् ॥

6. And after what has an indicatory 'uk' (उ, ऋ or ऌ) the affix ङीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine.

The उक् is a pratyâhâra meaning उ, ऋ and ऌ। Wherever it is possible to make these letters indicatory, in whatever way it may be, that word-form is called उगित्। That which ends with such a word is meant here. A prâtipadika pure and simple, not formed by an affix, may be उगित्, thus the pronoun भवतु among the sarvanâmas: an affix may be उगित् as the affixes क्तवतु and शतृ, and therefore, the words formed by these affixes will be उगित् ; similarly a letter may be उगित् as ऋ meaning तृ in VI. 4. 127, ("तृ is the substitute of the final of an inflective base-ending in अर्वन् &c")

Thus, भवत् 'honored' sir.—*f.* भवती 'madam'. Applying the rule of tadantavidhi, we have अतिभवत्—अतिभवती 'most exalted lady'. Similarly पचत् (formed by adding शतृ III. 2. 124), forms the feminine पचन्ती, the नुम comes by VII. 1. 82. So also यजन्ती 'a female sacrificing'; अर्वत् अर्वती 'a mare'.

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of verbal roots having an indicatory 'uk'. Thus the roots स्रंसु 'to fall down', ध्वंसु 'to fall down' have indicatory उ ; and we get from these roots, the paâtipadikas like उखास्रत् and पर्णध्वत्, (III. 2. 76). The उखास्रत् ब्राह्मणी, पर्णध्वत् ब्राह्मणी ॥ Here, the feminine is not formed by adding ङीप्।

Vârt:—The prâtipadikas ending with the verb 'anchu', however, take the affix ङीप्। As, प्राची, प्रतीची, उदीची ॥

वनो र च ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वनः, र, च, (स्त्रियां ङीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वन्नन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां ङीप् प्रत्ययोभवति रेफश्चान्तादेशः ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वनो न हशः ॥

7. The affix 'ङीप्' is added, in forming the feminine to the stems that end in the syllable वन्, and र् is the substitute of the final of such syllable.

Thus धीवन् (Uṇâdi IV. 115) f. धीवरी 'a female artisan'; पीवन् f. पीवरी 'a young woman, a stout woman', शर्वन् f. शर्वरी 'night' (शॄ+वनिप् III. 2. 75) lit. that which destroys light. So also परलोकदृश्वरी ॥

Words ending in वन् are formed by the affixes ङ्वनिप्, (III. 2. 103) क्वनिप् and वनिप् (III. 2. 74). These words end in न् and consequently would have taken ङीप् even by IV. I. 5; the necessity of the present sûtra arose in order to teach the change of न् into र् in case of words ending in वन् ॥

Vârt:—If the affix वन् is ordained to be added to a word ending in हश्, (a letter of हश् pratyâhâha), and is thus immediately preceded by a soft consonant then this rule does not apply, that is to say, there is neither the application of the affix ङीप् nor the change of न् into र् ॥ Thus सहयुध्वन् is both masculine and feminine as, सहयुध्वा ब्राह्मणः or ब्राह्मणी 'a Brâhman brother or sister in arms'. In शर्वन् the वन् is preceded by र् which is a letter of हश् class, but as वन् is not ordained to be applied to शर् but to शृ, and we get the र् indirectly by guṇa, the vârtika does not apply to such a case. Hence शर्वरी ॥

पादोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पादः, अन्यतरस्याम् (स्त्रियां ङीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादन्तात् प्रातिपदिकादन्यतरस्यां स्त्रियां ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. The affix 'ङीप्' is optionally employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with word 'pâd.'

The word पाद becomes पाद् when final in certain Bahuvrîhi compounds (V. 4. 140). Thus द्विपात् is both masculine and feminine, or it may optionally form its feminine by long ई (ङीप्). In the latter alternative, the form will be द्विपदी, the word पाद् being replaced by पद् by VI. 4. 130, (as read with I. 4. 18). Similarly त्रिपात् or त्रिपदी ; चतुष्पात् or चतुष्पदी ॥

टाबृचि ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ टाप्, ऋचि, (स्त्रियां पादः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋचिवाच्यायां पादन्तात् प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां टाप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

9. The affix टाप् is employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word 'pâd', when the word denotes a verse of the Rig-Veda.

This debars ङीप् ॥ Thus द्विपदा ऋक् 'a Rik verse consisting of two quarter verses'; similarly त्रिपदा ऋक्, चतुष्पदा ऋक् ॥ Why do we say "when denoting a Rik verse"? Observe द्विपदी देवदत्ता 'Devadattâ (a woman) having two feet'.

न षट् स्वस्रादिभ्यः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, षट्, स्वस्रादिभ्यः, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षट् संज्ञकेभ्यः स्वस्रादिभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रीप्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

10. The feminine affixes are not employed after the stems called 'षट्' (I. 1. 24), and after 'स्वसृ' &c.

This prohibits all feminine affixes that would otherwise have presented themselves. Thus पञ्च ब्राह्मण्यः 'the five Brâhmaṇî ladies'. So also सप्त, नव, दश &c are feminine as well as masculine. The following words belong to the

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Svasrâdi class :—स्वसा 'a sister', दुहिता 'a daughter'; ननान्दा 'a husband's sister', याता 'a husband's brother's wife', माता 'a mother', तिस्रः 'three'. चतस्रः 'four'.

मनः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनः (ङीप् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्नन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् ङीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

11. The affix ङीप् is not employed after a Nominal-stem ending in the syllable मन् ॥

By IV. 1. 5, prâtipadikas ending in मन् would have taken the affix ङीप्, in as much as they end in न्; but the present sûtra prohibits that. Thus दामन् 'a string' is both neuter and feminine; and is declined as follows :—1. S. दामा; d. दामानौ, pl. दामानः ॥ Similarly पामा, पामानौ, पामानः ॥

Here by using the term मन् we mean words formed by an affix whose effective element is मन्, such as the affix मनिन् (Uṇâdi IV. 144) in the words दामन् (दो + मनिन्) and पामन्; as well as words which end in मन् which does not represent an affix. This is done on the strength of the following paribhâsha :—अनिनस्मन् ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति ॥ "Wherever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are emyloped in grammar denote by I. 1. 72 something that ends with अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, there अन्, इन्, अस्, and मन represent these combinations of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of, a meaning." Therefore, words like सीमन् and अतिमहिमन्, where मन् is not an affix, but an integral part of the word, are also governed by the present sûtra. Thus, सीमा, सीमानौ, सीमानः अतिमहिमा, अतिमहिमानौ and अतिमहिमानः ॥

अनो बहुव्रीहेः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, बहुव्रीहेः, (स्त्रियां ङीप् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्नन्तात् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियाम् ङीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

12. The affix ङीप् is not employed to denote the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in अन् ॥

This refers to those Bahuvrîhi compounds in which the penultimate is not elided. Of the Bahuvrîhi compounds which lose their penultimate letter, it is optional to employ this affix or not; as it will be taught in IV. 1. 28. Thus सुपर्वन् 'possessed of beautiful joints' is both masculine and feminine. As सुपर्वा, सुपर्वाणौ, सुपर्वाणः; so also सुशर्मा, सुशर्माणौ and सुशर्माणः ॥ In these cases the penutimate अ of वन् or मन् is not elided. See VI. 4. 137.

Why do we say "after Bahuvrîhi compounds"? Because after any other compouds, this rule will not apply. As अतिराजन् is an Avyayîbhâva compound, its feminine will be अतिराज्ञी ॥

डाबुभाभ्यामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ डाप्, उभाभ्यां, अन्यतरस्यां, (मनः अनोबहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डाप् प्रत्ययो भवति उभाभ्या मन्नन्तात्प्रातिपदिकादन्नन्ताच्च बहुव्रीहेरन्यतरस्याम् ॥

13 The affix डाप् comes optionally after both these, viz. the Nominal-stem ending in मन्, and a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in अन् ॥

Of the affix डाप्, the letter ड् indicates that the affix is to be added after the elision of the टि (I. 1. 64) of the base. Thus पामन् + डाप् = पाम् + आ = पामा, This being an optional rule we have 1. *s* पामा *d*, पामे or पामानौ, *pl*, पामाः or पामानः; similarly with सीमा, as, सीमा, सीमे or सीमानौ, सीमाः or सीमानः ॥

So also in Bahuvrîhi compounds ending in अन्. As :—

बहुराजा,	बहुराजे or बहुराजानौ,	बहुराजाः or बहुराजानः ॥
बहुतक्षा,	बहुतक्षे or बहुतक्षाणौ,	बहुतक्षाः or बहुतक्षाणः ॥

Why do we say "optionally"? So that the option may apply to sûtra IV. 1. 7 also; i. e. when a prâtipadika ending in वन्, which can be regarded as ending in अन्, is a Bahuvrîhi compound, then the change of न into र् and the application of ङीप् are optional · we may apply the affix डाप् instead. As :— बहुधीवा or बहुधीवरी ; बहुपीवा or बहुपीवरी ॥

अनुपसर्जनात् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन् उपसर्जनात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामोऽनुपसर्जनादित्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

14. The following rules apply to a Nominal-stem which is not a subordinate term in a compound.

This is an adhikâra aphorism pure and simple, and has governing force upto IV. 1. 77: and prohibits the application of affixes to 'upasarjanas'. That is to say, whatever we shall treat of hereafter, is to be understood to apply to such terms only, which are not upasarjana or a subordinate term in a compound. (I. 2. 43). Thus the next sûtra declares "the affix ṅîp is added in forming the feminine after what ends in short अ, if the affix with which it ends has an indicatory ट्, & c." Thus the word कुरुचर is formed by the affix ट (III.) 2. 16), and ends in अ. The feminine of this word will be formed by ङीप् as कुरुचरी, similarly मद्रचर—*f* मद्रचरी । But if these words being the last members of a compound, are treated as upasarjana (I. 2. 43), then they will not take the affix ङीप् in the feminine. Now in a Bahuvrîhi compound, all the component members are upasarjana, (II. 2, 35); therefore, the feminine of such compounds will not take ङीप् ॥ Thus, बहुकुरुचरा or बहुमद्रचरा मथुरा ॥ Similarly IV. 1. 63 says, "the affix ङीष् is added after words denoting jâti" as, कुक्कुटी, शूकरी ॥ But where these words are upasarjana, 'ṅîsh' will not be added: as, बहुकुक्कुटा बहुशूकरा मथुरा ॥

As a general rule, tadanta-vidhi (I, 1, 72) does not apply to compounds; but the present sutra indicates by implication that the tadanta-vidhi applies to compounds for the purposes

of the application of feminine affixes. For had it not been so, there would have been no necessity of making the present sûtra ; for a rule applicable to a simple word as such, would not have applied to it when it was part of a compound—whether subordinate (upasarjana), or principal (pradhâna). But the present sûtra indicates that the tadanta-vidhi does apply, if the word does not become a subordinate member, but is regarded as the principal member, of a compound.

The feminine of कुम्भकार or नगरकार will be कुम्भकारी or नगरकारी, in as much as the second member here is pradhâna : the word 'kumbha-kâra' being formed by अण् (III, 2, 1), and thus making it possible to apply ङीप् by IV. 1. 15. The affix अण् referred to in the next sûtra refers to the kṛit-affix अण् (III. 2. 1), as well as to the Taddhita affix अण् ॥

टिड्ढाणञ्द्वयसज्दघ्नञ्मात्रच्तयप्ठक्ठञ्कञ्क्वरपः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ टित्-ढ-अण्-अञ्-द्वयसच्-दघ्नच्-मात्रच्-तयप्-ठक्-ठञ्-कञ्-क्वरपः (अतः स्त्रियाम् ङीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ टिदादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नञ्स्नञीकक्ख्युन्तरुणतलुनानामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

15. The affix ङीप् is added, in the feminine, after the Nominal-stems ending in short अ, if the affix with whieh it ends has an indicatory ट्, or if the affix be ढ, or अण्, or अञ् or द्वयसच्, or दघ्नच्, or मात्रच्, or तयप्, or ठक्, or ठञ् or कञ् or क्वरप् ॥

The word अतः 'ending in short अ' is understood here by anuvṛitti from IV. 1. 4 ; and qualifies the affixes above-mentioned, wherever necessary. This debars the affix टाप् of IV. 1. 4. We shall give example of each *seriatim* (1) Thus, m., कुरुचर f., कुरुचरी m., मद्रचर f, मद्रचरी (चर + ई = चर् + ई ; the final अ is elided by VI. 4. 148.) The word kuru-chara is formed by ट (III. 2. 16). of which ट् is indicatory.

Q. It might be objected, "why is not the affix ङीप् added after the words पचमान, formed by the affix शानच् (III. 2. 124) in as much as this affix is a substitute of लट् ; and because लट् has an indicatory ट्, therefore, its substitute will also be supposed to have an indicatory ट् (I. 1. 57)."

A. To this we reply, 'the affix लट् is not टित् as it has two indicatory letters, ल् and ट्'.

Q. If that be so, affixes like ल्युट् should also be called no टित् affixes, as they have also two indicatory letters.

A. To this we reply, that if ल्युट् be not regarded टित्, then the indicatory ट् of ल्युट् finds no scope any where: as the indicatory ट् of लट् has its scope in sûtra III. 4. 79. Therefore, the feminine of पचमान will be पचमाना ॥ Similarly, the indi-

catory ट् of augments will not cause the application of the affix ङीप्; thus पठिता विद्या ॥ Here the feminine of पठिता is formed by आ and not ई. This is indicated by sûtra IV. 3. 23, which says "augment तुट् is added to the affixes ट्यु and ट्युल्". If the ट् of तुट् could have made the affix टित् for the purposes of this present sûtra; the anubandha ट् had been unnecessarily added to the affixes यु and युल् in the above.

(2) Of words ending in ढ we have, m, सौपर्णेय f. सौपर्णेयी so also f. वैनतेयी. The ढ stands for the affix ढक्; and it is replaced by एय (VII. 1. 2). Thus सुपर्णा+ढक् (IV. 1. 120)=सुपर्णा+एय=सौपर्णेय (VII. 2. 118). There is no affix which is merely ढ without any indicatory letters; and denoting the feminine; the only affix, as said above, is ढक् ॥ Therefore, the following maxim does not apply here:—"When a term void of anubandhas (indicatory letters) is imployed in grammar, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it", and we cannot say that the ढ of this sûtra refers to the anubandha-less ढ of V. 3. 102 which is always Neuter.

(3) Of words in अण्, we have already said that the affix अण् here refers to both the Kṛit and the Taddhita affix 'aṇ'. Thus with the kṛit affix 'aṇ' we have कुम्भकार and नगरकार (III. 2. 1), the feminine of which is कुम्भकारी and नगरकारी ॥ With the Taddhita affix 'aṇ' we have औपगव (IV. 1. 92), the feminine of which is औपगवी ॥ Sometimes words formed by the addition of the affix ण are operated upon as if they were formed by अण् ॥ Thus चौरी, तापसी are the feminine of चौर and तापस (IV. 4. 62), sometimes words formed by ण are not so treated, as ताण्डा, मौष्टा (IV. 2. 57).

(4) Words formed by अञ् as औत्स f. औत्सी, औदपान, f. औदपानी, (IV. 1. 86). Though by IV. 1. 73 the affix ङीन् would have come after the words ending in अञ्, the re-employment of this affix in the present sûtra is for the purpose of preventing the application of the affix ङीष् which would have presented itself by IV. 1. 63; that is even when 'jâti' is indicated, 'ṇish' is not to be employed here.

(5) The three affixes द्वयसच्, दघ्नच् and मात्रच् are added by V. 2. 37; as, ऊरुद्वयसी, ऊरुदघ्नी, ऊरुमात्री 'reaching to the thigh'. Similraly जानुद्वयसी, जानुदघ्नी, जानुमात्री।

(6) So also with words formed by तयप् (V. 2. 42). As पञ्चतयी 'of which the parts are five' so also दशतयी ॥

(7) So also with words ending in ठक् (IV. 4. 1) as, आक्षिकी 'a female dicer', शालाकिकी. The ठ is replaced by इक (VII. 3. 50).

(8) Similarly with words ending in ठञ् (V. 1. 18): as, लावणिकी 'elegant'. The affixes ठक् and ठञ् are separately enumerated in this sûtra, in order to exclude the affix ठन् &c. For had the word ठ merely been used, then it would have meant all the *three* affixes ठक्, ठन् and ठञ्, which is not desired.

(9) Similarly with words ending in कञ् (III. 2. 60) as, यादृशी, तादृशी ॥

(10) So also with words ending in क्वरप् (III. 2. 163) as इत्वरी 'swift', नश्वरी ॥

Vârt:—In addition to the foregoing, there should have been the enumeration of the affixes नञ् and स्नञ् (IV. 1. 87) and ईकक् (IV. 4. 59) and ख्युन् (III. 2. 56) and of the words तरुण and तलुन 'a youth'. Thus स्त्रैणी 'a female', पौंस्नी 'a male', शाक्तीकी 'a female spear bearer', आढ्यंकरणी 'enriching; तरुणी or तलुनी 'a young woman'

यञश्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यञः, च, (स्त्रियां ङीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यञन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां ङीप प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अपत्यग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ॥

16. The affix ङीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in 'यञ्' (IV. 1. 105).

Thus गार्ग्य + ङीप् = गार्ग्य + ई (VI. 4. 148) = गार्ग् + ई (VI. 4. 150) = गार्गी 'a female descendant of Garga'; so also वात्सी ॥

Vârt:—This rule applies when the affix यञ् denotes a descendant, and not otherwise. Therefore ई will not be applied to form the feminine of द्वैप्य of द्वीप + यञ् (IV. 3. 10). Its feminine will be द्वैप्या 'living on or relating to an island'.

The separation of this sutra from the last, (for the affix यञ् could well have been included in the same), is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms, in which the anuvṛitti of यञ् only runs and not of others.

प्राचां ष्फ स्तद्धितः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचां, ष्फः, तद्धितः, (यञः स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचामाचार्याणां मतेन यञन्तात् स्त्रियां ष्फः प्रत्ययो भवति स च तद्धितसंज्ञः ॥

17. In the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'shpha' is employed after what ends with the affix 'yañ', and it is to be regarded as a Taddhita affix.

Of this affix ष्फ the letter ष् is indicatory (I. 3. 6), and shows that the words formed by this affix will take 'ṇish' (IV. 1. 41). The feminine nature is here manifested by these two affixes jointly, viz by 'shpha' and 'ṅish'. The object of saying that 'shpha' is to be regarded as a taddhita affix, is that the word so formed may get the designation of prâtipadika (I. 2. 46). The affix फ is replaced by the substitute आयन (VII. 1. 2). Thus गार्ग्य + ष्फ + ङीष् = गार्ग्यायणी; so also वात्स्यायनी ॥ This being an optional rule, we have in the alternative, गार्गी and वात्सी ॥

The word सर्वत्र "every where", of the next sûtra is to be read into this, by a process inverse to that of anuvṛitti, in order to prohibit the applica-

tion of those rules even which would otherwise debar this. Thus IV. 1. 75 says :—'the affix चाप् comes after आवट्य' ॥ Here आवट्य ends in यञ्, and by IV. 1. 16, the word आवट्य would have taken the affix ṅîp: IV. 1. 75 debarred this. But according to Eastern Grammarians, here also the affix 'shpha' will be added. Thus आवट्यायनी ॥

सर्वत्र लोहितादिकतन्तेभ्यः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र, लोहितादि कतन्तेभ्यः, (यञः स्त्रियांष्फ)

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वत्र लोहितादिभ्यः कतपर्यन्तेभ्यो यञन्तेभ्यः स्त्रियां ष्फः प्रत्यया भवति ॥

18. The affix 'shpha' is invariably added in the feminine after the words beginning with 'lohita' and ending with 'kata', when they take the affix yañ.

The words लोहित &c. are a subdivision of Gargâdi class (IV. 1. 105). The present sûtra makes the application of the affix ष्फ, compulsory while it was optional in the last. The word कत refers to the independent prâtipadika कत in the said subdivision, which follows immediately after the word कपि, and not to the word कुरुकत of the same class, where the word कत is not an independent full nominal-stem but a member only. Thus लोहित्यायनी, शांशित्यायनी बाभ्रव्यायणी ॥

Kârikâ कण्वात्तु शकलः पूर्वः कतादुत्तर इष्यते ।
पूर्वोत्तरौ तदन्तादी ष्फाणौ तत्र प्रयोजनम् ॥

For the purposes of the application of ष्फ and अण्, the word शकल which is enumerated in the Gaṇapâṭha after the word कण्व (See IV. 1. 105) should be regarded as if it stood immediately *before* कण्व and *after* कत ॥ Thus we have शाकल्यायनी (with ष्फ), and शाकलाः with अण्, meaning शाकल्यस्येमे छात्राः 'the pupils of Sâkalya'.

कौरव्यमाण्डूकाभ्यांच ॥१९॥ पदानि ॥ कौरव्य-माण्डूकाभ्याम्; च, (स्त्रियांष्फ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौरव्य माण्डूक इत्येताभ्यां स्त्रियां ष्फः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कौरव्यमाण्डूकयोरासुरेरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

19. The affix 'shpha' is added, in the feminine, after the words कौरव्य and माण्डूक ॥

The word कौरव्य is formed by adding the affix ण्य to the base कुरु (IV. 1. 151); this word, ending in अ, would have formed its feminine by टाप् (IV. 1. 4), but for the present sûtra. So also by IV. 1. 119, the word माण्डूक is formed by अण् added to मण्डूक; and the feminine of mânḍûka would have been formed by ṅîp (IV. 1. 15), but for the present aphorism, which supersedes that affix. Thus कौरव्यायणा, माण्डूकायनी ॥

How do you expain the form कौरवी in the phrase कौरवी सेना ?

We explain it by saying that कौरवी is not the feminine of कौरव्य; but of कौरव, formed by adding अण् to कुरु by sûtra IV. 3. 120.

Vârt:—The word आसुरि should be enumerated along with kauravya and mâṇḍûkya. Thus आसुरायणी ॥ The word आसुरि is formed by the affix इञ् added to the word असुर; the word 'âsuri' would, therefore. have taken the affix अण् in forming the further derivative (IV. 2. 112). But according to the opinion of Patanjali, the word, âsuri' should form its further derivative (called also शैषिक) by taking the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus आसुरीयः कल्पः (तेन प्रोक्तम्) ॥

वयसि प्रथमे ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ वयसि, प्रथमे, (स्त्रियां ङीप्)

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमे वयसि यत्प्रातिपदिकं भुत्यावर्त्तते ततः स्त्रियां ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वयस्यचरमइतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

20. The affix 'ङीप्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in अ and denoting early age.

The word वयः means the condition of the body as dependent upon time; such as, youth, old age &c. Words expressive of early age form their feminine by ई, though ending in अ ॥ Thus, कुमारी 'a girl'. किशोरी 'a young girl' बर्करी 'a she-kid'.

Why do we say denoting 'early age?' Observe स्थविरा 'an old woman'; वृद्धा 'an old woman'. Why do we say ending in अ? Observe शिशुः, which is both masculine and feminine.

Vârt:—The sûtra should have been अचरमे वयसि 'words expressive of not old age'? Thus वधूटी 'a young woman', चिरण्टी 'a young woman'. These words denote the second stage of life, and not the first, i. e. they denote women who have attained their maturity.

How do you explain the form कन्या 'a girl'? This is an exception, and Pâṇini himself uses the word 'kanyâ' showing that it is a valid form; as in sûtra IV. 1. 116.

The words like उत्तानशया 'an infant girl that does not know how to lie down properly' लोहितपादिका 'a female infant whose feet are still tender and red' do not directly, but metaphorically, express age, and hence are not governed by this rule.

द्विगोः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगोः, (स्त्रियां ङीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगुसंज्ञकात् प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियांङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

21. The affix 'ङीप्' comes in the feminine after a Nominal-stem ending in short अ, which is a 'Dvigu' compound.

Thus दशपूली, पञ्चपूली ॥ But we find त्रिफला 'the three myrobalans', because this is one of the words spoken of as 'अज &c' (IV. 1. 4).

अपरिमाणविस्ताचितकम्बल्येभ्योनतद्धितलुकि ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरिमाण-बिस्त-आचित-कम्बल्येभ्यः, न, तद्धित-लुकि, (ङीप् द्विगोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरिमाणन्ताद् द्विगोर्बिस्ताचित कम्बल्यान्ताच्च तद्धितलुकि सति ङीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

22. The affix ङीप् is not employed, when a Taddhita affix is elided, after a Dvigu compound ending in a word not denoting a mass or measure ; or in 'bista', 'âchita', and 'kambalya'.

This debars 'ṅîp' which otherwise would have presented itself by virtue of the last sûtra. The words बिस्तः 'a weight of gold equal to 80 Raktikas', आचितम् 'a measure of 10 cart-loads or 80,000 tolaḥs'; and कम्बल्यः 'a measure', all denote measure; and are the only words expressing measure to which this rule applies. The word परिमाण means 'measure', as distinguished from संख्या 'a Numeral', See V. I. 19, &c.

Thus पञ्चाश्व is a Dvigu compound, meaning 'purchased for five horses.' Here the Taddhita affix ठञ् (V. I. 37) giving the sense of 'purchased with' has been elided by V. I. 28. This compound does not end in a word denoting parimâṇa techincally so called or a measure. The feminine of this word will not be formed by ङीप् but by टाप्, thus, पञ्चाश्वा 'a female purchased for five horses'.

The words denoting 'time' or 'number' are not words denoting 'measure' as understood in this sûtra by the word 'parimâṇa'. Thus, द्विवर्षा, 'a two years old female child', त्रिवर्षा 'a three years old female child' (V. 2. 37 *Vart.)* So also द्विशता 'a female purchased for two hundreds', similarly त्रिशता ॥ So also with the words बिस्त &c. As द्विबिस्ता 'purchased for two bistas', त्रिबिस्ता, द्व्याचिता, त्र्याचिता, द्विकम्बल्या, and त्रिकम्बल्या, &c.

Why do we say 'not ending in a word denoting a Parimâṇa or a 'measure'?' Observe द्व्याढकी, त्र्याढकी " a female purchased for two or three âḍhaka". Here âḍhaka means a measure equal to 7 lb. 11 oz. avoir.

Why do we say 'when a Taddhita affix is elided'? In 'Samâhâra Dvigu' compounds, the affix 'ṅîp' will apply. Thus पञ्चाश्वी 'an aggregate of five horses', so also दशाश्वी ।

काण्डान्तात् क्षेत्रे ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काण्ड-अन्तात्, क्षेत्रे, (द्विगोः तद्धितलुकि ङीप् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काण्डशब्दान्ताद् द्विगोस्तद्धितलुकि सति क्षेत्रे वाच्ये ङीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

23. The affix ङीप् is not employed after an adjectival Dvigu compound, ending in the word 'काण्ड', where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound means a field.

Thus द्विकाण्डा क्षेत्रभक्तिः 'a division of a field of the measure of two kâṇḍas.' Here, the word द्विकाण्ड is a Dvigu compound ending in 'kâṇḍa'; the Taddhita affixes denoting measure enjoind by V. 2. 37, have been elided by the *vârtika* 'प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्नित्यम्' given under the same sûtra. The feminine, therefore, of this word will not be formed by 'ṅîp' but by टाप्; so also त्रिकाण्डा क्षेत्रभक्तिः ॥

The term 'kâṇḍa' is a word expressive of non-measure ; and, therefore, the prohibition contained in the last sûtra applies to it ; the present sûtra is made to regulate this prohibition. That is to say, the prohibition contained in the last sûtra is not universally applicable in the case of Dvigu compounds ending in 'kâṇḍa'; it applies to cases where the compound refers to superficial land measure. Therefore we have, द्विकाण्डी रज्जुः 'a rope two kâṇḍas long'; त्रिकाण्डी रज्जुः 'a rope three kâṇḍas long'.

पुरुषात्प्रमाणेऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरुषात्, प्रमाणे, अन्यतरस्याम्, (द्विगोः तद्धितलुकिनङीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणे यः पुरुषशब्दस्तदन्ताद् द्विगोस्तद्धितलुकि सति अन्यतरस्यां न ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix 'ङीप्' is not optionally employed after a Dvigu compound, where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound ends in the word 'purusha', referring to measure.

Thus द्विपुरुषा or द्विपुरुषी परिखा 'a mote two *purusha* wide' so also त्रिपुरुषी or त्रिपुरुषा &c. The present sûtra ordains an option where IV. 1. 22 would have made the prohibition universal. Why do we say 'when referring to measure'? Observe द्विपुरुषा 'a female purchased in exchange for two males; No option is allowed here. Where the Taddhita affix is not elided, the present rule does not apply. Therefore in Samâhâra Dvigu we have द्विपुरुषी or त्रिपुरुषी ॥

बहुव्रीहेरूधसो ङीष् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहेः, ऊधसः, ङीष् (स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊधस् शब्दान्ताद् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. The affix 'ङीष्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in the word ûdhas an udder'.

Thus the Bahuvrîhi compound of कुण्ड 'a bowl' and ऊधस् will be कुण्डोधस्; then the final of ûdhas is replaced by the substitute अनङ् (V. 4. 131) ; thus we have कुण्डोधन्; which would have been liable to the rules IV. 1. 12, 13. *ante* ; the present sûtra enjoins ङीष् instead. Thus कुण्डोध्नी (VI. 4. 134) 'a woman with full bosom' ; घटोध्नी 'a cow with udders like jars'.

Why do we say 'after a Bahûvrîhi compound'? Observe प्राप्ता ऊधः = प्राप्तोधाः (II. 2. 4) which is a Tatpurusha compound.

The Sûtra IV. 1. 28 also is debarred in this case: for though the penultimate अ is elided by the VI. 4. 134, yet rule IV. 1. 28 does not apply here.

The substitution of अन् for the final of ऊधस् takes place only then, when the feminine nature is to be expressed and not otherwise. Therefore in the masculine we have महोधा पर्जन्यः 'the big-bosomed cloud'.

संख्याव्ययादे ङीप् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या-अव्यय-आदेः, ङीप् (बहुव्रीहे ऊधसः स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्यादेरव्ययादेश्च बहुव्रीहेरूधस्शब्दान्तात् ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix ङीप् comes in the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in 'ûdhas', beginning with a Numeral or an Indeclinable.

This sûtra ordains 'ṅip', where by the last sûtra there would have been 'ṅish'. Thus द्वी+ऊधस्+अनङ्+ङीप् (V. 4. 131)=द्व्यूध्नी 'having two udders'; so also त्र्यूध्नी, 'having three udders'. The above are Bahuvrihi compounds beginning with a Numeral. Similarly अत्यूध्नी 'many-uddered.; निरूध्नी 'having no udders.'

Why do we say 'beginning with'? So that the rule may apply to compounds like द्विविधोध्नी and त्रिविधोध्नी, in which the words 'dvividha' and 'trividha', though not Sankhyâ are words which *begin* with a Sankhyâ.

दामहायनान्ताच्च ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाम-हायनन्तात्, च, (स्त्रियां ङीप् संख्या बहुव्रीहेः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्यादेर्बहुव्रीहे र्दामशब्दान्ताद्धायनशब्दान्ताच्च स्त्रियां ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हायनो वयसि स्मृतः ॥

27. The affix ङीप् comes, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound beginning with a Numerel, and ending with the words dâman 'a rope', and hâyana 'a year'.

The word दामन् was liable to be operated upon by three rules, by, IV. 1. 13 ordaining डाप्, by IV. 1. 11 prohibiting totally the affixing of ङीप् and IV. 1. 28 ordaining ṅip optionally: the present sûtra ordains ṅip to the exclusion of all those rules. As द्विदाम्नी 'a (mare) bound by two ropes'. त्रिदाम्नी ॥

Similarly हायन would have taken long आ by IV. 1. 4, this ordains long ई ॥ Thus द्विहायनी 'two years (old girl)', त्रिहायणी; चतुर्हायणी ॥

Vârt:—The word 'hâyana' must denote 'age', for the purposes of this sûtra. Therefore we have no ṅip here:—द्विहायना शाला 'a hall of two years existence'. So also त्रिहायना and चतुर्हायना ॥ Moreover in these latter cases the न is not changed into ण; for when हायन denotes 'age', it is then only that the न is changed into ण and not otherwise.

अन उपधालोपिनोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, उपधा-लोपिनः-अन्यतरस्यां (बहुव्रीहे ङीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्नन्तो यो बहुव्रीहिरुपधालोपी तस्मादन्यतरस्यां ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix **ङीप्** optionally comes after that Bahuvrîhi compound, which ending in the syllable **अन्** loses its penultimate **अ** ॥

Thus बहुराजन् is a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in अन्; in applying ṅîp, it loses is penultimate by VI. 4. 134 (अल्लोपोऽनः there is elision of अ of अन् when a *bha* affix follows). Thus बहुराज्ञी 'having many kings'. In the alternative, when ṅîp is not added, we may add the affix डाप् by IV. 1. 13. Thus बहुराजा, बहुराजे, बहुराजाः ॥ Or we may apply the prohibition contained in IV. 1. 12 and have बहुराजा, बहुराजानौ, बहुराजानः ॥ when the penultimate is not elided we cannot apply the affix ङीप् at all: in cases of such compounds there are only two forms of the feminine noun as सुपर्वा, सुपर्वे, सुपर्वाः or सुपर्वा सुपर्वाणौ, सुपर्वाणः ॥ That is to say we apply IV. 1. 13 and 12 only; for in the case of सुपर्वन् &c. rule VI. 4. 137 prevents the elision of the penultimate न्; (न संयोगाद्वमन्तात्, there is not elision of the अ of अन् when it comes after a conjunct consonant ending in व or म) ॥

नित्यम् संज्ञाछन्दसोः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, संज्ञा, छन्दसः (अनउपधा-लोपिनोऽन्यतरस्यां ङीप्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्नन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेरुपधालोपिनः संज्ञायां विषये छन्दसि चानित्यं ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix **ङीप्** necessarily comes in the Chhandas and in forming Names, after that Bahuvrîhi compound which ending in the syllable **अन्** loses its penultimate **अ** ॥

This is an exception to the last rule; for while that enjoined the optional, the present enjoins the compulsory application of the affix ङीप् ॥ Thus सुराज्ञी 'the city called Surâjñî'; अतिराज्ञी 'the city of Atirâjñî'. Similarly in the Chhandas we have गौः पञ्चदाम्नी, एकदाम्नी, द्विदाम्नी 'a cow having five udders, one udder, or two udders'. एकमूर्धा समानमूर्धा ॥

केवलमामकभागधेयपापापरसमानार्यकृतसुमङ्गलं भेषजाच्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ केवल-मामक-भागधेय-पाप-अपर-समान-आर्यकृत-सुमङ्गल-भेषजात्, च, (संज्ञाछन्दसोः ङीप् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केवलादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः संज्ञायांछन्दसि विषये स्त्रियां ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix **ङीप्** necessarily comes in denoting the feminine, after the following Nominal-stems when employed to express a Name or in the Chhandas :—**केवल, मामक, भागधेय, पाप, अपर, समान, आर्यकृत, सुमङ्गल** and **भेषज** ॥

The phrase संज्ञा छन्दसोः of the last sûtra is understood here also. Thus केवली in the Chhandas, as opposed to केवला in the ordinary language, when not denoting a Name; so also मामकी and मामिका; भागधेयी as मित्रावरुणयोर्भागधेयी and भागधेया; पापी and पापा; अपरी as उताऽपरीभ्योमघवा विजिग्ये; (Rigveda I. 1. 13) and अपरा; समानी प्रवाणी and समाना; आर्यकृती and आर्यकृता; सुमङ्गली (Rigveda X. 85. 33) सुमङ्गला; भेषजी and भेषजा॥ सुमङ्गल takes ङीष् also by IV. 1. 41, as belonging to Gaurâdi class No. 86.

रात्रेश्चाजसौ ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्रेः, च, अजसौ, (संज्ञा छन्दसोः ङीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जस्विषयादन्यत्र संज्ञायां छन्दसि च रात्रिशब्दात् ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अजसादिष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

31. The affix ङीप् comes after the word रात्रि in the Chhandas, and in denoting a Name, except when the affix जस् (nominative plural) is added.

Thus या रात्री सृष्टा, रात्रीभिः (3rd pl); (Rigveda X. 127. 1. I. 35. 1) but in the nominative plural we have रात्रयः, the regular plural of the word रात्रि, as in the sentence यास्ता रात्रयः, instead of रात्र्यः॥

Vârt:—According to Kâtyâyana, ṅîp is not added, not only when we apply the nominative plural termination जस्; but in all other terminations beginning with जस् also. Thus रात्रिं सहोषित्वा; here in the accusative singular case also the ङीप् is not employed.

But how do you explain the form रात्र्यः in the following तिमिरपटलैरवगुण्ठिताश्च रात्र्यः; This 'râtrya' is the nominative plural of 'râtrî' which is formed by the feminine affix ṅîp; and not by ṅîsh. The forms evolved by adding ङीष् or ङीप् are one and the same, except with regard to accent; that formed by ṅîsh has udâtta accent on the final: the other has it on the initial. The word रात्रि is formed by the kṛit affix त्रिप् (Un. IV. 67), and therefore, it is a word which is governed by IV. 1. 45 because it is a word falling in Bahuvadi class, by virtue of the general subrule "a word ending with the vowel इ of a kṛit affix, other than क्तिन् belongs to Bahuvadi class; some say that every word ending in इ, if it has not the force of the affix क्तिन् belongs to this class". Therefore it takes ङीष् in forming the feminine.

अन्तर्वत्पतिवतोर्नुक् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्वत्-पतिवतः, नुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तर्वत् पतिवतोर्नुग् भवति ङीप् च प्रत्ययः ॥

32. The augment नुक् is added to the words अन्तर्वत् and पतिवत्, when the affix ङीप् is added to form the feminine.

This sûtra points out the base and teaches the addition of the augment नुक्॥ When this augment is added, (and it must be added at the end,

by sûtra I. 1. 46), the forms become अन्तर्वत् and पतिवत्; and these words must take ङीप् by virtue of IV. 1. 5, if not by this sûtra. Thus we have अन्तर्वत्नी and पतिवत्नी ॥ This irregular formation of the feminine is employed only then, when the sense of the words so formed is 'a pregnant female' and 'one whose husband is living' respectively. Therefore we have not the above forms in the following :—प्रयते त्वया पतिमती पृथिवी ; here the word पतिमती qualifies the word पृथिवी and has not the sense of 'having the husband living', therefore its formation is regular. Similarly when the sense is not of 'a pregnant female', the feminine will not be अन्तर्वत्नी ; in fact there will be no affixing of वत् (मतुप्). Because मतुप् is added to words possessing certain attribute, as described in V. 2. 94, while the word अन्तर् has the sense of location, and can never be in apposition with the sense of अस्ति "having" as required by V. 2. 94. The word अन्तर् would not therefore take मतुप् ॥ It does so irregularly by this sûtra. The म is changed to व by VIII. 2. 9 in अन्तर्वत् ॥ The change of म to व in पतिवत् is however irregular.

The augment नुक् is optionally added to these words in the Vedas :— as सान्तर्वत्नी or सान्तर्वती देवानुपेत् ॥ पतिवत्नी or पतिवती तरुणवत्सा ॥

पत्युर्नो यज्ञसंयोगे ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्युः, नः, यज्ञसंयोगे, (स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दस्य नकारादेशः स्त्रियां विधीयते ॥

33. The substitute न् replaces the final इ of पति before the feminine affix ङीप्, when the word so formed means 'a wife, who takes part in the sacrifices of her husband'.

Thus पत्नि वाचं यच्छ ॥ The feminine पत्नी means legitimate wife, she who is entitled to take part in the sacrifices of her husband. The word यज्ञसंयोग is an Instrumental Tatpurusha compound and means "related through sacrifice" i. e. who shares the fruits of and is entitled to participate in, the sacrifices of her husband. But when the sense is not that of 'wife', the feminine of पति will be पति as ग्रामस्य पतिरियं ब्राह्मणी 'this Brahmanî is the head or mistress of this village'. If the word पत्नी means 'the wife who takes part in the sacrifices of her husband', it cannot be applied to the wife of a Sûdra, for a Sûdra cannot perform a sacrifice, *a fortiori* not his wife? The term पत्नी is, however, extended to the wife of a Sûdra also, by analogy, as the marriage of a Sûdra also takes place by offering sacrifice to Fire and making it a witness.

विभाषा सपूर्वस्य ॥३४॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, सपूर्वस्य (पत्युर्नः, स्त्रियां, अनुपसर्जनस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दान्तस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य सपूर्वस्यानुपसर्जनस्य स्त्रियां विभाषा नकारादेशो भवति ङीप् तु लभ्यत एव ॥

34. In forming the feminine with the affix ङीप्, न् is optionally the substitute of the final इ of पति, when the latter is preceded by another word.

The word सपूर्वस्य means when the word पति is not an upasarjana, but stands at the end of a compound. Thus वृद्धपतिः or वृद्धपत्नी; स्थूलपतिः or स्थूलपत्नी ॥ This is an example of aprâpta-vibhâshâ. Because it is free from the limitations of 'yajña-sanyoga' of the last sûtra. Why do we say when it is preceded by another word? Observe पतिरियं ब्राह्मणी ग्रामस्य, 'this Brahman lady is the mistress of the village.' Here the feminine is पति and not पत्नी ॥

नित्यंसपत्न्यादिषु ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, सपत्नी-आदिषु, (पत्युर्नः स्त्रि०)

वृत्तिः ॥ सपत्न्यादिषु नित्यं पत्युर्नकारादेशो भवति ङीप् तु लभ्यत एव ॥

35. In forming the feminine with the affix ङीप्, the word पति always takes the substitute न्, in the words like 'सपत्नी' and the rest.

This enjoins the necessary and not optional substitution of न् for the final इ of पति, before the affix ङीप्, in the cases of certain words. The word 'nitya' is used in the aphorism for the sake of precision. Thus सपत्नी, एकपत्नी ॥ The compound of the following words with पत्नी are governed by this rule:—1 समान 'equal' 2 एक 'one', 3 वीर 'hero', 4 पिण्ड 'a cake'. 5 भ्रातृ 'brother' 6 पुत्र 'a son', and 7 दास 'a slave' (this only in the Chhandas).

पूतक्रतोरैच ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूतक्रतोः, ऐच, (स्त्रियां ङीप्)

वृत्तिः ॥ पूतक्रतुशब्दस्य स्त्रियामैकारादेशो भवति ङीप् प्रत्ययः ॥

36. In forming the feminine, the letter ऐ is the substitute of the final of the word पतक्रत. when the affix ङीप् is added.

Thus पूतक्रतायी 'the wife of Pûtakratu'. This and the two succeeding sûtras, are in a way more intimately connected with IV. I. 48, in asmuchas the sense of the feminine words must be that of 'wife of', otherwise these sûtras will not apply. Thus if the meaning is not that of 'wife of', the word पूतक्रतुः will be both masculine and feminine as well, meaning 'she by whom sacrifices (क्रतवः) are sanctified (पूताः)'.

वृषाकप्यग्निकुसितकुसीदानामुदात्तः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृषाकपि-अग्नि-कुसित-कुसीदानां, उदात्तः (ऐ ङीप् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृषाकप्यादीनामुदात्त ऐकारादेशो भवति स्त्रियां ङीप् च प्रत्ययः ॥

37. In forming the feminine with the affix ङीप्, the letter ऐ having udâtta accent is the substitute of the finals of वृषाकपि, अग्नि, कुसित and कुसीद ॥

The words वृषाकपि and कुसीद have udâtta accent on the middle vowel (Phiṭ Sû II. 19), the feminine of these has udâtta, however, on the final. The words 'agni' and the rest have the udâtta on the final (Phiṭ sû I. 1), their substitute ऐ will necessarily be udâtta, by the rule of sthânivat bhâva, even if the present sûtra had not explicitly declared it to be so. Thus वृषाकपायी (Rig Veda X. 86. 13) 'the wife of Vṛishakapi', अग्नायी, (Rig Ved. I. 22. 12) the wife of 'Agni', कुसितायी 'wife of Kusita', कुसिदायी 'the wife of Kusidai. The present rule only applies when the sense of the feminine word is that of 'wife of'. Otherwise we have वृषाकपिः स्त्री 'the women Vṛishakapi' and not वृषाकपायी ॥ For the accent of the word वृष, See VI. 1. 205.

मनोरौवा ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनोः, औ, वा, (ऐ उदात्तः स्त्रियांङीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनुशब्दात् स्त्रियांङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति औकारश्चान्तादेशः ऐकारश्चोदात्तः ॥

38. In forming the feminine with the affix ङीप्, औ is optionally the substitute of the final of मनु, (as well as the udâtta ऐ) ॥

The phrases ऐ and उदात्त are understood. The force of वा is to make the substitution optional. Thus we have three forms, मनायी or मनावी or मनुः, all meaning 'the wife of Manu. The word मनु has udâtta accent on the first vowel, as it is formed from मन् by the affix उ (Uṇ I. 10), which by Uṇ I. 9 is treated as having an indicatory न्, and affixes having indicatory न् throw the accent on the first syllable. (VI. I. 197)

वर्णादनुदात्तात्तोपधात्तोनः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णाद्, अनुदात्तात्, तोपधात्, तः, नः (वा ङीप्स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्णवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादनुदात्तान्तात्तकारोपधाद्वाङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति, तकारस्य च नकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पिशङ्गादुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ असितपलितयोः प्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसिक्नमित्येके ॥ भाषायामपीष्यते ॥

39. The affix ङीप् is optionally employed after a Nominal-stem expressive of colour, ending in a gravely accented vowel, and having the letter त् as its penultimate letter: and the letter न् is substituted in the room of त् ॥

Thus of एत 'variegated'; the feminine is एता or एनी 'variegated', so श्येता or श्येनी 'black', हरिता or हरिणी 'green'. All these words have udâtta accent on the first vowel either by Rule VI. 1. 197 (ञ्नित्यादिर्नित्यम् "word formed by affixes having an indicatory ञ् or न् have udâtta accent on the first vowel",;)

because these words are formed by the Uṇadi affixes तन् (Uṇ III. 86) and इतन् (III. 93), or by the Phiṭ sûtra II. 10 (वर्णानां तणतिनितान्तानाम् "of words expressive of colour and ending in तण, or ति or नि or त, the udâtta accent falls on the first vowel").

Why do we say "expressive of color"? Observe प्रहृता, प्रस्तृता ॥ These words are also acutely accented on the first syllable, by rule VI. 2. 49 (गतिरनन्तरः "the first word retains its natural accent in a compound of a *gati* word with a word formed by the affix *kta*"). But as these words do not express color, their feminine does not take ṅîp.

Why do we say "ending in a gravely accented vowel?" Observe श्वेता 'white.' Here though the word expresses 'color', yet it has acute (instead of grave) accent on the final (by rule of Phiṭ sutra I. 21 घृतादीनां च "the words ghṛita &c. have udâtta on the final").

Why do we say "having the letter त as its penultimate letter"? Otherwise the affix ṅîsh will be employed in forming the feminine.

The words for the application of this rule must end in the letter अ in the masculine. Otherwise this rule will not apply. As शितिर्ब्राह्मणी 'a black Brahmaṇî woman'. Here शिति is a word expressive of color, it has a penultimate त, has anudâtta accent on the final (VI. 1. 197) as it is formed by the affix क्तिन् ; but as it does not end with अ, its feminine is not formed with ṅîp.

Vârt:—The affix ṅîp comes also after the word पिशङ्ग; as, पिशङ्गी 'of tawny color'.

Vârt:—There is prohibition in the case of the words असित and पलित; as असिता 'black' and पलिता 'grey'.

Vârt:—According to some, the substitute क्न replaces the final of these two words असित and पलित in the Vedic literature. As असिक्नी (Rig Veda IX. 73. 29); पलिक्नी (R. Veda V. 2. 4). According to some authorities, these latter forms are valid in literature other than the Vedic :—As गतो गणस्तूर्णमसिक्निकानाम् ॥

अन्यतोङीष् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्यतः, ङीष् , (वर्णादनुदात्तात् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्णवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादनुदात्तान्तात् स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix ङीष् is employed in the feminine after every other word expressive of color and ending with an anudâtta accent.

The word वा of IV. 1. 38 does not govern this sûtra. The word अन्यतः means in other cases than those governed by the last aphorism i. e. after words which have *not* त as penultimate. The difference between ṅîp and ṅîsh affixes consists in accent, the former being gravely accented (III. 1. 4) and the latter acute. Thus सारङ्गी, कल्माषी, शबली ॥

When the word does not express color, this rule does not apply. As खट्वा 'a bed-sted'.

When the word does not end with a gravely accented vowel, this will not apply, as, कृष्णा, कपिला ॥

षिद्गौरादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ष-इत्-गौर-आदिभ्यः, च, (स्त्रियांङीष्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ षिद्भ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो गौरादिभ्यश्च स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

41. The affix ङीष् is employed in forming the feminine after words ending with affixes which have an indicatory ष् and after the words गौर and the rest.

Thus by Sûtra III. 1. 145 (शिल्पिनि ष्वुन्) the affix ष्वुन् is added to a root, to form noun of agency, denoting an artist. The feminine of the words so formed, will take ńish. As, नर्तकी 'an actress', खनकी 'a digger'; रजकी 'a dyer'. So also the words गौर &c ; as गौरी, मत्सी । The following is the list of words belonging to Gaurâdi class.

1 गौर, 2 मत्स्य, 3 मनुष्य, 4 शृङ्ग, 5 पिङ्गल 6 हय, 7 गवय, 8 मुकय, 9 ऋष्य, 10 पुट, 11 तूण 12 द्रुण, 13 द्रोण; 14 हरिण, 15 काकण, (काकण,) 16 पटर, 17 उकण, (आमल) 18 आमलक, 19 कुवल, 20 बिम्ब, 21 बदर, 22 फर्करक (कर्कर) 23 तर्कार, 24 शर्कार, 25 पुष्कर, 26 शिखण्ड, 27 सलद 28 शष्कण्ड 29 सनन्द 30 सुषम, 31 सुषव 32 अलिन्द 33 गडुज, 34 षाण्डश 35 आढक, 36 आनन्द, 37 आश्वत्थ 38 सृपाट, 39 आखक (आपच्चिक), 40 शष्कुल, 41 सूर्म (सूर्म) 42 शूर्प, 43 सूच, 44 यूष (यूष) 45 यूथ, 46 सूप, 47 मेथ, 48 वल्लक, 49 धातक, 50 सल्लक, 51 मालक, 52 मालत, 53 साल्वक, 54 वेतस, 55 वृक्ष (वृस) 56 अतस, 57 उभय. 58 भृङ्ग. 59 मह, 60 मठ, 61 छेद, 62 पेश, 63 मेद, 64 श्वन् 65 तक्षन्, 66 अनडुही, 67 अनड्वाही; 68 । एषणः करणे । 69 देह, 70 देहल, 71 काकादन 72 गवादन, 73 तेजन, 74 रजन, 75 लवण, 76 औदाहमानि (औड्राहमानि) 77 गौतम (गोतम) 78 पारक, 79 अयस्थूण (भथःस्थूण) 80 भौरिकि, 81 भौलिकि, 82 भौलिङ्गि, 83 यान 84 मेध, 85 आलम्बि, 86 आलाजि, 87 आलब्धि, 88 आलक्षि, 89 केवाल, 90 आपक. 91 आरट, 92 नट, 93 टोट, 94 नोट, 95 मूलाट, 96 शातन, 97 पोतन, 98 पातन, 99 पाठन (पानट) 100 आस्तरण, 101 अधिकरण, 102 अधिकार 103 अग्रहायणी (आग्रहायणी) 104 प्रत्यवरोहिणी 105 सेचन, 106 सुमङ्गलात्संज्ञायाम् । 107 अण्डर 108 सुन्दर, 109 मण्डल, 110 मन्थर, 111 मंगल 112 पट, 113 पिण्ड, 114 षण्ड, 115 ऊर्द, 116 गुर्द, 117 शम, 118 सूद, 119 आंड (आर्द) 120 हृद (हृद) 121 पाण्ड, 122 भाण्डल (भाण्ड) 123 लोहाण्ड, 124 कदर, 125 कन्दर, 126 कदल, 127 तरुण, 128 तलुन, 129 कल्माष. 130 बृहत्, 131 महत्, 132 सोम, 133 सौधर्म । 134 रोहिणी नक्षत्रे । 135 रेवती नक्षत्रे । 136 विकल, 137 निष्कल 138 पुष्कल । 139 कटाच्छ्रोणिवचने । पिप्पल्यादयश्च । 140 पिप्पली, 141 हरितकी (हरीतकी) 142 कोशातकी, 143 शमी, 144 वरी, 145 शारी, 146 पृथिवी, 147 क्रोष्टु, 148 मातामह, 149 पितामह, 150 सुगड, 151 सुब, 152 सूर्य, 153 सकलूक. 154 आलिंगि, 155 पावन, 156 एत, 157 विटक, 158 भट्ट, 159 वहन, 160 कन्द, 161 कण ॥

N.B.—The word गौर though denoting color, is finally acute by virtue of this sûtra ; the word मत्स &c. being jâti words having a penultimate य would

not have taken ṅîp (IV. 1. 63) but for this sûtra; श्वन् and तक्षन् would have taken डाप् (IV. 1. 13), एषण is formed by ल्युट् and would have taken ṅîp (IV. 1. 15) इष्यतेऽनया = एषणी 'a balance, a probe'. गौतम would take ṅîn also by IV. 1. 73. Similarly it may be shown why the several words have been included in this list. By the *vartika* मातरि षिच्च given under IV. 2. 36, the affix आमह in मातामह is treated as having an indicatory ष ॥ The word मातामह will take ङीष् because it is षित्; its inclusion in the list of Gaurâdi indicates that the rule of ङीष् application, because a word is षित्, is not universal (अनित्यः षित्‌ लक्षणो ङीष्) ॥ Therefore we have forms like दंष्ट्रा &c.

जानपदकुण्डगोण स्थलभाजनागकालनीलकुशकामुककबराद् वृत्त्यमत्रावपनाकृत्रिमाश्राणा स्थौल्यवर्णानाच्छादनाऽयोविकारमैथुनेच्छाकेशवेशेषु ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जानपद-कुण्ड-गोण-स्थल-भाज-नाग-काल-नील-कुश-कामुक-कबरात्, वृत्ति-अमत्र-आवपन-अकृत्रिमा-श्राणा-स्थौल्य-वर्ण-अनाच्छादन-अयोविकार-मैथुनेच्छा-केशवेशेषु (स्त्रियांङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानपदादिभ्य एकादशभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्य एकादश वृत्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु यथासंख्यं ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति॥

42. The affix ङीष् is employed after the eleven words 'jânapada' &c. in the sense of 'profession' &c. respectively; i. e. after the words 1. जानपद 2. कुण्ड, 3. गोण, 4. स्थल 5. भाज, 6. नाग, 7. काल, 8. नील, 9. कुश, 10. कामुक, and कबर; the affix ङीष् is employed when the sense is that of 1. 'profession or living' 2. 'a bowl', 3. 'a sack or vessel for keeping grain', 4. 'a natural spot of ground'; 5. 'a cooked food or rice-gruel', 6. 'stout', 7. 'black-coloured', 8. 'blue-coloured other than cloth', 9. 'a plough-share', 10. 'a libidinous female', 11. 'a fellet or braid of hair', respectively.

Thus जानपदी 'a profession', otherwise जानपदी, the difference being in accent only. For this word is formed by adding the affix अञ् to janapada, by sûtra IV. 1. 86, as it belongs to Utsadi class of words: in forming the feminine the affix ङीप् will be added in this latter case, thus throwing the acute accent on the first syllable.

(2) So also कुण्डी 'bowl-shaped vessel', otherwise कुण्डा 'a name of Durga'. (3) गोणी 'a sack' यत्र धान्यादि प्रक्षिप्य नीयते otherwise गोणा, a particular name. (4) स्थली 'a place not prepared by artificial improvement'; otherwise स्थला as स्थलयोरकं परिगृह्णन्ति ॥ (5) भीजा 'cooked', otherwise भाजा, (6) नागा 'a stout woman', otherwise नागा ॥ The word नाग when a guṇa-vachana word i. e. a word expressive of quality, in the sense of 'stoutness', takes the affix ṅish in the feminine; otherwise टाप् when expressing general qualities. When it is a jati-

vachana word it takes ङीष् under all circumstances. (7) काली 'a black-coloured female', otherwise काला 'cruel' (8) नीली 'a blue-coloured animal or indigo' The word अनाच्छादन in the sûtra is rather too wide, it should be confined to the two senses above indicated i. e. when it applies to a plant called indigo or to animals'. Such as नालागौः, or नीली वडवा; or when it denotes appellative as नीली ॥ In other cases we have नीला 'a blue-coloured cloth'. (9) कुशी 'a plough share', otherwise कुशा 'a rope or a kind of grass' (10) कामुकी 'a libidinous or lustful woman' otherwise कामुका 'a woman desirous of wealth'. (11) कबरी 'a fillet or braid of hair', otherwise कबरा 'mixed, variegated'.

शोणात् प्राचाम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शोणात्, प्राचाम् (स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शोणशब्दात्प्राचामाचार्याणां मतेन स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. The affix ङीष् is employed in the feminine according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, after the word शोण ॥

Thus शोणी or शोणा वडवा 'a red or bay mare'. By Phiṭ Sûtra II. 10 referred to already in IV. 1. 39 the udâtta in शोण falls on the first syllable, and by IV. 1. 40 it would have taken ङीष् always; but the present sûtra makes a niyama rule and restricts the application of ङीष् according to the opinion of Eastern Grammarians only, and not of others.

वोतो गुणवचनात् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, उतः, गुण वचनात् (स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुणवचनात् प्रातिपदिकाद् उकारान्तात् स्त्रियां वा ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वसुशब्दाद् गुणवचनात् ङीबाद्युदात्तार्थम् ॥

वा० ॥ खरुसंयोगोपधात्प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

44. The affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after a word ending in short उ, and being expressive of a quality.

The word गुणवचनः means what expresses quality: i. e. "words not being words formed by primitive or secondary affixes, or other words entitled to the name of *sankhya* or *sarvanâman*, or *jâti*, or compound words, provided they are words denoting qualities and capable of being used as adjectives qualifying substantives as the word शुक्ल is, not as the word रूप, which though it expresses a quality, cannot be used as an adjective." (Guide to Panini). Thus from पटु 'dexterous', we have पट्वी or पटुः (without a feminine affix); so मृदुः or मृद्वी 'soft'. Why do we say 'ending in a short उ'? Observe शुचिरियं ब्राह्मणी 'this Brahmana lady is pure'. Why do we say "expressive of a quality?" Observe आखुः 'a mouse' (both masculine and feminine).

Vârt :—After the word वसु when expressive of a quality, the affix ङीप् is employed in the feminine; in order to make the first syllable acutely ac-

cented. As, वस्वी ॥ वसु is formed by उ (Vṇ I. 10) and is âdyudâtta because the उ is नित् ॥

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated after the word स्वरु, and words though ending in short उ, have conjunct consonant as penultimate. As स्वरुरियं ब्राह्मणी 'a Brahmaṇî who chooses her own husband'. Similarly पाण्डु is both gender, as ण्ड् is a conjunct consonant. As पाण्डुरियं ब्राह्मणी ॥

The word Guṇa गुणः 'quality' has been thus defined :—

सत्वे निविशतेपैति पृथग् जातिषु दृश्यते ।
आधेयश्चाक्रियाजश्च सोऽसत्त्वप्रकृतिर्गुणः ॥

बह्वादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहु-आदिभ्यः, च, (स्त्रियां वा-ङीष्) ॥

वृत्ति ॥ बहु इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां वा ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

45. And the affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after the words बहु and the rest.

As बहुः or बह्वी ॥ The following are the words belonging to the Bahvâdi class —

1 बहु, 2 पद्धति, 3 अञ्चति, 4 अङ्कति, 5 अंहति, 6 शकटि, (शकति), 7 शक्तिः शस्त्रे, 8 शारि, 9 वारि, 10 राति 11 राधि, 12 शाधि, 13 अहि, 14 कपि, 15 यष्टि, 16 मुनि, 17 इतः प्राण्यंगात् । 18 कृदिकारादक्तिनः । 19 सर्वतोऽक्तिन्नर्थादित्येके । 20 चण्ड, 21 अराल, 22 कृपण, 23 कमल, 24 विकट, 25 विशाल, 26 विशङ्कट, 27 भरुज, 28 ध्वज, 29 चन्द्रभागान्नद्याम् (चन्द्रभागा नद्याम) 30 कल्याण, 31 उदार, 32 पुराण, 33 अहन्, 34 क्रोड, 35 नख, 36 खुर, 37 शिखा, 38 बाल, 39 शफ, 40 गुद ॥ आकृतिगणोऽयम ॥ तेन । 43 भग, 44 गल, 45 राग इत्यादि ॥

The affix ṅîsh also comes optionally after words ending in short इ being the names of the limbs of animals ; as, धमनिः or धमनी ॥ So also after the vowel इ of a kṛit affix, not क्तिन् (III. 3. 94), as रात्रि or रात्री ॥ Some say that the feminine affix *ṅîsh* may come after any word ending in इ, if it has not the force of the affix क्तिन् ॥ The word बहु is a guṇa-word and would have *optionally* taken ṅîsh even by the last sûtra, its specification here is for the subsequent sûtra, by which it *necessarily* takes ṅîsh in the Chhandas. It is an Ákritigaṇa

नित्यं छन्दसि ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, छन्दसि, (बह्वादिभ्यः स्त्रियांङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बह्वादिभ्य श्छन्दसि विषये नित्यं स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

46. The affix ङीष् is always employed in the Vedic literature, in forming the feminine of the words बहु and the rest.

Thus बह्वीषु हित्वा प्रपिवन् ॥ Here बह्वी is the name of a hero.

The word नित्य 'always' is used in the aphorism, more for the sake of the subsequent sûtra, which it governs than for this sûtra. For the word

'optionally.' does not govern this, and the aphorism even without the word 'nitya'? would have been a necessary rule and not optional: for आरम्भसामर्थ्यादेव नित्योविधिः सिद्धः, योगारम्भश्चिन्त्य प्रयोजनः ॥

भुवश्च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, च, (छन्दसि नित्यं स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये स्त्रियां भुवो नित्यं ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix ङीष् is always employed in the Chhandas in forming the feminine, after the word भु ॥

Thus विभ्वी, प्रभ्वी, सुभ्वी, शम्भ्वी ॥

But why not so in the case of स्वयम्भूः? Because it ends in long ऊ, while विभ्वी &c. are feminine of विभु &c. ending in short उ ॥ In fact the word उतः "after a word ending in short उ" of Sûtra IV. 1. 44 governs this also. The word भुवः is the ablative case of भु irregularly formed by the substitution of उवङ्; this form being confined to sûtras only.

पुंयोगादाख्यायाम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंयोगात्-आख्यायां, (स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुंयोगाद्धेतो र्यत्प्रातिपदिकं स्त्रियां वर्त्तते पुंस आख्याभूतं तस्मात् ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गोपालकादीनां प्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सूर्याद्देवतायां चाब् वक्तव्यः ॥

48. The feminine affix ङीष् comes after a word when it expresses the name of a wife in relation to her husband.

Relation (yoga) with a male (punsâ) is called पुंयोग ॥ Thus the wife of गणक 'an astrologer' is called गणकी, so also महामात्री 'the wife of a chief minister', प्रष्ठी 'the wife of a chief'; प्रचरी &c. Thus the word गणक means an astrologer, a calculator or a mathematician; and the wife of such a person will be expressed by the word गणकी ॥ But if a woman is herself an astrologer &c, she will be called गणका (by टाप्) &c. Therefore when matrimonial relation is not denoted, this sûtra will not apply

Why do we say 'in relation to a husband'? Observe देवदत्ता यज्ञदत्ता 'two women of the names of Devadattâ, and Yajñadattâ, not wives of Devadatta and Yajñadatta.'

Why do we say "आख्या or a name"? The word formed will be the name of a woman whose husband is possessed of the quality denoted by the word, and not that the woman possesses that quality. In the case of a woman, therefore, the word is merely a Name or a Designation, and has no reference to the etymological meaning of the word. Moreover, the omission of the word आख्यायाम् would have made the sûtra ambiguous, for the phrase पुंयोगात् also means 'an effect produced by union with a man' such as pregnancy. And words परिसृष्टा and प्रजाता would have required ई and not आ ॥

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of words like गोपालिक and the rest. Thus गोपालिका 'the wife of a cow-herd'.

Vârt:—The affix चाप् comes after सूर्य in denoting the wife of Sûrya, when she is a celestial being. As सूर्या 'the celestial wife of the god Sûrya', while सूरी will denote a human wife of Sûrya, such as, Kunti &c. The affix चाप् makes the word acutely accented on the final: for the word सूर्य has acute on the initial, and had ङीष् been only prohibited and no specific affix ordained, then टाप् would have applied, and it would have left the accent unchanged. Hence a distinct affix चाप् is ordained.

इन्द्रवरुणभवशर्वरुद्रमृडहिमारण्ययव यवनमातुलाचार्याणामानुक् ॥४९॥ पदानि ॥ इन्द्र-वरुण-भव-शर्व-रुद्र-मृड-हिम-अरण्य-यव-यवन-मातुल-आचार्याणाम्, आनुक्, (स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति आनुक् चागमः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हिमारण्ययोर्महत्वे ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यवाद्दोषे ॥

वा० ॥ यवनाल्लिप्याम् ॥ वा० ॥ उपाध्यायमातुलाभ्यां वा ॥

वा० ॥ आचार्यादणत्वेच ॥ वा० ॥ अर्यक्षत्रियाभ्यांवा ॥

वा० ॥ मुद्गलाच्छन्दसि लिच ॥

49. The augment आनुक् is added to the Proper Nouns इन्द्र, वरुण, भव, शर्व, रुद्र, and मृड, and to the words हिम 'snow', अरण्य 'a forest', यव 'barley', यवन 'a Yavana', मातुल 'a maternal uncle', and आचार्य 'a preceptor', before the feminine affix ङीष् ॥

The present sûtra teaches two things, the addition of the augment आनुक् (आन्) and secondly the feminine affix ङीष् ॥ Out of the above words, in case of those about which matrimonial relation is desired to be expressed, i. e. the Proper Nouns up to मृड, the present sûtra teaches only the addition of the augment आनुक्, for in their case, the affix ङीष् would follow by force of the preceding Sûtra. In the case of the remaining words, it teaches both these things.

Thus इन्द्राणी 'the wife of Indra', वरुणानी 'the wife of Varuṇa', भवानी 'the wife of Bhava', शर्वाणी 'the wife of Śarva', रुद्राणी 'the wife of Rudra', मृडानि 'the wife of Mṛiḍa'

Vârt:—Of the words हिम and अरण्य, there is the augment आनुक् in the sense of greatness. Thus हिमानी 'a glacier, much snow', अरण्यानी 'a great forest'. Otherwise these words are always Neuter and never take feminine.

Vârt:—After the word यव 'barley' the feminine affix and the augment are added in the sense of fault. The fault consists in its imitating barley

while not being a barley. In fact the word denotes a new and inferior sort of grain. Thus यवानी "a kind of grain, oat".

Vârt:—After the word यवन, the affix and the augment are added in the sense of handwriting. Thus यवनानी 'the written character of the Yavanas'.

Vârt:—Of the words मातुल 'a maternal uncle', and उपाध्याय 'a preceptor', when the feminine affix comes to express the wife thereof, the augment आनुक् is optional. Thus मतुलानी or मातुली 'the wife of a maternal uncle' उपाध्यायानी or उपाध्यायी 'the wife of a preceptor',

Vârt:—And there is not the change to the lingual ण् of the dental न् of the augment आनुक् (VIII. 4. 2) after the word आचार्य ॥ Thus आचार्यानी or आचार्या 'the wife of a preceptor'.

Vârt:—After the words अर्य and क्षत्रिय this rule applies optionally: when the matrimonial relation is not intended but the word retains its own sense. Thus अर्याणी or अर्या 'the female of the Arya or Vaishyâ class', क्षत्रियाणी or क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class'. When matrimonial relation is to be expressed, then only ङीष् is added. As अर्यी 'the wife of a Vaishya', क्षत्रियी 'the wife of a Kshatriya'.

Vârt:—In the Chhandas, the affix ङीष् with the augment आनुक् is added to the word मुद्गल; and the affix is treated as if it had an indicatory ल् ॥ The force of the indicatory ल् is to make the vowel preceding the affix, take the acute accent (VI. 1. 193 लिति). Thus रथीरभून् मुद्गलानी गविष्टौ ॥ (Rig Veda X. 102. 2).

क्रीतात्करणपूर्वात् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रीतात्, करण-पूर्वात्, (स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्ति ॥ क्रीतशब्दान्तात् प्रातिपदिकात् करणपूर्वात् स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50 The affix ङीष् is employed in the feminine after a compound word ending in क्रीत, the first member of the compound being the name of the means wherewith the thing is bought.

The word करणपूर्वम् means that compound in which the करण or 'means' is the first member. Thus वस्त्रक्रीती 'a female bought in exchange for cloth'; so also वसनक्रीती 'a female bought in exchange for dress'.

Why do we say "when the first member of the compound is the name of the means"? Observe सुक्रीता 'well purchased', दुष्क्रीता 'ill-purchased'. But why is not the affix ङीष् employed in धनक्रीता in the following verse:— सा हितस्यधनक्रीता प्राणेभ्योपि गरीयसी 'she purchased in exchange of riches is more dear to him than life'. Here the word क्रीत has first taken the affix टाप् form-

ing क्रीता and then this feminine word is compounded with धन ॥ The general rule is गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्भिः सहसमासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेः "Gati, Kârakas and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with Krit-affixes, before a case termination or a feminine affix has been added to the latter". The word धनक्रीता is an exception, founded on the diversity allowed by कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् (II. 1. 32).

क्तादल्पाख्यायाम् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तात्, अल्पाख्यायाम्, (करणपूर्वात् ङीष स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करणपूर्वात्प्रातिपदिकात् क्तान्तादल्पाख्यायां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affix ङीष् is employed after a compound Nominal-stem in which a name denoting the means wherewith, is the first member, and the second member is a word formed by the Participle क्त, when the sense is that of 'a small quantity'.

The word करण पूर्वात् 'preceded by a noun denoting the means where with', of the last sûtra governs this also. The participle in क्त, must be preceded by a noun in the instrumental case, and the sense conveyed by क्त, to the action should give the sense of 'little', in connection therewith. The अल्पाख्यायाम् of the sûtra qualifies the whole word. Thus अभ्रविलिप्ती द्यौः 'a sky covered slightly with clouds', सूपविलिप्ती पात्री 'a dish slightly covered with soup'.

Why do we say when the sense is that of 'little'? Observe चन्दनानुलिप्ता ब्राह्मणी "a Brâhmanî lady covered with sandal essence?"

बहुव्रीहेश्चान्तोदात्तात् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहेः, च, अन्त-उदात्तात्, (क्तात् स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहिर्योऽन्तोदात्तस्तस्मात् स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अन्तोदात्ताज्जातप्रतिषेधः ॥ वा० ॥ पाणिगृहीत्यादीनामर्थ विशेषे ॥

वा० ॥ अबहुनञ्सुकाल सुखादिपूर्वादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

52. The affix ङीष् is employed in the feminine after that Bahuvrîhi compound, which ending with a word formed by the affix क्त, has an acute accent on the last syllable.

The word क्तात् of the last aphorism governs this also. This sûtra applies to those Bahuvrîhi compounds in which the first member is a *svânga* word. But if the antecedent member is not a *svânga* word, then the application of the rule is optional. As शंखभिन्नी 'having a rent on the temporal bone', ऊरुभिन्नी 'having a rent on the thigh'. गलकोत्कृत्ती (गलमुत्कृत्तमस्या), केशलूनी ॥ By II. 2. 36 Vârt जातिकालसुखादिभ्यः परवचनम्, the Nishthâ stands in the second place, otherwise by II. 2. 36 it ought to have formed the first member of the

compound. The words शंख &c. are jâti words, and by VI. 2. 170, the acute is on the final.

Why do we say "after a Bahuvrîhi compound?" Observe पादपतिता which is an Ablative Tatpurusha compound (II. 2. 38). The compounding is by II. 1. 32, and it has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144.

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the participle जात 'born', which is also acutely accented on the final. Thus दन्तजाता 'a female who has cut her teeth;' स्तनजाता 'a female whose breast has been developed'. See II. 2. 36 Vârt.

Vârt:—In the case of words पाणिगृहीती &c, the affix is employed in certain senses only. Thus पाणिगृहीती 'a wife'; (अग्निसाक्षिकं यस्याःपाणिर्गृह्यते); but पाणिगृहीता 'a woman whose hands have been taken, but not before the sacred fire, a concubine &c.'

Vârt:—Exception must be stated in the case of compounds, the antecedent member of which is any one of the following words:—बहु, नञ्, सु, words denoting time, सुख &c. Thus बहुकृता, अकृता, सुकृता, मासजाता, संवत्सरजाता, सुखजाता or दुःखजाता &c.

Bahuvrîhi compounds get acute accent on the final syllable when they fall under the rules VI. 2. 170 and the following.

अस्वाङ्ग पूर्वपदाद्वा ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-स्वांग-पूर्वपदात्, वा, (अन्तोदात्तात् क्तात् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्वाङ्ग पूर्वपदादन्तोदात्तात् क्तान्ताद् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां वा ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं संज्ञाछन्दसोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

53. The affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in क, having acute accent on the final, the antecedent word not being a word denoting a part of the body.

The words अन्तोदात्तात् and क्तान्तात् govern this sûtra. This aphorism lays down an option, where by the last aphorism, it would have been compulsory. Thus शार्ङ्गजग्ध, is a word having acute accent on the final (VI. 2. 170): but as the first portion of this Bahuvrîhi is not a *Svânga* word, but a *jâti* word, its feminine will be शार्ङ्गजग्धी or शार्ङ्गजग्धा ॥ So also पलाण्डुभक्षिती or पलाण्डुभक्षिता and सुरापीती or सुरापीता ॥

Why do we say 'when the first member of the compound is not a *svânga* word'? Observe शंखभिन्नी, ऊरुभिन्नी which admit of only one form.

If the final is not acutely accented, the rule will not apply. As वस्त्रच्छन्ना and वसनच्छन्ना which are not acutely accented on the final (See VI.

2. 170), because the first member is a word denoting dress or आच्छादन, which is especially excepted from the scope of rule VI. 2. 170.

Vârt:—Diversely in the Chhandas and in Names. As प्रवृद्धविलूनी or प्रवृद्धविलूना ॥

स्वाङ्गाच्चोपसर्जनादसंयोगोपधात् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गात्, च, उपसर्जनात्, असंयोग-उपधात्, (वा स्त्रियां ङीष्)

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वांगंयदुपसर्जनमसंयोगोपधं तदन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अंगगात्रकण्ठेभ्य इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

54. And the feminine affix ङीष् comes optionally after what ends with the name of a part of the body, when the word is a subordinate member in a compound, and has not a conjunct for its penultimate letter (i. e. the final अ is not preceded by a double consonant).

The *Anuvritti* of the words बहुव्रीहेः, क्तान्तादन्तोदात्तात् does not extend to this aphorism. But the anuvritti of the word वा 'optionally' does extend to this Sûtra. Thus चन्द्रमुखी or चन्द्रमुखा, अतिकेशी or अतिकेशा ॥ The word अतिकेशा is a Tatpurusha compound meaning अतिक्रान्ता केशान्, and केश is upasarjana by I. 2. 44.

Why do we say "what ends with the name of a part of the body"? Observe बहुयवा 'having much barley'. Why do we say "subordinate in a compound"? Witness अशिखा "without crest" (where the शिखा is not subordinate or epithetical). Why do we say "not having a conjunct for its penultimate letter"? Witness सुगुल्फा, सुपार्श्वा ॥

Vârt:—This rule applies to a compound ending with the word अङ्ग, गात्र and कण्ठ, though in all these, the penultimate is a double consonant. Thus मृद्वङ्गी or मृद्वङ्गा ; सुगात्री or सुगात्रा, स्निग्धकण्ठी or स्निग्धकण्ठा ॥

The word स्वांग has a technical meaning as given in the following verse :—

अद्रवं मूर्तिमत्स्वाङ्गं प्राणिस्थमविकारजम् ।
अतत्स्थं तत्र दृष्टं चेत् तेन चेत् तत्तथायुतम् ॥

A word denoting a thing which not being a fluid, is capable of being perceived by the senses because of its having a form, is svâṅga ; it must exist in a living being, but not produced by a change from the natural state ; or though found elsewhere actually, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being.

नासिकोदरौष्ठजङ्घादन्तकर्णश्रृंगाच्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नासिका-उदर-ओष्ठ-जङ्घा-दन्त-कर्ण-श्रृंगात्, च, (स्वांगात् स्त्रियां वा ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नासिकाद्यन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां वा ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुच्छाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कबरमणिविषशरेभ्योनित्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ उपमानात्पक्षाच्च पुच्छाच्च ॥

55. And the feminine ङीष् comes optionally after compounds ending with नासिका 'a nose,' उदर 'belly,' ओष्ठ 'lip' जंघा 'leg', दन्त 'a tooth', कर्ण 'ear', and श्रृङ्ग 'horn'.

This is an exception to the last and the succeeding sûtra. Some of the words above given are either such which have a conjunct penultimate letter, and thus beyond the scope of IV. 1. 54; or they are polysyllabic words and thus covered by IV. 1. 56. Though this rule is an exception to 54 and 56; yet it is qualified by IV. 1. 57. Thus तुङ्गनासिका or तुङ्गनासिकी, तिलोदरी or तिलोदरा, बिम्बोष्ठी or बिम्बोष्ठा, दीर्घजंघी or दीर्घजंघा, समदन्ती or समदन्ता, चारुकर्णी or चारुकर्णा, तीक्ष्णशृङ्गी or तीक्ष्णशृङ्गा ॥

Vârt :—So also after the word पुच्छ 'tail'. As कल्याणपुच्छा or कल्याणपुच्छी ॥

Vârt :—The affix *ṅish* comes necessarily and not optionally after compounds of पुच्छ with कबर, मणि, विष and शर ॥ As, कबरपुच्छी 'a peahen मणिपुच्छी, विषपुच्छी, 'a scorpion' and शरपुच्छी ॥

Vârt :—So also the feminine affix *ṅish* is necessarily employed after the words पक्ष and पुच्छ when used as a simile or as objects of comparison. As उलूकपक्षी सेना, उलूकपुच्छी शाला ॥

न क्रोडादिबह्वचः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, क्रोड-आदि-बहु-अचः, (स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रोडाद्यन्तात् बह्वजन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

56. The feminine affix ङीष् does not come after a Nominal-stem which denoting a part of the body, belongs to the class क्रोडा 'the flank &c, of a horse', nor when the word is a stem of more than two syllables.

The class क्रोड &c. is âkriti-gaṇa, that is a class of words constituted by usage. The following are some of the examples:—As कल्याणक्रोडा, कल्याणखुरा, कल्याणोखा, कल्याणबाला, कल्याणशफा, कल्याणगुदा, कल्याणघाणा ॥ So also सुभगा, सुगला, &c. Of the case where the word is polysyllabic, the examples are सुजघना, पृथुजघना, महाललाटा, ॥ The word क्रोडा is feminine itself, and in the Bahuvrîhi the feminine sign of the first member is elided by pungvad-bhâva, and क्रोडा is shortened to क्रोड because it is an upasarjana (I. 2. 48).

सहनञ् विद्यमानपूर्वाच्च ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सह-नञ-विद्यमान-पूर्वात्, च, (स्त्रियां ङीष् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सह नञ् विद्यमानइत्येवं पूर्वात् प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

57. The affix ङीष् does not come in the feminine after a Nominal-stem denoting a part of the body, when the word is subordinate in a compound, preceded by the word सह 'with', नञ् 'not', or विद्यमान 'having'.

Thus सकेशा, अकेशा विद्यमानकेशा ॥ So also सनासिका अनासिका or विद्यमाननासिका ॥ The last example shows, that the present rule governs also IV. 1. 55 *ante*: as well as IV. 1. 54

नखमुखात्संज्ञायाम् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नख-मुखात्, संज्ञायां, (स्त्रियां ङीष् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नखमुखान्तात्प्रातिपदिकात्संज्ञायां स्त्रियां विषये ङीष् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

58. The feminine affix ङीष् is not employed after नख, and मुख, when (the word at the end of which they stand) is a Name.

Thus शूर्प + नखा, = शूर्पणखा, Śûrpaṇakhâ the sister of Râvaṇa'. The न् is changed into ण् by VIII. 4. 3 (पूर्वपदात् संज्ञायामगः) ॥ So also वज्रणखा, गौरमुखा, कालमुखा &c. Why do we say 'when denoting a Name'? Witness ताम्रमुखी कन्या 'a copper-faced damsel', or चन्द्रमुखी 'moon-faced'

दीर्घजिह्वी च छन्दसि ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घजिह्वी, च, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घजिह्वी इति छन्दसिविषये निपात्यते ॥

59. The form दीर्घजीह्वी 'long-tongued' is irregularly formed in the Chhandas.

The word दीर्घजीह्वी is the feminine of दीर्घजीह्व but as the latter has a conjunct consonant for its penultimate, the feminine affix ङीष् would not have applied to it by IV. 1. 54. The present aphorism enjoins ङीष् ॥ Thus दीर्घजीह्वी in the sentence दीर्घजीह्वी वै देवानां हव्यमलेट् '

The word च 'and' in the aphorism is used in order to draw in the word संज्ञा from the last, so that the word *dîrgha-jîhvî* is always a Name. Moreover by using the feminine form dîrgha-jîhvî in the sûtra, it is indicated that the application of ङीष् is necessary and not optional, as was the case in the last sûtras.

दिक्पूर्वपदान् ङीप् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-पूर्वपदात्, ङीप्, (स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक् पूर्वपदात्प्रातिपदिकान् ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

60. The feminine affix ङीप् comes after a Nominal stem which is preceded by a word signifying direction.

This aphorism over-rules all the rules and prohibitions contained in sûtras 54 to 58. Whereever by those rules there would have been ङीष्, the present enjoins ङीप् instead. Though the form will be the same, the difference will be in the accent; the affix ङीप् being anudâtta (III. 1. 4). Thus प्राङ्मुखी or प्राङ्मुखा, प्राङ्नासिकी or प्रांनासिका, But not so in प्राग्गुल्फा; or प्राक्क्रोडा or प्राग्जघना because these words do not take ङीष् (by IV. I. 56), therefore they never give occasion to the application of ङीप् ॥ The sûtra ought to be read as if it contained two rules (1) the affix ङीष् comes after a compound the first member of which is a word denoting direction and the second is a svânga word or is the word नासिका &c. the penultimate not being a conjunct consonant, (2) but ङीष् is not added to Compounds ending in क्रोड &c. or in a word of more than two syllables. In other words the sûtra may be translated "ङीप् is the substitute of ङीष् when the first member is a word denoting direction". Therefore the affix ङीप् will come only there, where else the affix ङीष् would have come and not otherwise. This is the reason why the anuvṛitti of ङीष् is taken in the next sûtra (IV. 1. 61) and not that of ङीप् ॥

वाहः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहः, (ङीष् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाहन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The feminine affix ङीष् comes after a Nominal-stem ending with the word वाह् ॥

The anuvṛitti of ङीष् is to be taken in this aphorism and not that of ङीप्, though the latter was nearer. The word वाह् is formed from the root वाह् with the affix ण्वि (III. 2. 64). The word वाह् is never found alone, but as ends of compounds, hence we apply the rule of *tadanta*, and have translated it by saying a "word ending in vâh." Thus दित्यौही 'sustaining the demon.' This form is thus evolved :—दित्य + वाह् + ङीष् = दित्य + ऊह् + आह् + ङीष् (VI. 4. 132 वाह ऊठ्, Uṭh is the samprasarana of vâh, when this is a *bha*) = दित्य + ऊह् + ङीष् (VI. 1. 108) संप्रसारणाच्च 'after a samprasârana if a vowel follow, the form of the prior is the single substitute'), = दित्यौही (VI. I. 89 एत्येधत्यूठ्सु 'vṛiddhi is the single substitute when *eti*, *edhati* or ûṭh follow'). Similarly प्रष्ठौही 'a young heifer training for the plough.'

सख्यशिश्वीति भाषायाम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सखी-अशिश्वी, इति, भाषायां ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सखी अशिश्वी इत्येतौ शब्दौ ङीषन्तौ भाषायां निपात्येते ॥

62. The forms सखी and अशिश्वी are irregular forms ending in ङीष् found in secular (or vernacular as opposed to (Vedic) Sanskrit.

Thus सखीयं मे ब्राह्मणी, and नास्याः शिशुरस्तीति = अशिश्वी ॥ Why do we say

in vernacular Sanskrit? Observe सखा सप्तपदी भव and अशिशुमिव मामयं शिशुरभिमन्यते ॥

Sometimes we find these forms in the Vedas also, though rarely, as आयेनवो धुनयन्तामशिश्वी ॥ सखी सप्तपदी भव ॥

जातेरस्त्री विषयादयोपधात् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातेः, अस्त्रीविषयात्, अयोपधात्, (स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचि यत्प्रातिपदिकं नच स्त्रियामेव नियतमस्त्री विषयमयकारोपधंच तस्मात् स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ योपधप्रतिषेधे हय गवय मुकय मत्स्यमनुष्याणाम् प्रतिषेधः ॥

63. The feminine affix ङीष् comes after a word denoting a jâti or species when it does not express in its original meaning a feminine, and which moreover has not the letter य् for its penultimate.

The word जाति was defined under Sûtra I. 2. 52. Thus कुक्कुटी 'a hen'; सूकरी 'a she-hog', ब्राह्मणी 'Brâhmaṇî'; वृषली 'a woman of the Śûdra caste', नाडायनी 'a woman of Nadayana class', चारायणी 'a Chârâyaṇî', कठी 'a woman of Brahmans who read the Kaṭha', बह्वृची 'a woman of the class of Brahmans who read the Rig Veda'.

Why do we say "expressive of a jâti"? Observe मुण्डा 'shaven' (where the word expresses not a jâti but a quality). Why do we say "not invariably feminine"? Witness मक्षिका 'a fly' (supposed to breed without a male). Why do we say "not having the letter य for its penultimate?" Witness क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class'.

Vârt:—In excluding words that have the letter य् as penultimate, there is not involved the exclusion of the following words which have a penultimate य्) viz, गवय 'the Bos Gaveans', हय 'horse', मुकय 'a sort of animal', मत्स्य 'a fish', and मनुष्य 'a man'. Thus गवयी, हयी, मनुषी, (VI. 4. 150 हलस्तद्धितस्य 'there is elision of the य् of a taddhita affix coming after a consonant when long ई follows') मत्सी ॥ The य of *matsya* is elided by the vârtika 'मत्स्यस्य ङ्याम्' ॥ See also VI. 4. 149. All these words are also included in the class गौरादि (IV. 1. 41.) and would have taken ङीष् independently of this vârtika.

Another definition of jâti is :—

प्रादुर्भावविनाशाभ्यां सत्वस्य युगपद्गुणैः ।
असर्वलिंगां बह्वर्थां तां जातिं कवयो विदुः ॥ (See translation under I. 2. 52)

पाककर्णपर्णपुष्पफलमूलवालोत्तरपदाच्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि पाक-कर्ण-पर्ण-पुष्प-फल-मूल-वाल-उत्तरपदात्, च (स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाकादि उत्तरपदाज्जातिवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ पुष्पफलमूलोत्तरपदात् तु यतोनिष्यते तदजादिषु पठ्यते ॥ यथा सत्प्राक्काण्डप्रान्तशतैकेभ्यः पुष्पात् ॥

संभस्त्राजिनशण पिण्डेभ्यः फलात् ॥ मूलान्नञः ॥

64. And the feminine affix ङीष् comes after the Nominal-stem expressive of jâti, followed by the following, पाक 'cooked', कर्ण 'ear', पर्ण 'leaf', पुष्प 'flower', फल 'fruit', मूल 'root', and वाल 'youth'.

Here the affix applies to words which in their original sense denoted females and therefore were not provided by the last sûtra. Thus ओदनपाकी शंककुर्णी, शालपर्णी, शंखपुष्पी, दासीफली दर्भमूली, and गोवाली ॥

When, however the affix ङीष् is not intended to be applied to compounds ending with फल, पुष्प, and मुल, then those compouds will fall under Ajâdi class (IV. 1. 4); such as संफला, भस्त्रफला, सत्पुष्पा, अमूला &c.

इतो मनुष्यजातेः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, मनुष्य-जातेः, (स्त्रियां ङीष्)

वृत्तिः ॥ इकारान्तात्प्रातिपदिकान्मनुष्यजातिवाचिनः स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इञ उपसंख्यानमजात्यर्थम् ॥

65. The feminine affix ङीष comes after a Nominal-stem ending in short इ denoting classes or races of men.

Thus अवन्ती 'women of Avanti', कुन्ती 'women of Kunti', दाक्षी 'Dâkshi'. Thur अवन्ति + ञ्यङ् (IV. 1. 171) आवन्त्यः 'men of Avanti'. In the feminine this affix by IV. 1. 176 is elided. प्लाक्षी "the female descendants of Plaksha". Why do we say "ending in short इ"? Witness विट् 'Vaishya', दरत् 'Darat'. Why do we say "of men"? Witness तित्तिरिः 'partridge'. Though the anuvritti of the word जाति could have been read into this aphorism from IV. 1, 63, its repetition here indicates that ङीष् is to be applied even when the penultimate letter is य् Thus औदमेयी ॥

Vârt:—This rule applies to words ending in the taddhita affix इञ (IV. 2. 80). though they do not denote a *jati* Thus सौतंगमी, मौनचित्ती ॥ The affix इञ here referred to is the quadruply significant affix taught in IV. 2. 80 and ordained to come after सुतंगम &c, and does not denote a jâti.

ऊङुतः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊङ्, उतः, (मनुष्यजातेः स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारान्तान्मनुष्यजातिवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अप्राणिजातेश्चारज्ज्वादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

66. After a Nominal-stem ending in short उ, not having the letter य् as its penultimate letter, and being expressive of races of men, the affix in the feminine is ऊङ्.

The anuvritti of the words मनुष्यजाति and अयोपधात् should be read into the sûtra to complete it. Thus कुरूः 'a female of the country of the Kurus' ब्रह्मबन्धूः "a Brahmani of the class of the fallen Brahmans so called", जीवबन्धूः "a woman of the Jivabandhu class",

Thus कुरु + ण्य = कौरव्यः IV. I. 172, and this affix is elided by IV. I. 176 in the feminine.

The indicatory letter ङ् in ऊङ् is to distinguish this affix in Sûtras like नोङ् धात्वोः (VI. 1 175), for had the affix been enunciated merely as ऊ, then the Sûtra VI. I. 175 would have run as नो धात्वोः and the sense would have been ambiguous, for we could not have known what affix was particularly meant there.

The long ऊ is taught to debar the affix कप्, for a short उ would have also given the form कुरू (कुरु+उ=कुरू) ॥ The long ऊ therefore, indicates that the affix कप्, enjoined by V. 4 154, in Bahuvrîhis, will not apply in the feminine forms ब्रह्मबन्धूः and the like, by the rule of vipratishedha.

Why do we say "not having the letter य् as its penultimate"? Witness अध्वर्युर्ब्राह्मणी 'a woman of the class of Brahmanas versed in the Yajur Veda'.

Vârt:—The affix ऊङ्. comes under similar conditions after words denoting non-animate jâti, except the words रज्जु &c. Thus अलाबूः 'the bottle-gourd'; कर्कन्धूः 'the jujube tree.' Why do we say "non-animate"? Witness कृकवाकुः 'a kind of lizard.' Why do we say "except the word rajju &c" Witness रज्जुः 'rope'; हनुः 'cheek' &c.

बाह्वन्तात्संज्ञायाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ बाहु-अन्तात्, संज्ञायाम्, (स्त्रियां ऊङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बाहुशब्दान्ता त्प्रातिपदिकात्संज्ञायां विषये स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in denoting a Name, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word बाहु ॥

Thus भद्रबाहूः 'Bhadrabâhû'; जालबाहूः &c. Why do we say in "expressing a Name"? Observe वृत्तबाहुः 'a woman having rounded hand' which is an attributive word. In other words, when the compound is a name, बाहु takes long ऊ in the feminine.

पङ्गोश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पंगोः, च, (स्त्रियां ऊङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पंगुशब्दात् स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ श्वशुरस्योकाराकारलोपश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

68. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes after the word पंगु 'lame'.

As पंगूः 'a female lame'.

Vârt:—The feminine affix ऊङ् is added to श्वशुर, and thereby there is elision of the letter उ and of the letter अ of the word. As श्वश्रूः 'mother-in-law' This debars the puṅyoga ङीष् of IV. I. 48.

ऊरूत्तरपदादौपम्ये ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊरु-उत्तरपदात्, औपम्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊरूत्तरपदात्प्रातिपदिकादौपम्ये गम्यमाने स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The feminine affix ऊङ comes after a stem ending in ऊरु when comparison with something (expressed by the first term) is meant.

Thus कदलीस्तम्भोरूः 'a female with thighs like plantain-stem'. नाग नासोरूः 'a female with thighs like the nose of an elephant'; करभोरूः 'a female with thighs like the ulnar or tapering fleshy side of the hand'.

Why do we say "when expressing an object of comparison"? Witness वृत्तोरूः स्त्री 'a woman with round thighs'. The word करेणुकरोरु "thigh like the proboscis (कर) of an elephant (करेणु)" is a poetic irregularity in the following विचक्रे,च करेणुकरोरुभिः ॥

संहितशफलक्षणवामादेश्च ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ संहित, शफ, लक्षण, वामादेः च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संहित शफ लक्षण वाम इत्येवमादेः प्रातिपदिकादूरूत्तरपदात् स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सहितसहाभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

70 The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in the Vedas after the word ऊरु when the words संहित 'accompanied or joined', शफ 'a hoof', लक्षण 'a mark,' and वाम 'handsome' precede it.

This aphorism applies, when no comparison is intended. As संहितोरूः 'a female whose thighs are joined (e. g. from obesity).' शफोरूः 'whose thighs are put together like the two hoofs on a cow's foot,' लक्षणोरूः 'whose thighs are marked,' वामोरूः 'with handsome thighs.'

Vârt:—So also with the words सहित and सह. As सहितोरूः and सहोरूः ॥

कद्रुकमण्डल्वोश्छन्दसि ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कद्रु, कमण्डल्वोः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कद्रुशब्दात्कमण्डलुशब्दाच्च छन्दसि विषये स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गुग्गुलुमधुजतुपतयालूनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

71. The feminine affix ऊङ comes in the Vedas after the words कद्रु 'tawny,' and कमण्डलु 'a water pot.'

Thus कद्रूश्च वै सुपर्णी च ॥ मास्मकमण्डलूं शूद्राय दद्यात् ॥

Why do we say "in the Vedas." Witness कद्रुः and कमण्डलुः ॥

Vârt:—So also after the words गुग्गुलु, मधु, जतु and पतयालु ॥ Thus गुग्गुलूः, मधूः, जतूः, and पतयालूः ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कद्रुकमण्डलुशब्दाभ्यां संज्ञायां विषये स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति । अच्छन्दोर्थं वचनम् ॥

72. The feminine affix ऊङ comes in denoting a Name, after the word कद्रु and कमण्डलु

This rule applies to other than Vedic forms. Thus कद्रू: 'a female named Kadrû wife of Kâśyapa', कमण्डलू: 'Kamaṇḍalû'. Why do we say "in denoting a Name"? Observe कद्रू: 'the tawny color.' कमण्डलू: 'a water-gourd.'

शार्ङ्गरवाद्यञो ङीन् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शार्ङ्गरवादि, अञः, ङीन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शार्ङ्गरवादिभ्योऽञन्तेभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां ङीन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The feminine affix ङीन् comes after the words शार्ङ्गरव and the rest, and that which ends with the affix अञ ॥

Thus शार्ङ्गरवी 'a Sârṅgrava woman', कापटवी 'a Kâpatava woman'. So also after a word formed with the affix अञ् (as ordained in S. 86, and 104 &c. of this chapter), as, बैदी 'a female descendant of Bida'. और्वी 'a female descendant of Urva'. This sûtra applies to words expressing jâti or kind. In other words, this aphorism debars the affix ङीष् of IV. 1. 63 &c. where it came after jâti-vâchaka words; but it does not debar that ङीष् which is employed in describing the relation of wife, such as, the ङीष् of IV. 1. 48.

The difference between ङीष् and ङीन् consists in accent only, the resultant forms otherwise being the same. The words formed by ङीन् will have *udâtta* accent on the first syllable ञ्नित्यादिर्नित्यम् (VI. 1. 197 a word ending with an affix having an indicatory ञ or न् has udâtta accent on the first syllable') : while the word formed by ङीष् will have acute accent on the affix. Thus बैदी 'a female descendant of Bida', and बैदी 'the wife of Baida'.

The following is a list of Sârṅgaravâdi class words:—

1 शार्ङ्गरव, 2 कापटव, 3 गौग्गुलव, 4 ब्राह्मण, 5 बैद, 6 गौतम ॥ These words are formed by the affix अण् the first four being formed by the अण् of (IV. 1. 83) from शृंगरु, कपटु, गुग्गुलु and ब्रह्मन्; the word गौतम is formed from गोतम by the अण् of IV. 1. 114. This word is also included in Gaurâdi class IV. 1. 41. 7 कामण्डलेय, 8 ब्राह्मकृतेय, 9 आनिचेय, 10 आनिधेय, 11 आशोकेय ॥ These are formed by ढक् (IV. 1. 123) except kâmaṇḍaleya which is formed by ढञ् (IV. 1. 135). 12 वात्स्यायन, 13 मौञ्जायन ॥ These are formed by फक् of IV. 1. 101 and IV. 1. 99, and denote castes or Gotra. 14 कैकसेय is also formed by ढक् (IV. 1. 123). 15 काव्य 16 शैव्य are formed by ञ्यङ् (IV. 1. 171). 17 एहि, 18 पर्येहि are formed by इन् added to आ+इह् 'to try', and परि+आ+इह् (Uṇ IV. 117 सर्व धातुभ्य इन्) 19 आश्मरथ्य is formed by यञ् (IV. 1. 105). 20 औदपान is formed by अण् (IV. 3. 76). 21 अराल, 22 चण्डाल, 23 वतण्ड: are jâti words. 24 भोगवत्, 25 गौरिमत् ॥ These take ङीन् when denoting a Name. These words are formed by the affix मतुप्, and are consequently उगित्, and should have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 6). This ordains ङीन् ॥

Q. The word भोग is formed by घञ् and गौरि is formed by इञ् (IV. 1. 95), both are âdyuddâtta owing to ञ् (VI. 1. 197). When मतुप् is added, the accent remains unchanged, for *matup* being पित् is anudâtta (III. 1. 4). There-

fore whether ङीप् be added or ङीन् to these words, it makes no difference in the accent, for they remain âdyudâtta. Where is the necessity of including these two words in this list.

Ans. To this we reply घादिषु नित्यम् ह्रस्वार्थम् ॥ For had these words taken ङीप् of IV. 1. 6, then the long ई would have been optionally shortened before the affixes घ &c. by VI. 3. 45. But by taking ङीन् the shortening is compulsory (VI. 3. 43), and not optional. Because the च in the sûtra उगितश्च (VI. 3. 45) has the force of the word इति, and means the नदी words formed by adding ई to उगित् words, by enunciating the word उगित् are optionally shortened. Therefore IV. 1. 6 where the word उगित् is used is governed by this rule of optional shortening, and not the words formed by ङीन् ॥

26 नृ 27 नर. The word नृ would have taken ङीप् by IV. 1. 5, and नर would have taken ङीष् as it denotes a jâti. These words take vriddhi before ङीन्, the form being नारी in both cases.

यङश्चाप् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यङः, चाप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां चाप् प्रत्ययो भवति । ञ्यङः ष्यङश्च सामान्यग्रहणमेतत् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ षाच्च यञः ॥

74. The feminine affix चाप् coms after a stem which is formed by the affix ञ्यङ् or ष्यङ् ॥

The affix यङ् here denotes and includes both the affixes ञ्यङ् (as taught in S. 171 of this chapter) and ष्यङ् (See 78) as it is the common element of both. Thus आम्बष्ठ्या 'a woman of the race of Ambashthya', सौवीर्या 'a woman of the race of Sauvirya', कौसल्या 'a woman of the race of Kausalya'.

Similarly ष्यङ् formed words, as, कारीषगन्ध्या, वाराह्या ; बालाक्या ॥

Vârt:—The affix चाप् comes in the feminine after a word ending with the affix यञ् when the letter ष् immediately precedes such yañ. As शार्कराक्ष्या 'a female descendant of Sarkarâksha', पौतिमाष्या 'a female descendant of Pûtimâshya', गौकाक्ष्या 'a female descendant of Gokasha'. These words belong to Gargâdi class (IV. 1. 105), and by sûtra 16 would have taken ङीप् ॥

The प् of the affix चाप् is for the sake of forming a common term आप् with डाप् and टाप् ; and the च regulates the accent making the final acute (VI. 1. 163). The word गौकाक्ष्य is included in Kraudâdi list (IV. 1. 80) and takes the augment ष्यङ् in the feminine, and hence it would have taken चाप् by force of the present sûtra and need not be included in the Vârtika. There is no Samprasârana of the य when पुत्र or पति is added to this word (VI. 1. 13), the form being गौकाक्ष्यापुत्रः and not गौकाक्षीपुत्रः ॥

आवट्याच्च ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आवट्यात्, च, (स्त्रियां चाप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आवट्याच्च स्त्रियां चाप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

75. And the feminine affix चाप् comes after the word आवट्य ॥

The word अवट belongs to Gargâdi class (IV. 1. 105) which after taking यञ्, would have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 16). Thus आवट्या 'a female descendant of Avaṭa'. But आवट्यायनी will be the proper form according to the Eastern Grammarians. See aphorism IV. 1. 17.

तद्धिताः ॥७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धिताः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् । आपञ्चमाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेर्यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तद्धितसंज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

76. The Taddhita-affixes are treated of here after.

This is an adhikâra or govering sûtra. Up to the end of the Fifth Book, all the affixes that will be taught, are to be understood to have the name of Taddhita. Thus the affix ति taught in the very next sûtra. As युवतिः The word so formed is called Prâtipadika. The word तद्धिताः is in the plural number, and not exhibited in the singular, like the words प्रत्ययः (III. 1. 1) &c; and it, therefore, indicates that it includes also affixes which are not especially taught in this book. Such as पृथिव्या ञाञौ ॥ अग्रादि पश्चाड् डिमच् ॥ As पार्थिव, अग्रिम, आदिम, पश्चिम ॥ See Vârt IV. 3. 23. The word Taddhita is used in Sûtras like कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च I. 2. 46.

यूनस्तिः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यूनः, ति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युवन्शब्दात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां तिः प्रत्ययो भवति । स च तद्धितसंज्ञो भवति ॥

77. The feminine affix ति comes after the Nominal-stem युवन् and this affix gets the name of Taddhita.

As युवतिः 'a young maid'. By IV. 1. 5, ङीप् would have been otherwise employed, the present sûtra debars it. The word युवति ending in इ does not take the affix ङीष् of IV. 1. 65, for the affix ति itself is a feminine-making affix though a Taddhita: or the word युवन् may be regarded as a non-jâti word and hence IV. 1. 65 would not apply.

अणिञोरनार्षयोर्गुरूपोत्तमयोः ष्यङ् गोत्रे ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण् इञोः अनार्षयोः, गुरूपोत्तमयोः, ष्यङ्, गोत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रे यावणिञौ विहितावनार्षौ तदन्तयोः प्रातिपदिकयोर्गुरूपोत्तमयोः स्त्रियां ष्यङादेशो भवति । निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीत्यणिञोरेव विज्ञायते ॥ उत्तमशब्दः स्वभावात् त्रिप्रभृतीनामन्त्यमक्षरमाह उत्तमस्य समीपमुपोत्तमं, गुरुः उपोत्तमं यस्य तद्गुरूपोत्तमं प्रातिपदिकम् ॥

78. In Patronymics used in a narrower sense (counting first from the grand-child), which are formed with the affixes अण् and इञ्, the feminine is formed by substituting

य (ष्यङ्) for the अ and इ of those affixes and adding the long आ under IV. 1. 74; provided that they do not denote Rishi clans, and have a prosodially long syllable preceding the last syllable,

The wording of this aphorism requires a little analysis. It consists of five words: (1) अणिञोः 'of अण् and इञ्,' (2) अनार्षयोः 'of non-rishi' (3) गुरूपोत्तमयोः 'having a heavy vowel as *upottama* i. e. last but one,' (4) ष्यङ् 'the substitute is shyaṅ' (5) गोत्रे 'in denoting gotra.' That is to say, the gotra affixes अण् and इञ् are replaced by ष्यङ् before the feminine affix चाप्, in those words which denoting non-rishi gotras, have a heavy vowel as last but one. The word uttama meaning last letter, being formed by the superlative affix *tamap*, implies that the word must be of at least three syllables. Therefore, the present sûtra does not apply to forms like दाक्षि &c.

Of the substitute ष्यङ् the letter ष् and ङ् are indicatory, the real affix is य, the letter ष् differentiating this affix from ष्यङ् and the letter ङ् affording a common hold for both. In forming the feminine we shall have to add चाप् by IV. 1. 74. Thus करीषगन्धि 'having the smell of dung-cake', is the name of a person. In forming a patronymic from this word, we add the affix अण् ॥ Thus करीषगन्धि + अण् (IV. 1. 92) Replace this affix by ष्य and we have कारीषगन्ध्या ॥ कुमुदगन्धिः gives us कौमुदगन्ध्या ॥ Similarly with words taking the affix इञ् (as taught in sûtra अतइञ् IV. 1. 75): as वाराहिः gives us वाराह्या, so also बालाक्या ॥

Why do we say 'of अण् and इञ्'॥ Witness आर्तभागी from ऋतभाग ॥ Here the word ऋतभाग belongs to बिदादि gaṇa, and therefore by IV. 1. 104, it would take the affix अञ् in forming gotra patronymic: this affix अञ् is not replaced by ष्यङ्, and the feminine is by long ई (IV. 1. 15); for though, its last vowel but one is heavy, it is a non-rishi gotra word, yet it does not fulfil the other condition of taking the affix अण् or इञ् ॥

Why do we say 'of non-rishi gotras'? Witness वासिष्ठी and वैश्वामित्री ॥ Why do we say 'whose last vowel but one is heavy'? Observe औपगवी and कापटवी ॥ Why do we say 'denoting Gotra?' Witness आहिच्छत्री 'born in Ahichhatra', कान्यकुब्जी 'born in Kanyakubja'.

गोत्रावयवात् ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र-अवयवात् (स्त्रियां ष्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणिञोरित्येव । गोत्रावयवा गोत्राभिमताः कुलाख्याः पुणिकभुणिकमुखरप्रभृतय, स्ततो गोत्रे विहितयोरणिञोः स्त्रियां ष्यङादेशो भवति ॥

79. After a word denoting a non-principal gotra, ष्यङ् is the substitute of अण् and इञ्, in the feminine, even though the syllable preceding the final be not prosodially long

The phrase अणिञोः of the last sûtra governs this also, not so, however, the word अगुरूपोत्तमः ॥ The phrase गोत्रावयव means insignificant or non-famous gotras. i. e. names of kulas i. e. कुलाख्या, such as families like पुणिक, भुणिक, मुखर which are not famous and are not included in the gotra list. Thus पौणिक्या, भौणिक्या and मौखर्या ॥

The word अवयव in the sûtra has various significations, one sense being 'separate from', another being 'part of', and 'individual members' &c. If the last sense be taken, then we can evolve forms like दैवदत्या याज्ञदत्या ॥ These forms may also be explained by taking them as belonging to the क्रौड्यादि class of the next aphorism. In short, those who wish to apply this aphorism to 'the immediate descendant', such as 'the son or daughter', and not to a gotra descendant, which means a grandson and down; can also do so.

In fact the word गोत्रावयव is equal to अवयवगोत्र or अप्रधानगोत्र and is a karmadhâraya samâsa, namely gotras not enumerated in the प्रवराध्यायः ॥ These are, however. technically called कुल ॥

क्रौड्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रौडि-आदिभ्यः, च, (स्त्रियां ष्यङ्)

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रौडि इत्येवमादिभ्यश्च स्त्रियां ष्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति । अगुरूपोत्तमार्थ आरम्भः । अनणिञर्थश्च ॥

80. The affix ष्यङ् comes in the feminine after the words क्रौडि and the rest.

This rule applies even where the syllable next to the final is not heavy, and even where the word does not take the affix अण् or इञ् ॥ In fact ष्यङ् is not a substitute here but an augment. Thus क्रौड्या 'a female Kraudi", लाड्या 'a female Lâdi'. The following is the list of Kraudâdi words :—

1 क्रौडि, 2 लाडि, 3 व्याडि, 4 आपिशलि, 5 आपक्षिति. These are formed by इञ् (IV. 1. 95). 6 चौपयत, 7 चैटयत (वैटयत), 8 सैकयत (शैकयत) 9 वैल्वयत (वैकल्पयत). These are formed by the affix अण् ॥ 10 सौधातकि. This is formed by इञ् with the substitute अकङ् (IV. 1. 97) added to सुधातृ ॥ 11 सूतयुवत्याम् The word सूत takes ष्यङ् when denoting a grown-up maiden as सूत्याः; otherwise सूता 'a daughter', formed by टाप्, or सूती by ङीष् denoting a jâti. 12 भोज क्षत्रिये ॥ This debars ङीष् of jâti as भोज्याः, otherwise टाप् as भोजाः (भोजयति). 13 यौतकि, 14 कौटि, 15 भौरिकी, 16 भौलिकि, 17 शाल्मलि, 18 शालास्थलि, 19 कापिष्ठलि, 20 गौकक्ष्य (गौलक्ष्य) ॥ All these except the last are formed by इञ्, the last is formed by यञ् of Gargâdi class.

दैवयज्ञि शौचिवृक्षि सात्यमुग्रि काण्ठेविद्धिभ्यो, ऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ दैवयज्ञि, शौचिवृक्षि, सात्यमुग्रि, काण्ठेविद्धिभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दैवयज्ञि शौचिवृक्षि सात्यमुग्रि काण्ठेविद्धि इत्येतेषामन्यतरस्यां ष्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix ष्यङ् optionally comes after the words दैवयज्ञि, शौचिवृक्षि, सात्यमुग्रि and काण्ठेविद्धि ॥

These words end in the affix इञ्, and the word gotra is not understood in the sûtra. In the case of gotra descendants, the substitute shyan would have come by IV. 1. 78. but whereas by that sûtra it would have been compulsory, the present aphorism makes it optional. But if the sûtra be taken to apply to 'immediate descendants' as opposed to gotra descendants, then this is a new rule altogether and not a rider to IV. 1. 87. In the alternative when ष्यङ् is not added, ङीष् will be added by rule IV. 1. 65 *ante*. Thus वैवयज्ञ्या or वैवयज्ञी, so also शौचिवृक्ष्या or शौचिवृक्षी, सात्यमुग्र्या or सात्यमुग्री, काण्ठेविद्ध्या or काण्ठेविद्धी ॥

समर्थानां प्रथमाद्वा ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ समर्थानां, प्रथमात्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रयमप्यधिक्रियते, समर्थानामिति च, प्रथमादिति च वेति च, स्वार्थिकप्रत्ययावधिश्चायमधिकारः। प्राग्दिशो विभक्तिरिति यावत्। स्वार्थिकेषु ह्यस्योपयोगो नास्ति, विकल्पोपि तत्रानवस्थितः, के चिन्नित्यमेव भवन्ति। लक्षणवाक्यानिः—तस्यापत्यं, तेन रक्तं रागात्, तत्रभव, इत्येवमादीनि भविष्यन्ति। तेषु सामर्थ्ये सति प्रथमनिर्दिष्टादेव विकल्पेन प्रत्ययो भवतीति वेदितव्यम् ॥ समर्थानामिति निर्द्धारणे षष्ठी। समर्थानां मध्ये प्रथमं प्रत्ययप्रकृतित्वेन निर्द्धार्यते ॥

82. The Taddhita affixes, on the alternative of their being employed at all, come after the word that is signified by the first of the words in construction in an aphorism.

All the three words, viz. (1) समर्थानां 'of the words in construction' (2) प्रथमात् 'after the first; (3) वा 'on the alternative', exert a governing influence on the subsequent aphorisms, up to the aphorisms which leave to the words their own denotation : that is to say, up to the end of the second chapter of the fifth Book ; before the beginning of the sûtra प्राग्दिशो विभक्तिः (V. 3. 1). The present sûtra as a whole, of course, has no applicability to the affixes which leave to the words their own denotation (स्वार्थिक) ; for the latter affixes are in many cases compulsory and not optional, as are the affixes to be taught hereafter in Book Fourth and the first and second chapters of Book Fifth.

These affixes will come after the word, that is signified by the first of the words in construction, in an aphorism. Thus IV. 1. 92 declares तस्यापत्यम् 'his son'. Here the first word is तस्य 'his', therefore, the affixes forming the patronymics will come after the word signified by 'his': i. e. after the word in the genitive case. As 'उपगोरपत्यं = औपगवः 'the son of Upagu'. Here the affix अण् comes after the word उपगु which is the first word representing 'tasya' in the genitive case in the sentence उपगोरपत्यम् ॥ Similarly in the sûtra तेनरक्तं रागात् (IV. 2. 1); here the first word is तेन, therefore, the affix will be added to the word in the instrumental case in a sentence representing the word तेन 'by which'; as कषायेण रक्तं वस्त्रं = काषायम् 'Kâshâya is a cloth, coloured

by Kashâya'. Similarly in sûtra तत्र भवः 'there staying' (IV. 3. 53,) here the first word is तत्र, 'there', in the locative case, therefore the affix will be optionally added to the word in the locative case in a sentence, representing the word तत्र 'there' : as स्रुघ्ने भवः = स्रौघ्नः "who stays in Srughna '.

The word समर्थानाम् is the genitive plural of समर्थ, and the force of the genitive is that of specification or 'nirdhâraṇa':—i. e. 'among the words in construction, the *first* is specifically pointed out as the *prakriti* or base, to which the affix is to be added'. Why do we say "among the words in construction"? Witness कम्बल उपगोरपत्यं देवदत्तस्य 'the blanket of Upagu ; the son of Devadatta'. Here the two words उपगोरपत्यं are not in construction, for उपगोः governs कम्बलः, and अपत्यं is governed by देवदत्तस्य ॥ Why do we say " after the first"? So that the affix may come after the first word उपगोः in the genitive case, and not after अपत्यं which is in the nominative case; Why do we say ".in the alternative"? Because the same idea may also be expressed by a sentence ; thus we may say उपगोरपत्यं, instead of the Taddhita formed word औपगवः ॥ The same idea may also be expressed by a compound word (samâsa) ; as उपग्वपत्यम् 'the son of Upagu'. In fact, the samâsa rule here is not superseded by Taddhita-rule, as it otherwise would have been by I. 4 2. because the anuvṛitti of अन्यतरस्याम् is understood here : so that in the alternative when the Taddhita affix is not employed, the samâsa rules will find scope.

This sûtra has been thus rendered by Dr. Bohtlingk : " when henceforth the meaning is specified in which an affix is to be added, then one should know that the rule applies to the first of those words which are associated with one another in sense, and that the affix is optional",

प्राग्दिव्यतोऽण् ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्, दीव्यतः अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्दीव्यत्संशब्दनाद् यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामोऽण्प्रत्ययस्तत्र भवतीति वेदितव्यम् ॥

83. The affix अण् should be understood to come after whatever we shall teach hereafter upto the aphorism tena dîvyati &c.

Up to aphorism IV. 4. 2, the affix अण् has a governing influence, except where it is specifically superseded by any particular rule. This aphorism may be looked upon either as an adhikâra sûtra or a paribhâshâ sûtra or a vidhi sûtra. The application of this aphorism will be illustrated throughout the next three chapters. Thus in IV. 1. 92 तस्यापत्यम् we read the present aphorism and add the affix अण् in the sense of 'his son'. As औपगवः 'the son of उपगुः' ; कापटवः 'the son of Kapaṭu'.

This affix has various meanings, such as, a patronymic (IV. 1. 92),

coloured with (IV. 2. 1), sidereal time (IV. 1. 3), revealed sâma-veda (IV. 1. 7), covered car (IV. 2. 10) &c.

अश्वपत्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अश्वपत्यादिभ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्वपत्यादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः प्राग्दीव्यतीयेष्वर्थेष्वण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

84. The affix अण् comes after the Nominal-stems 'asvapati' &c, in the various mentioned senses taught antecedently to tena dîvyati &c.

This is an exception to the next aphorism, by which the affix ण्य would have come after words ending with '*pati*.' The present sûtra enjoins अण् instead. Thus अश्वपति + अण् = आश्वपतम् (VII. 2 117 तद्धितेष्वचामादेः 'when a Taddhita affix follows with an indicatory ञ् or ण्, there is vriddhi in the room of the first vowel among the vowels'). The इ of पति is elided by VI. 4. 148 यस्येति च where long ई follows, and when a Taddhita affix follows, there is elision of the इ or ई, or अ or आ, of a *bha*'.)

The following is a list of words belonging to अश्वपत्यादि class :—

1 अश्वपति, 2 ज्ञानपति, 3 शतपति, 4 धनपति, 5 गणपति, 6 स्थानपति, 7 यज्ञपति, 8 राष्ट्रपति, 9 कुलपति, 10 गृहपति, (पशुपति) 11 धान्यपति, 12 धन्वपति, 13 बन्धुपति, 14 धर्मपति, 15 सभापति, 16 प्राणपति, 17 क्षेत्रपति ॥

दित्यदित्यादित्यपत्युत्तरपदाण्ण्यः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिति, अदिति, आदित्य, पति-उत्तरपदात्, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिति अदिति आदित्य इत्येतेभ्यः पत्युत्तरपदाच्च प्रातिपदिकात्प्राग्दीव्यतीयेष्वर्थेषु ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यमाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वाङ्मतिपितृमतां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पृथिव्या ञाञौ ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ देवाद्यञञौ ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहिषष्टिलोपश्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ईकक्च ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ईकञ् छन्दसि ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्थाम्नोऽकारः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लोम्नोऽपत्येषुबहुषु ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वत्र गोरजादिप्रत्ययप्रसङ्गे यत् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ण्यादयोऽर्थविशेषलक्षणादपवादात्पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन ॥

85. The affix ण्य comes, in the various senses taught here-in-after antecedently to tena dîvyati &c, after the Proper Names, Diti, Aditi, and Aditya; and that which has the word पति at its final member.

Thus दिति + ण्य = दैत्यः 'the son of Diti.' आदित्यः 'the descendant of Aditi', आदित्यम् 'sacred to Aditya.' Similarly with words ending with पति, as प्रजापति + ण्य = प्राजापत्यं; so also सैनापत्यम् ॥

Vârt :—So also after the word यम ; as, याम्यम् ॥

Vârt:—In the Chhandas, after the words वाच्, मति and पितृमत् ॥ As वाच्यम् (Vs, 13, 58.) मात्यम् and पैतृमत्यम् ॥

Vârt:—The affixes ञ and अञ् come after the word पृथिवी ॥ Thus पृथिवी + ञ = पार्थिव ; पृथिवी + अञ् = पार्थिव ॥ The resulting forms are the same, but the feminine of the former will be पार्थिवा by IV. I. 4, and that of the latter पार्थिवी applying IV. I. 15.

Vârt:—The affixes यञ् and अञ् come after the word देव 'a god'. As दैव्यम् or दैवम् 'divine'.

Vârt:—There is elision of the टि of बहिस्, and there is the affix यञ्; as बहिस् + यञ् = बाह्यः 'external'. *Vârt*:—and the affix ईकक् may be employed. As बहिस् + ईकक् = बाहीकः 'external'. (VII. 2. 118 किति च, there is vriddhi of the first vowel when the Taddhita affix has an indicatory क). *Vârt*:—In the Chhandas it takes the affix ईकञ् as बाहीकः the difference being in the accent (VI. I. 197).

The word बहिस् is an अव्यय, and the above vârtika declares that its टि portion is elided. This very fact indicates by implication, that the टि of other Avyayas need not necessarily be elided before those affixes, before which the base is called भ *bha*. In fact the following *vârtika* अव्ययानाञ्च (the टि of the *avyaya* base is elided) given under sûtra VI. 4. 144 (the टि of the base *bha* is elided when a *taddhita* affix follows) is not a universal rule. Thus from the *avyaya* आरात् we get आराती &c; here the टि is not elided.

Vârt:—Of the word स्थामन् the टि is replaced by अ as अश्वत्थामः ॥

Vârt:—The टि of लोमन् is replaced by अ in the plural when the patronymic affixes follow; as उडुलोमाः, शरलोमाः ॥ Why do we say in the plural number? Witness औडुलोमिः, शारलोमिः (IV. I. 99).

Vârt:—When an affix beginning with a vowel presents itself after the word गो, let the affix यत् be substituted for it. Thus what is descended (or produced, &c) from गो is expressed by गव्यम् (VI. I. 79). Why do we say 'beginning with a vowel'? Ovserve गोभ्यो हितं or आगतं = गोरूप्यम् and गोमयम् ॥

Vârt:—These affixes ण्य &c, taught in this sûtra will come, to the exclusion of all the other affixes hereinafter taught, which are employed in especial senses. Thus अण् is employed especially to denote a descendant. But after the words दिति &c अण् will not be employed, but ण्य, as दैत्य "a descendant of दिति'. So also वानस्पत्यम् = (वनस्पतीनाम् समुहः), to the exclusion of IV. 2. 37 &c. In fact the rule विप्रतिषेधे परंकार्य्यम् (I. 4. 2) does not hold good here.

If that be so, how do you explain the form दैतेयः ॥ This word is not directly formed from the word दिति but from दिती, the feminine c the word दिति, formed by the affix ङीष् (IV. I. 45, the word दिति being formed by the Krit affix क्तिन् and therefore it will take ङीष् in the feminine). To the feminine word दिती is added ढक् and we get दैतेयः ॥ The Paribhâshâ प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्ग विशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् (a rule of grammar which applies to a masculine applies also

to the same word in the feminine) is not of universal application, as this very illustration shows. Others consider the form हंतेय as incorrect, as not to be found either in the Mahâbhâshya or any Vârtika.

उत्सादिभ्योऽञ् ॥ ८६ ॥ उत्स-आदिभ्यः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्सादिभ्यः प्राग्दीव्यतीयेष्वर्थेष्वञ् प्रत्ययो भवति । अणस्तदपवादानां च बाधकः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ग्रीष्मादच्छन्दसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

86. The affix अञ् comes after the word उत्स &c. in the various senses taught antecedently to tena-dîvyati &c.

This debars the affix अण् taught in IV. 1. 83 as well as the especial affixes here-in-after taught. Thus उत्स + अञ् = औत्सः, औदपानः ॥ The following is the list of words belonging to उत्सादि class.

1 उत्स, 2 उदपान, 9 विकर, 4 विनद, 5 महानद 6 महानस, 7 महाप्राण, 8 तरुण, 9 तलुन । 10 वष्कयासे । 11 पृथिवी, 12 धेनु, 13 पंक्ति, 14 जगती, 15 त्रिष्टुप्, 16 अनुष्टुभ्, 17 जनपद, 18 भरत, 19 उशीनर, 29 ग्रीष्म, 21 पीलुकुण. । 22 उदस्थान देशे । 23 पृषदंश, 24 भल्लकीय, 25 रथन्तर, 26 मध्यंदिन, 28 बृहत्, 28 महत्, 29 सत्वत्, 39 कुरु, 31 पञ्चाल, 32 इन्द्रावसान, 33 उष्णिह्, 34 ककुभ्, 35 सुवर्ण, 35 देव, 37 ग्रीष्मादच्छन्दसि ॥

Vârt:—The word ग्रीष्म in the above list, takes this affix, when it does not mean 'a metre of prosody'. Therefore it is not so here: ग्रैष्मी त्रिष्टुप् 'The Graishmi Tristup metre'. But ग्रैष्मः 'belonging to summer'. The word छन्दस् here means 'metre', and not Veda. The word वष्कयाऽसे = वष्कय असे, the phrase असे meaning असमासे, (स being the name given to समास by Ancient Grammarians). Thus the compound will be गोवष्कयिः ॥ The Paribhâshâ ग्रहणवता प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्त विधिप्रतिषेधः does not apply here. Therefore, tadantavidhi applies here and we have आधेनवम् (अधेनूनाम् समूहः) ॥ The word उदस्थान takes अञ् when meaning a 'place': as औदस्थानो देशः; otherwise औदस्थानिः 'the son of Udasthâna.' The word पृषत् takes अञ् when meaning 'a share,' otherwise it will take अण्, as पार्षतोऽंशः ॥

स्त्री पुंसाभ्यां नञ् स्नञौ भवनात् ॥ ८७ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धान्यानां भवने इति वक्ष्यति । तस्य प्रागित्यनेनैव संबन्धः प्राग्भवनसंशब्दनाद्येऽर्थास्तेषु स्त्री शब्दात्पुंस्शब्दाच्च यथाक्रमं नञ्स्नञौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

87. The affixes नञ् and स्नञ् come after the words स्त्री and पुंस respectively, in the senses specified in the aphorism reckoning from this one as far as "dhânyânâm bhavane kshetre khañ" (V. 2. 1).

Thus स्त्री + नञ् = स्त्रैणम् 'feminine.' The sense of the affixes taught in the Fourth Book, and Chapter I of the Fifth Book, are various. Therefore

the word स्त्रैणम् will have all those various significations; thus, it will mean either स्त्रीषुभवं (IV. 3. 53) 'existing in females,' or स्त्रीणां समूहः (IV. 2. 37) 'a collection of females,; or स्त्रीभ्यआगतं (IV. 3. 74) 'what has come from females'; or स्त्रीभ्यो हितं (V. 1. 5) 'suitable for females' &c.

Similarly पुंस + नञ् = पौंस्नम् 'masculine, or existing in males, or a collection of males, or what has come from males, or suitable for males &c.'

These affixes, however, are not to be employed in the sense of the affix वत् taught in V. 1 115. For Pâṇini himself uses the form पुंवत् (and not पौंस) in sûtra VI. 3. 34, thus indicating by implication (ज्ञापक) that in the sense of वत्, the affix स्नञ् is not to be used. Thus स्त्रीवत्, ॥ The forms स्त्रीत्वं, स्त्रीता, पुंस्त्वं and पुंस्ता are exceptional. See V. 1. 121. The स् of पुंस् is elided before स्नञ् by VIII. 2. 23. had it not been elided, one affix नञ् would have been taught in the sûtra, and not two.

द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगोः, लुक्, अनपत्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगोर्यः संबन्धी निमित्तत्वेन तद्धितः प्राग्दीव्यतीयो ऽपत्यप्रत्ययं वर्जयित्वा तस्य लुग्भवति ॥

88. A Taddhita affix, ordained to come on account of the relation of the words being that of a Dvigu compound, is elided by luk, when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to tena dîvyati &c, but not so, the affix having the sense of a Patronymic.

The phrase प्राग्दीव्यतः of IV. 1. 83 governs this aphorism also, and not the phrase भवनात् of the last. Thus पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः = पञ्चकपालः 'prepared in five cups.' Similarly दशकपालः "prepared in ten cups." द्विवेदः 'he who studies two Vedas.' त्रिवेदः "who studies three Vedas." Here the affixes denoting संस्कृतं (IV. 2. 16), and अधीते (IV. 2. 59) have been elided. Why do we say "not so when the affix denotes a Patronymic."? Observe द्वैदेवदत्तिः 'a descendant of two Devadattas.' त्रैदेवदत्तिः 'a descendant of three Devadattas,' Here the patronymic affix is not elided, though the compound is a Dvigu.

Why do we say "when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to *tena divyati?*" Observe द्वैपारायणिकः ॥

The Dvigu compound with the sense of a Taddhita affix is formed under II. 1. 51. The affix will not, therefore, be elided where it does not give rise to a Dvigu compound. Thus पञ्चकपालस्येदं = पाञ्चकपालम् ॥ Or the genitive case in द्विगोः may be taken as sthâna-shashṭhî, the sense being 'there is the substitution of लुक्-elision in the room of Dvigu,' the word Dvigu being here taken by metonymy for the *affix* which gives rise to Dvigu. Of course, when two words have blended into a Dvigu compound, the affixes will not be elided

after such a word, because it becomes a prâtipadika like others, as पांचकपालम् ॥ If so, how is the affix elided in पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः = पञ्चकपालः ? This is not so ; there is no Taddhita added, and the word पञ्चकपाल can never be analysed into पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः, ॥ If the latter sense is to be expressed, we must use a sentence, and no single word. In fact three are the only valid forms, and they arise without adding of any Taddhita affix to पञ्चकपाली, viz पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः, पञ्चकपाल्यां संस्कृतः, and पञ्चकपालः (a Samahâra Dvigu). A Samâhâra and a Taddhitârtha Dvigu of these are analysed in the same way, while the third पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः will always remain a वाक्य and never give rise to a Taddhita.

How do you explain the non-elision of the affix in त्रैविद्यः, पाञ्चनदः and षाड्कुलः ? The word त्रैविद्यः does not mean तिस्रो विद्या अधीते but त्र्यवयवा विद्या, त्रिविद्या. त्रिविद्यामधीते = त्रैविद्यः ॥ Similarly पाञ्चनदः dose not mean पंचसु नदीषु भवः but पंचानाम् नदीनाम् समाहारः = पंचनदः, पंचनदे भवः = पांचनदः ॥ So also with षाड्कुलं ॥

Why the affix is not elided in पंचभ्यो गर्गेभ्य आगतं = पंचगर्गरूप्यम् or पंचगर्गमयम्? Because the elision of those affixes only take place which begin with a vowel.

गोत्रेऽलुगचि ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रे, अलुक्, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्कादिभ्यो गोत्र इत्यादिना येषां गोत्रप्रत्ययानां लुगुक्तस्तेषामजादौ प्राग्दीव्यतीये विषयभूते प्रतिषिध्यते ॥

89. The luk-elision of Patronymic (Gotra) affixes in the plural, which have been enjoined by Sutras II. 4. 63 and the rest, is prohibited, when the affix has an initial vowel, and it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to tena dîvyati &c (IV. 4. 2).

Thus the plural of गार्ग्य is गर्गाः (II. 4. 64). But the disciples of गर्गाः will be formed by the affix छ (IV. 21. 114) which is a pragdivyatiya affix. and for the purposes of adding this affix the base will be considered to be गार्ग्यः as if there was no elision. Thus गार्ग्याः + छ = गार्गीयाः (VII. 1. 2 and VI. 4. 151) and not गर्गीयाः । Similarly वात्सीयाः, आत्रेयीयाः, खारपायणीयाः disciples of Vâtsyas, Atreyas, Khârpâyaṇas.'

Why do we say "गोत्रे" i. e. "when the Gotra affix is elided"? Observe कौवलम्, बादरम् ॥ Here the affix denoting "fruit" is elided by लुक् by Sûtra IV. 3. 163. Then when the prâgdivytîya affix अण् is added, the luk-elision is maintained. Thus the fruit of बदरी is बदरम्; from which बादरम 'belonging to or coming from the jujube-fruit.'

Why do we say "having an initial vowel"? Observe गर्गेभ्य आगतम् = गर्गरूप्यम् and not गार्गरूप्यम्; and गर्गमयम्; and not गार्गमयम् ॥ Here the affix रूप्य,

a prâgdîvyatîya affix taught in sûtra IV. 3. 81 does not begin with a vowel; therefore it is added to गर्ग and not गार्ग्य ॥ Similarly the next affix मयट् (IV. 3. 82).

Why do we say "when it has the sense of a prâgdîvyatîya affix"? Thus गर्गेभ्यो हितम्=गर्गीयम् 'who is fit for the Gargas'. Here the affix छ (V. 1. 1) has the sense of 'suitable for that', as taught in Sûtra V. 1. 5 not one of the prâgdîvyatîya senses. Hence the *luk* elision is maintained.

The Gotra-affixes are taught to be elided in the plural only: and when after such supposed elision a Singular or Dual Person is intended, this rule will still apply and there will be no elision. Thus बिद will form its Gotra derivative by अञ् (IV. 1. 104) as बिद+अञ्=बैदः ॥ The plural of बैद will be बिदाः by the elision of अञ् ॥ One yuvan or two yuvan descendants of these बिदाः will be formed by the affix इञ् (IV. 1. 95), for the application of which the word बिदाः will be supposed not to have lost its अञ्, therefore इञ् will be added to बैद, thus बैद+इञ्; then this इञ् is elided by II. 4. 58. The resultant form is बैदः, बैदौ ॥ The many descendants (in the plural) of one बैदः or two बैदः will be बिदाः ॥

यूनि लुक् ॥९०॥ पदानि ॥ यूनि लुक् (अचि)

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग् दीव्यत इति वर्तते । अचीति च । प्रागदीव्यतीयेऽजादौ प्रत्यये विवक्षिते बुद्धिस्थेऽनुत्पन्ने एव युवप्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति । तस्मिन्निवृत्ते सति यो यतः प्राप्नोति स ततो भवति ॥

90. There is luk elision of the Yuvan Patronymic forming affix (IV. 1. 163) when a prâgdîvyatîya affix begining with a vowel is to be added.

The elision of the Yuvan affix must take place mentally; having done which, we should then look out for the proper Prâgdîvyatîva affix to be added to the word-form thus remaining. Thus the Patronymic (Gotra) of फाण्टाहृतः is फाण्टाहृतिः (IV. 1. 95) formed by adding इञ् ॥ The Yuvan form of the latter (by Sûtra IV. 1. 150) will be फाण्टाहृतः ॥ When we intend to add a Prâgdîvyatîya affix to this last word, (e. g. an affix having the sense of "the pupils of";) we should first mentally elide the Yuvan affix ण (IV. 1. 150) from this word फाण्टाहृत ॥ Having done which we get the form फाण्टाहृति; and it is with regard to this form फाण्टाहृति that we should search out what is the proper pupil-denoting affix: and that by sûtra IV. 2. 112 is अण् ॥ Thus फाण्टाहृति+अण्=फाण्टाहृताः 'the pupils of Phâṇṭâhṛitas'. Had we in the *first* instance applied the pupil denoting affix to the Yuvan word फाण्टाहृत, such affix would have been छ and not अण्, for the latter is ordained for those cases only where the word ends with the Gotra affix इञ् (IV. 2. 112).

Similarly the Patronymic of भागवित्त is भागवित्ति (IV. 1. 25). The

Yuvan of भागवित्ति is भागवित्तिकः (IV. 1. 148). The pupils of Bhâgavittika will be भागवित्ताः by adding the affix अण् (IV. 2. 112).

Similarly the Patronymic of तिक is तैकायनि formed by फिञ् (IV. 1. 154). The Yuvan of तैकायनि is तैकायनीय formed by the affix छ (IV. 1. 149). The word denoting the pupils of तैकायनीय will be formed by adding छ (IV. 2. 114) not to this word, but to तैकायनि ॥ Thus तैकायनीयाः ॥

Similarly the Patronymic of कपिञ्जलाद is कापिञ्जलादिः (IV. 1. 95). The Yuvan derivative of the latter will be कापिञ्जलाद्यः (IV. 1. 151). The word denoting pupils of the कापिञ्जलाद्य will be कापिञ्जलादाः (IV. 2. 112).

Similarly Patronymic from ग्लुचुक is ग्लुचुकायनिः (IV. 1. 160), the Yuvan of tne latter is ग्लौचुकायनः (IV. 1. 83); the word denoting the pupils of the latter is ग्लौचुकायनाः by (IV. 2. 112 formed from ग्लुचुकायनि) ॥ Why do we say "an affix beginning with a vowel"? Observe फाण्टाहृतरूप्यम् rnd फाण्टाहृतमयम् ॥ Why do we say "a Prâgdîvyatîya affix"? Observe भागवित्तिकाय हितं = भागवित्तीयम् ॥ (See the last Sûtra).

फक्फिञोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ फक-फिञोः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फक्फिञोर्युवप्रत्यययोः प्राग्दीव्यतीयेऽजादौ प्रत्यये विवक्षितेऽन्यतरस्यां लुग् भवति ॥

91. There is optionally luk-elision of the Yuvan affixes फक् and फिञ् when a Prâgdîvyatîya affix beginning with a vowel is to be added.

By the last sûtra, all Yuvan affixes were told to be elided. The present sûtra declares an option in the case of the Yuvan affixes फक् and फिञ्. Thus the patronymic of गर्ग is गार्ग्य (IV. 1. 105); the Yuvan of गार्ग्य is formed by फक् (IV. 1. 101) गार्ग्यायणः ॥ The word denoting the pupils of Gârgyâṇa will be गार्गीयाः or गार्ग्यायणीयाः; वात्सीयाः or वात्स्यायनीयाः ॥ Similarly of the affix फिञ् (IV. 1. 156). Thus from यस्क, the Patronymic is यास्क (IV. 1. 112). The Yuvan of the latter is यास्कायनि (IV. 1. 146). The pupils of Yâskâyani will be called यास्कीया or यास्कायनीयाः ॥

तस्यापत्यम् ॥९२॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-अपत्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्थनिर्देशोयं, पूर्वैरुत्तरैश्च प्रत्ययैरभिसंबध्यते । तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थादपत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, प्रकृत्यो भवति प्रकृत्यर्थविशिष्टष्षष्ठ्यर्थो ऽपत्यमात्रमेह गृह्यते ॥

92. The affix अण् mentioned in IV. 1. 83 and those which follow it denote 'the descendant of some one'.

This sûtra points out the meaning of the affixes; and it refers to tne affixes that have preceded, beginning from अण् (IV. 1. 83) e. g. अण्, ण्य, अञ् &c and to the affixes that follow. The affixes herein taught have the force of denoting descendant, when they are added to the word in construction which

is in the genitive case. The translation given by Dr. Ballantyne of this aphorism is:—"Let the affixes already mentioned or to be mentioned come optionally in the sense of *the offspring thereof*, after what word ending with the sixth case-affix and having completed its junction (with whatever it may require to be compounded with), is in grammatical relation there to".

Thus we may either use the sentence उपगोरपत्यम्; or by adding अण् (IV. 1. 83) to the word उपगु (which has the 6th. case-affix in construction in the above sentence), form औपगवः "the offspring of Upagu". आश्वपतः (IV. 1. 84) 'the offspring of अश्वपति', दैत्यः (IV. 1. 85) 'the offspring of Diti' औत्सः (IV. 1. 86) "the offspring of Utsa". स्त्रैणः (IV. 1. 87) 'the offspring of a woman". पौंस्नः (IV. 1. 87) 'the offspring of a man'.

The Universal sûtra तस्येदम् (IV. 3. 120) will include this अपत्य also for the word इदम् may be applied to any-thing like अपत्यं, समूहः, विकारः, निवासः &c. Since by that rule IV. 3. 120 अण् &c, may be applied in the sense of *apatyam* also, what is the necessity of this present sûtra? The present sûtra is made in order to debar those affixes like छ, (IV. 3. 114) which debar the affix अण् &c in the case of तस्येदम्॥ How can an अशैषिक affix debar a शैषिक affix? The उत्सर्ग affixes अण् &c are treated like शैषिक for this purpose. Thus these affixes अण् (IV. 1. 83-87) debar the छ in the Vṛiddham under certain circumstances. Thus भानोरपत्यं = भानवः, so also श्यामगवः from श्यामगुः (श्यामा गावोऽस्य)॥

Kârikâ तस्येदमित्यपत्येऽपि बाधनार्थं कृतं भवेत्।
उत्सर्गः शेष एवासौ वृद्धान्यस्य प्रयोजनम्॥

एको गोत्रे॥ ९३॥

वृत्तिः॥ अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रं, तस्मिन् विवक्षिते भेदेन प्रत्यपत्यं प्रत्ययोत्पत्तिप्रसङ्गे नियमः क्रियते। गोत्रे एक एव भवति, सर्वेऽपत्येन युज्यन्ते॥

93. The one and the same affix is employed when a more distant descendant, how low so-ever, is to be denoted.

The word Gotra is defined in Sûtra IV. 1. 152 and means the offspring beginning with the grandson. There would have arisen the application of a separate affix in denoting the descendant of every one of such persons; the present sutra declares a restriction. Thus the son of गर्गः is गार्गि (IV. 1. 95). The son of गार्गिः (or in other words the grandson of गर्ग) is गार्ग्यः (IV. 1. 105). This is formed by a Gotra affix. Now the son of गार्ग्यः will also be called गार्ग्यः, no new affix will be added. In fact, in denoting the Gotra descendants how low soever, the affix यञ् will be added to the word गर्ग, though there may be several intermediate descendants. Thus the sûtra restricts the application of the affix. Or in another view of the matter, it may be said to restrict the

base to which the affix is to be added. Thus the son of गार्ग्य will be formed by adding the affix इञ् not to the base गार्ग्य (which would have been the case were IV. 1. 92 strictly applied), but to the base गर्ग ॥ So that *one* base is to be taken and adhered to throughout, in applying Gotra affixes.

गोत्राद्यून्यस्त्रियाम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रात्, यूनि, अस्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयमपि नियमः यून्यपत्ये विवक्षिते गोत्रादेव प्रत्ययो भवति, न परमप्रकृत्यनन्तरयुवभ्यः ॥

94. When a descendant of the description denoted by Yuvan (IV. 1. 163) is intended to be expressed, a new affix is attached, only after what already ends with an affix marking a descendant as low at least as a grandson (gotra): but in the Feminine the word is not termed Yuvan, and no new affix is added.

This is also a niyama or restrictive rule. Thus the Yuvan of गार्ग्य is गार्ग्यायणः (IV. 1. 101). Similarly वात्स्यायणः, दाक्षायणः, प्लाक्षायणः, औपगविः, नाडायनिः ॥

Why do we say "but in the Feminine the word is not termed Yuvan"? Observe दाक्षी which is the feminine of दाक्षिः (Gotra) as well as of दाक्षायणः (Yuvan). Similarly प्लाक्षी feminine of प्लाक्षिः and प्लाक्षायणः ॥ In short, Yuvan affixes are not added in the feminine. If it is intended to denote a feminine descendant of the kind Yuvan, the feminine word formed by Gotra affix will denote such a descendant also.

What is here prohibited i. e. is the term Gotra superseded by the term Yuvan? If it is a *niyama* rule, there will be no *niyama* with regard to the feminine, as the prohibition is contained in the same sentence. Therefore in the feminine, the Yuvan affix will not get the designation of Gotra, because Gotra-name is debarred by Yuvan Name. Therefore the sûtra should be divided in two, e. g. गोत्राद् यूनि प्रत्ययो भवति (2) ततोऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ (1) After a Gotra-formed word a new affix is added in denoting a Yuvan descendant, (2) but not so in the feminine. In fact the name Yuvan is prohibited in the feminine, therefore, the feminine will be known Gotra always and never by Yuvan.

अत इञ् ॥ ९५ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्यापत्यमित्येव । अकारान्तात्प्रातिपदिकादिञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. The affix इञ् comes after a Nominal-stem which ends in short अ, in denoting a descendant.

This debars अण् (IV. 1. 83). Thus दक्षस्यापत्यं = दाक्षिः 'descendant of Daksha'. Why do we say short अ (for this is the force of the letter त् added to अ, by I. 1. 69 and 70)? The descendant of शुभंयाः or कीलालपाः (words which end in long आ) will not be formed by the affix इञ् ॥

The descendant of दशरथ by this sûtra is दाशरथिः, but the form दाशरथ formed by अण् is also met with. As "प्रदीयताम् दाशरथाय मैथिली" 'Give Sita to the son of Dasaratha.'

बाह्वादिभ्यश्च ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बाहु-आदिभ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बाहु इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽपत्ये इञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संभूयोम्भसोः सलोपश्च ॥

वा० ॥ बाह्वादिप्रभृतिषु येषां दर्शनं गोत्रभावे लौकिके ततोन्यत्र तेषां प्रतिषेधः ॥

वा० ॥ संबन्धिशब्दानां च तत्सदृशात्प्रतिषेधः ॥

96. The affix इञ् is added in the sense of a descendant, after the words 'Bâhu' &c.

Thus बाहविः "a descendant of the clan of Bâhu." The words 'Bâhu &c, either do not end in short अ, thus making the last rule inapplicable; or if they end in short अ, then some other rule would have prohibited the application of इञ्. Hence the necessity of the present sûtra.

This is a class of words recognizable only by the form (आकृतिगण).

1 बाहु, 2 उपबाहु, 3 उपवाकु, 4 निवाकु, 5 शिवाकु, 6 वटाकु, 7 उपनिन्दु (उपबिन्दु) 8 वृषली, 9 वृकला, 10 चूडा, 11 बलाका, 12 मूषिका, 13 कुशला, 14 भगला (छगला) 15 ध्रुवका, 16 ध्रुवका, 17 सुमित्रा, 18 दुर्मित्रा, 19 पुष्करसद्, 20 अनुहरत्, 21 देवशर्मन्, 22 अग्निशर्मन्, 29 भद्रशर्मन्, 24 सुशर्मन्, 25 कुनामन्, 26 सुनामन्, 27 पञ्चन्, 28 सप्तन्, 29 अष्टन्, 30 अमितौजसः सलोपश्च, 31 सुधावत्, 32 उदञ्चु, 33 शिरस्, 34 माष, 35 शराविन्, 36 मरीची, 37 क्षेमवृद्धिन्, 38 शृङ्खलतोदिन्, 39 खरनादिन्, 40 नगरमर्दिन्, 41 प्राकारमर्दिन्, 42 लोमन्, 43 अजीगर्त, 44 कृष्ण, 45 युधिष्ठिर, 46 अर्जुन, 47 साम्ब, 48 गद, 49 प्रद्युम्न, 50 राम, 51 उदङ्क, 52 उदकः संज्ञायाम्, 53 संभूयाम्भसोः सलोपश्च, 54 वृक, 55 चूडाल, 56 सलक ॥ आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ तेन । 57 सात्वकिः 58 जाङ्घिः 59 ऐन्द्रशर्मिः 60 आजधेनविः इत्यादि ॥

Vârt:—The words बाहु &c must be Proper Names, being heads of Gotras from whom clans take their name: otherwise the affix इञ् will not be applied. Thus the son of a private person called बाहु will be बाहवः ॥

Vârt:—The operations to be effected upon words denoting relation are prohibited with regard to the same word-forms when denoting Proper Names. Thus the offspring of श्वशुर meaning 'father-in-law' is श्वशुर्यः, but when it means a person called Śvaśura, then the derivative will be श्वाशुरिः ॥

The च in the sûtra indicates that other words not included in the list also take this affix. Thus जाम्बिः, ऐन्द्रशर्मिः, आजधेनविः, आजबन्धविः, औडुलोमिः ॥

सुधातुरकङ् च ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुधातुः अकङ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुधातृशब्दादपत्ये इञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्सन्नियोगेन च तस्याकङादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ व्यासवरुडनिषादचण्डालबिम्बानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

97. The affix इञ् is placed after the word sudhâtṛi in denoting the descendant, and the ऋं of sudhâtṛi is replaced by the substitute अकङ् before this affix.

Thus सुधातुरपत्यम् = सौधातकिः 'the descendant of Sudhâtṛi.'

Vârt :—The substitute अकङ् replaces the finals of व्यास, वरुड, निषाद, चण्डाल and बिम्ब when the Patronymic इञ् is to be added. Thus वैयासकिः, वारुडकिः नैषादकिः, चाण्डालकिः, बैम्बकिः ॥

गोत्रे कुञ्जादिभ्यश्च्फञ् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रे, कुञ्जादिभ्यः, च फञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रसंज्ञके ऽपत्ये वाच्ये कुंजादिभ्यश्च्फञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix 'chphañ' comes after the words 'Kuñja' &c, when a remoter descendant (called Gotra) is to be denoted.

This debars इञ् ॥ Of the affix च्फञ् the letter ञ् is for the sake of distinguishing this affix from the affix फञ् ; such as in sûtra V. 3. 113, by which the words ending in affix च्फञ् take the further affix य (ञ्य), in order to form a complete word. The letter ञ् of this affix causes Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 117). Then remains फ् which by sûtra VII. 1. 2, is replaced by आयन् ॥ Thus कुञ्ज + च्फञ् = कौञ्ज + आयन् + अ = कौञ्जायन. This is not a complete word as yet. We must add य by sûtra V. 3. 113. Thus the full word is कौञ्जायन्यः 'the grandson or a lower descendant of Kuñja' dual of it is कौञ्जायन्यौ, plural is कौञ्जायनाः ; the affix ञ्य being elided by II. 5. 62, in the plural, it being an affix of the तद्राज class (IV. 1. 174). Similarly ब्राध्नायन्यः, ब्राध्नायन्यौ, ब्राध्नायनाः ॥

Why do we say "when a Gotra descendant is to be denoted?" Observe कौञ्जिः "the son of Kuñja". Here इञ् is added by IV. 1. 95 in denoting immediate descendant. There is difference in the accent of these words, in the different numbers. Thus in the singular and dual, the accent will be regulated by the latter ञ् of the affix ञ्य which is added in those numbers. But this affix being elided in the plural, the accent there will be regulated by the letter च of च्फञ् ॥ That is to say, in the singular and dual, the udâtta will fall on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197) ; in the plural, it will fall on the last syllable (VI. 1. 164).

The word गोत्रे of this sutra governs the succeeding sûtras up to aphorism IV. 1. 112: so that all the affixes taught in these fifteen sûtras denote grandsons or descendants lower than that.

1 कुञ्ज, 2 ब्रध्न, 3 शङ्ख, 4 भस्मन् 5 गण, 6 लोमन्, 7 शठ, 8 शाक, 9 शुण्डा, 10 शुभ, 11 विपाश्, 12 स्कन्द, 13 स्कम्भ, 14 शकट. 15 शुम्भा, 16 शिव, 17 शुभंयि ॥

नडादिभ्यः फक् ॥ ९९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नड इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

99. The affix फक् comes, in denoting a Gotra descendant, after the Nominal-stems नड and the rest.

Thus नाडायनः (नड + फक् = नाड + आयन VII. 2. 118 and VII. 1. 2). Similarly चारायणः "the grandson or a lower descendant of Naḍa or Chara". But the son of नड will be नाडिः (IV. 1. 95).

The word शलंकु is changed to शलंक before this affix. Thus शालंकायनः ॥ The word शालंकिः occurs in पैलादि class II. 4. 59, the Yuvan affix is, therefore, elided after it, thus शालंकिः is a common name for 'father' and 'son'. It takes इञ् by IV. 1. 96, as belonging to Bâhvâdi class which is an Akṛti-gaṇa. The word अग्निशर्मन् takes फक् when denoting the वृषगण gotra, e. g. आग्निशर्मायणः = वार्ष्यगण्यः; otherwise the form will be आग्निशर्मिः ॥ The word कृष्ण will form कार्ष्णायनः when a Brâhmaṇa is meant; otherwise कार्ष्णिः, so also राणायनः = वासिष्ठः, otherwise राणिः ॥ The word क्रोष्टु is changed to क्रोष्ट as क्रौष्टायनः ॥

1 नड, 2 चर, (वर) 3 बक, 4 मुंज, 5 इतिक, 6 इतिश, 7 उपक, 8 एक, 9 लमक । 10 शलंकु शलङ्कं च । 11 सप्तल, 12 वाजप्य, 13 तिक । 14 अग्निशर्मन्वृषगणे । 15 प्राण 16 नर, 17 सायक, 18 दास, 19 मित्र, 20 द्वीप, 21 पिङ्गर, 22 पिङ्गल, 23 किंकर, 24 किंकुल, 25 कातर, 26 कातल, 27 काश्यप (कुश्यप) 28 काश्य, 29 काल्य (काव्य) 30 अज, 31 अमुष्य (अमुष्म) 32 कृष्णरणौ ब्राह्मणवासिष्ठे । 33 अमित्र, 34 लिगु, 35 चित्र, 36 कुमार, 37 क्रोष्टु क्रोष्टं च । 38 लोह, 39 दुर्ग, 40 स्तम्भ, 41 शिंशपा, 42 अग्र, 43 तृण, 44 शकट, 45 सुमनस, 46 सुमत, 47 मिमत, 48 ऋच्, 49 जलंधर, 50 अध्वर, 51 युगंधर, 52 हंसक, 53 दण्डिन्, 54 हस्तिन्, 55 पिण्ड, 56 पंचाल, 57 चमसिन्, 58 सुकृत्य, 59 स्थिरक, 60 ब्राह्मण, 61 चटक, 62 बदर, 63 अश्वल, 64 खरप, 65 लङ्क, 66 इन्ध, 67 अस, 68 कामुक, 69 ब्रह्मदत्त, 70 उदुम्बर, 71 शोण, 72 अलोह, 73 दण्डप, 74 जतु, 75 अश्वक, 76 वानव्य, 77 नाव्य, 78 अन्वजत, 79 अन्तजन, 80 इत्वरा, 81 अंशक, 82 याम, 83 काम, 84 वात ॥

हरितादिभ्योऽञः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ हरित-आदिभ्यः, अञः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरितादिर्बिदाद्यन्तर्गणः । हरितादिभ्यो ऽञन्तेभ्योऽपत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

100. The affix फक् comes after the words हरित &c, when they end in the affix अञ् (IV. 1. 104).

The words हरित &c, form a subdivision of बिद class, which class by IV. 1. 104 takes the affix अञ् in forming Gotra words. Thus the Gotra descendant of हरित will be हारित (हरित + अञ्). The son of हारित will be formed by this sûtra and not by IV. 1. 95. Thus हारित + फक् = हारितायनः "the son of Hârita or the great-grandson of Hârita". In fact, the force of the affix फक् of this Sûtra is that of a Yuvan affix, though it is taught in the chapter of Gotra affixes; because according to the general rule IV. 1. 98 *one* Gotra affix can be only added to a word, and the word हारित being already formed by a Gotra affix

अञ् will not take again another Gotra affix फक् ॥ Therefore, फक् is here a Yuvan-affix.

यञिञोश्च ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यञ्-इञोः, च, (फक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यञन्तादिञन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकादपत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

101. The affix फक् is added in denoting a descendant after a Nominal-stem ending in the affixes यञ् and इञ् ॥

The फक् of this sûtra has, like that of the preceding sûtra, the force of a Yuvan affix, since it is to be added to words formed by the Gotra affixes यञ् and इञ् ॥ Thus गर्ग+यञ् (IV. I. 105)=गार्ग्यः ॥ गार्ग्य+फक्=गार्ग्यायणः ॥ दक्ष+इञ्=दाक्षिः; दाक्षि+फक्=दाक्षायणः ॥ It is not every word which ends in यञ् or इञ् which takes the Yuvan affix फक्; but only that word where the affix यञ् or इञ् has the force of a Gotra affix. Thus the affix यञ् is added by IV. 3. 10 to denote proximity to a sea. As द्वीप+यञ्=द्वैप्यः ॥ This word will not take the affix फक् ॥ Similarly by IV. 2. 80 the affix इञ् is added to the words सुतंगम &c, the force of the affix being चातुरर्थिक ॥ Thus सौतंगमिः. This word will not take the affix फक् ॥

शरद्वच्छुनकदर्भाद्भृगुवत्साग्रायणेषु ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शरद्वत्, शुनक, दर्भात्, भृगु, वत्स, आग्रायणेषु (फक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्र इत्येव । शरद्वत् शुनक दर्भ इत्येतेभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति यथासंख्यं भृगुवत्साग्रायणेष्वर्थेष्वपत्यविशेषेषु ॥

102. The affix फक् comes in denoting a Gotra descendant after the words 'saradvat', 'sunaka', and 'darbha', when they denote the descendants of Bhrigu, Vatsa and Agrâyana respectively.

Thus शारद्वतायनः=भार्गवः otherwise शारद्वतः (formed by अञ्) शौनकायनः=वात्स्यः; otherwise शौनकः, दार्भायणः=आग्रायणः, otherwise दार्भिः, (formed by इञ् IV. I. 95).

The words शरद्वत् and शुनक belonging to बिदादि class would by IV. I. 104 have taken the affix अञ् in denoting Gotra, the present sûtra prohibits that in certain cases and enjoins फक् instead.

द्रोणपर्वतजीवन्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रोण, पर्वत, जीवन्तात्, अन्यतरस्याम् (फक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रइत्येव । द्रोणादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो गोत्रापत्येऽन्यतरस्यां फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix फक् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, optionally after the words 'Drona,' 'parvata,' and 'jîvanta.'

This debars इञ् of IV. 1. 95. Thus द्रौणायनः or द्रौणिः, पार्वतायनः or पार्वतिः जैवन्तायनः or जैवन्तिः ॥

The affix फक् is employed in denoting a remote (gotra) offspring and not an immediate descendant or son. How is then अश्वत्थामा the son of Droṇa, called द्रौणायनः and not द्रौणिः in the phrase "अश्वत्थामा द्रौणायनः"? The द्रोण here does not refer to the Droṇa of the Mahabhârât, but to some ancient founder of a clan of that name, and his descendants were called द्रौणायनाः ॥ In modern times, by an easy error, Aśvatthâmâ was called Drauṇâyana, owing to the similarity of sounds.

अनृष्यानन्तर्ये बिदादिभ्योऽञ् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनृषि-आनन्तर्ये, बिदादिभ्यः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रइत्येव । बिदादिभ्यो गोत्रापत्येऽञ्प्रत्ययो भवति । ये पुनरत्रानृषिशब्दाः पुत्रादयस्तेभ्योऽनन्तरापत्य एव भवति । अनृष्यानन्तर्यइत्यस्यायमर्थः, अनृषिभ्योऽनन्तरे भवतीति ॥

104. The affix अञ् comes after the words 'Bida' &c, in denoting a remote (Gotra) descendant: but after those words of this class which are not the names of ancient sages, the affix अञ् has the force of denoting immediate descendant.

This Sûtra consists of four words: अनृषि "non-Rishi or not being the name of a sage"; आनन्तर्ये 'in expressing an *immediate* descendant." बिदादिभ्य "after Bidâdi words" अञ् "the affix अञ्." Thus of the words falling in Bidâdi class, the words like पुत्र 'son,' दुहितृ daughter,' ननान्दृ 'sister-in-law' are common nouns and not names of Rishis. When the affix अञ् is added to these words, it has the force of denoting immediate descendant. Thus पुत्र + अञ् = पौत्रः 'grand-son.' दुहितृ + अञ् = दौहित्रः "daughter's son.' But when added to other words which express the names of Rishis, the affix अञ् makes the Gotra descendants. Thus बिद + अञ् = बैदः 'the grandson or a descendant lower than that of Bida.'

How in a context relating to Gotra affixes, we come to this two-fold meaning of this sûtra? To this we reply, that the phrase अनृष्यानन्तर्ये should be thus construed. The word 'anṛishi' is in the ablative case, the caṣe affix being elided. The word आनन्तर्य is the same as अनन्तर the affix ष्यञ् being added without change of significance. Therefore the words like पौत्र &c. denote the *immediate* (anantara) descendant of पुत्र &c, and do not denote a remote descendant (gotra), nor a descendant in general. Therefore, the above phrase means:—'after a Bidâdi word which is not the name of a Rishi, the affix 'añ' is added in denoting an *immediate* descendant.'

Q. Another way of explaining the phrase is this, the word 'ânantarya' is equal to 'nairantarya'='uninterrupted succession.' Therefore, where there is an uninterrupted succession of Rishis between the first name and the person to be designated by a Patronymic, there the affix 'añ' will not be added. Thus the word कश्यप belongs to the Bidâdi class. 'Indrabhû' a seventh descendant of Kaśyapa, will not be denoted by काश्यप formed with अञ्, because between इन्द्रभू and कश्यप, there is an unbroken series of Rishis, but by अण् of IV. 1. 114. Therefore the following phrase will be valid इन्द्रभूः सप्तमः काश्यपानाम् ॥ For अञ् is elided in the plural by II. 4. 64, but काश्यपानाम् is plural of काश्यप formed with the general patronymic अण् of IV. 1. 114 and hence not elided.

A. This explanation is not to be preferred, merely in order to explain the word काश्यपानाम् in इन्द्रभूः सप्तमः काश्यपानाम् ॥ The general Patronymic ऋषि affix अण् of IV. 1, 114 is not debarred by this अञ् ॥ Therefore काश्यप with अञ् will denote इन्द्रभूः, which may also be denoted by काश्यप formed with अण् ॥ For had the above explanation been correct, then विश्वामित्र the grandson of Kusika could never be called कौशिकः (formed with अञ्), for both Gâdhi the father of Viśvâmitra, and Kuśika the grand-father were Rishis.

In denoting an immediate descendant or a descendant in general, the Rishi words बिद &c, will take other appropriate affixes. Thus बिद forms बैदि 'a descendant of Bida' by IV. 1. 96 इञ् and not by ऋष्यण् of IV. 1. 114, because बिद is supposed to belong to the Akṛtigaṇa of Bâhvâdi.

1 बिद, 2 उर्व, 3 कश्यप, 4 कुशिक, 5 भरद्वाज, 6 उपमन्यु, 7 किलात, 8 कन्दर्प (किदर्भ) 9 विश्वानर, 10 ऋषिषेण (ऋष्टिषेण) 11 ऋतभाग, 12 हर्यश्व, 13 प्रियक, 14 आपस्तम्ब, 15 कूचवार, 16 शरद्वत्, 17 शुनक (शुनक्) 18 धेनु, 19 गोपवन, 20 शिग्रु, 21 बिन्दु, 22 भोगक, 23 भाजन, 24 शमिक, 25 अश्वावतान, 26 श्यामाक, 27 श्यानक, 28 श्यावलि, 29 श्यापर्ण, 30 हरित, 31 किदास, 32 बह्यस्क, 33 अर्कजूष (अर्कलूक) 34 बध्योग, 35 विष्णु, 36 वृद्ध, 37 प्रतिबोध, 38 रचित, 39 रथीतर (रथन्तर) 40 गविष्ठिर, 41 निषाद, 42 शबर, 43 अलस, 44 मठर, 45 मृडाकु, 46 सृपाकु, 47 मृदु, 48 पुनर्भू, 49 पुत्र, 50 दुहितृ, 51 ननान्दृ, । 52 परस्त्री परशुं च । 53 किलालप, 54 सम्बक्, 55 श्यायक ॥

The word परस्त्री in the above list is replaced by परशु when taking the affix अञ् ॥ Thus परस्त्रिया अपत्यं = पारशवः (the son of a Brâhmaṇa begotten on a Sûdra woman, who though married to the Brâhmaṇa is परस्त्री 'a strange woman' owing to the great difference of race).

The word परस्त्री occurs in अनुशतिकादि (VII. 3. 20) and कल्याण्यादि (IV. 1. 126) classes also. Therefore when the sense is 'a son begotten on another's wife' who is also called परस्त्री, the form will be पारस्त्रैणेयः, with double vṛiddhi of both members by VII. 3. 20: which does not take place in the case of पारशवः ॥

गर्गादिभ्यो यञ् ॥ १०५ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रइत्येव । गर्गादिभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of Gotra descendant, after the words 'Garga' &c.

Thus गार्ग्यः, 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Garga', so also वात्स्यः &c.

1 गर्ग, 2 वत्स, । 3 वाजासे । 4 संस्कृति, 5 अज, 6 व्याघ्रपात्, 7 विदभृत्, 8 प्राचीनयोग, 9 अगस्ति, 10 पुलस्ति, 11 चमस, 12 रेभ, 13 अग्निवेश, 14 शंख, 15 शट, 16 शक, 17 एक, 18 धूम, 19 अवट, 20 मनस्, 21 धनंजय, 22 वृक्ष, 23 विश्वावसु, 24 जरमाण, 25 लोहित, 26 शंसित, 27 बभ्रु, 28 वल्गु, 29 मण्डु, 30 गण्डु, 31 शंकु, 32 लिगु, 33 गुहलु, 34 मन्तु, 35 मंक्षु, 36 अलिगु, 37 जिगीषु, 38 मनु, 39 तन्तु, 40 मनायी, 41 सूनु, 42 कथक, 43 कन्थक, 44 ऋक्ष, 45 तृक्ष (वृक्ष) 46 तनु, 47 तरुक्ष, 48 तलुक्ष, 49 तण्ड, 50 वतण्ड, 51 कापिकत, 52 कत, 53 कप, 54 भृत, 55 कुरुकत, 56 अनडुह, 57 कवि, 58 पुरुकुत्स, 59 शक्ति, 60 कण्व, 61 शकल, 62 गोकक्ष, 63 अगस्त्य, 64 कुण्डिनी 65 यज्ञवल्क, 66 पर्णवल्क, 67 अभयजात, 68 विरोहित, 69 वृषगण, 70 रहूगण, 71 शण्डिल, 72 वर्णक (चणक) 73 चुलुक, 77 मुद्गल, 75 मुसल, 76 जमदग्नि, 77 पराशर, 78 जतूकर्ण (जातूकर्ण) 79 महित, 80 मन्त्रित, 81 अश्मरथ, 82 शर्कराक्ष, 83 पूतिमाष, 84 स्थूरा, 85 अदरक (अररक) 86 एलाक, 87 पिङ्गल, 88 कृष्ण, 89 गालन्द, 90 उलूक, 91 तितिक्ष, 92 भिषज (भिषज्) 93 भिष्णज, 94 भडित, 95 भाण्डत, 96 दल्भ, 97 चेकित, 98 चिकित्सित, 99 देवहू, 100 इन्द्रहू, 101 एकलू, 102 पिप्पल, 103 बृहदग्नि, 104 सुलोहिन्, 105 सुलाभिन्, 106 उक्थ, 107 कुटिगु, 108 संहित, 109 पथ, 110 कन्थु, 111 श्रुव, 112 कर्कटक, 113 रुक्ष, 114 प्रचूल, 115 बिलम्ब, 116 विष्णुज ॥

The word मनु is found in the लोहितादि sublist of this class. It ought to take ष्फ after यञ् in the feminine by IV. 1. 18, how then the form मानवी in मानवी प्रजा ? The affix यञ् comes in denoting a Gotra offspring, but in denoting a descendant in general, this affix will not come, and hence no shpha also. If so, then why the immediate descendant of जमदग्नि is called जामदग्न्यः which is a Name of Parasúram the son of Jamadagni, or why Vyâsa the son of Parâsara is called पाराशर्यः? These are exceptions formed by गोत्र रूपाध्यारोपः i. e. by superimposing of Gotra-form on these. Their proper apatya forms are by ऋष्यण (IV. 1. 114) i. e. जामदग्नः and पाराशरः ॥

मधुबभ्र्वोर्ब्राह्मणकौशिकयोः ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मधु, बभ्रोः, ब्राह्मण-कौशिकयोः (यञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधुशब्दाद्बभ्रु शब्दाच्च गोत्रापत्ये-यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति यथासंख्यं ब्राह्मणे कौशिके वाच्ये ॥

106. The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words मधु and बभ्रु when the words so formed mean 'Brâhmana' and 'a Kausika' respectively.

Thus माधव्यः = ब्राह्मणः 'Brâhmaṇa.' Otherwise माधवः "son of Madhu." बाभ्रव्यः = कौशिकः Otherwise बाभ्रवः ॥

The word बभ्रु belongs to the Gargâdi class, so it would have taken yañ by the last sûtra also. The present sûtra declares a restriction, viz. बभ्रु takes यञ् only then when कौशिक is denoted. Its being read in the Gargâdi class serves another purpose : as it belongs to the sub-classs लोहितादि, the rule IV. 1. 18 becomes applicable to it; so that its feminine is formed by ष्फ. Thus बाभ्रव्यायणी ॥ In fact, it would have been better, if in the body of the Gaṇapâtha, instead of writing बभ्रु alone, there was बभ्रु कौशिके ॥ It would have saved the repetition of it in the present sûtra.

कपिबोधादाङ्गिरसे ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कपि, बोधात्, आङ्गिरसे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कपिबोधशब्दाभ्यामाङ्गिरसेऽपत्यविशेषे गोत्रे यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

107. The affix 'यञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words कपि and बोध, when the special descendants of the family of Angiras are meant.

Thus कपि + यञ् = काप्यः 'the grand-son or a still lower descendant of 'Kapi' of the family of Angiras.' So also बौध्यः ॥

Why do we say of the family of Angiras ? Observe कापेयः (IV. 1. 122) "the gotra-descendant of Kapi" so also बौधिः formed by इञ् because it is a Non-Rishi word or because it belongs to Bâhvâdi (IV. 1. 96) class.

The word कपि occurs in Gargâdi class. The present sûtra declares a restriction i. e. the 'yañ' is to be applied only when Angirasa descendant is meant. It is included in the Gargâdi class also for the purpose of applying IV. 1, 18. Thus काप्यायनी "grand-daughter or a still lower descendant of Kapi."

वतण्डाच्च ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वतण्डात्, च, (गोत्रे, यञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गिरस इत्येव । वतण्डशब्दादाङ्गिरसेऽपत्यविशेषे गोत्रे यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

108. The affix 'यञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the word 'वातण्ड,' when meaning a descendant of Angirasa.

Thus वातण्ड्यः = आंगिरसः, otherwise वातण्डः ॥

The word वतण्ड occurs both in the Gargâdi class (IV. 1. 105) and in the Śivâdi class (IV. 1. 112). It would have taken both affixes अञ् and अण्. The present sûtra declares that when it means an Aṅgirasa, then वतण्ड will not take अण् of the शिवादि class : and when it does not mean Angirasa, then it takes both these affixes e. g. वातंड्यः and वातंडः any descendant of Vâtaṇḍa.

लुक् स्त्रियाम् ॥ १०९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गिरसइत्येव । वतण्डशब्दादाङ्गिरस्यां स्त्रियां यञ् प्रत्ययस्य लुग्भवति ॥

109. The affix 'यञ्' is luk-elided in the feminine after the word 'वतण्डी' when meaning a female descendant of Angirasa.

Thus from वतण्डः we get वातण्ड्य in the masculine. In the feminine the यञ् is elided by luk, and we have वातण्ड्य + ङीन् (IV. 1. 73) = वतण्डी "a female descendant of Vatanḍa of the clan Añgirasa." Why do we say "of Añgirasa?" Observe वातंड्यायनी formed with 'shpha' under lohitâdi rule (V. 1 18). When वतण्ड takes अण् under Śivâdi class, its feminine is वातण्डी ॥ Though the word is formed with अण् yet in the feminine, there is not ष्यङ् substitution (IV. 1. 78), because Vatanḍa is a Rishi-Name.

अश्वादिभ्यः फञ् ॥ १० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गिरस इति निवृत्तम् । अश्वादिभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये फञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

110. The affix 'फञ्' comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words अश्व &c.

The anuvṛitti of âṅgirasa does not extend to this aphorism. Thus अश्व+फञ् = अश्व+आयन (VII. 1. 2) = आश्वायनः (VII. 2. 117) 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Aśva'. Similarly आश्मायनः There are some words in this class which already have taken a patronymic affix, e. g, आत्रेय, वैल्य, and आनडुह्य ॥ After these words the affix फञ् of course has the force of a Yuvan affix. The word आत्रेय is formed by अत्रि + ढक् (IV. 1. 122), वैल्य = विलि (a Rajarshi)+ञ्यङ् (IV. 1 171), and आनडुह्य = अनडुह + यञ् (IV. 1. 105). The word शाय takes phañ only when it denotes an Atreya, as शायायनः, otherwise शायिः with इञ् or शायः with अण् ॥ The word जात takes 'phañ' only when the offspring of a male is to be denoted, as जातस्यापत्यं = जातायनः but जाताया अपत्यं = जातेयः with ढक् ॥ The word आत्रेय takes 'phañ' when denoting a Bhâradvâja, as आत्रेयायनः, otherwise it will take the affix इञ, which will be elided by II. 4. 28, leaving the form आत्रेयः ॥

The words भरद्वाज आत्रेये of the above list mean that when a person born in Atri Gotra is adopted by a person belonging to Bhâradvâja Gotra, then the affix is to be added, he of course is an Atreya but gets a new Gotra of Bhâradvâja. Thus भारद्वाजायनः, otherwise the form will be भारद्वाजः with अञ् of IV. I. 104.

1 अश्व 2 अश्मन् 3 शंख 4 शूद्रक 5 विद 6 पुट 7 रोहिण 8 खर्जूर (खजूर) 9 खञ्जार 10 बस्त 11 पिञ्जूल 12 भडिल 13 भण्डिल 14 भडित 15 भण्डित 16 प्रकृत 17 रामोद 18 क्षान्त 19 काश 20 तीक्ष्ण 21 गोलांक 22 अर्क 23 स्वर 24 स्फुट 25 चक्र 26 श्रविष्ठ 27 पविन्द 28 पवित्र 29 गोमिन् 30 श्याम 31 धूम 32 धूम्र 33 वाग्मिन् 34 विश्वानर 35 कुट 36 शप आत्रेये 37 जन 38 जड 39 खड 40 ग्रीष्म 41 अर्ह 42 कित 43 विशंप 44 विशाल 45 गिरि 46 चपल 47 चुप 48 दासक 49 वैल्य 50 (वैल्व) प्राच्य 51 धर्म्य 52 आनडुह्य 53 पुंसि जाते 54 अर्जुन 55 प्रहृत 56 सुमनस् 57 दुर्मनस 58 नम 59

(मनस्) प्रान्त 60 ध्वन 61 आत्रेय भरद्वाजे 62 भरद्वाज आत्रेये 63 उत्स 64 आतव 65 कितव 66 वद 67 धन्य 68 पाद 69 शिव 70 खदिर 71 भण्डक 72 मीवा 73 कुल 74 काण 75 नड 76 वीक्ष्य, 77 वह, 78 खेड, 79 नत्त 80 ओजस, 81 नम ॥

भर्गात्त्रैगर्ते ॥ १११ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भर्गशब्दादपत्ये विशेषे त्रैगर्ते गोत्रे फञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

111. The affix 'फञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the word भर्ग, when the meaning is a Traigarta.

Thus भर्गायणः – त्रैगर्तः ; otherwise भार्गिः (IV. 1. 95).

शिवादिभ्योण् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिव-आदिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्र इति निवृत्तम् । अतः प्रभृति सामान्येन प्रत्यया विज्ञायन्ते । शिवादिभ्योऽपत्येऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words शिव &c.

The anuvritti of the word गोत्रे (IV. 1. 98) does not extend to this sûtra. The affixes taught hereafter are generic patronymic affixes. The affix अण् debars इञ् &c, Thus शिव+अण्=शैवः 'a descendant of Śiva'. Similarly प्रौष्ठः ॥

The word तक्षन् 'a carpenter' occurs in this class; being a common noun denoting an artisan. it would have taken the affix इञ् by IV. 1, 153; the present sûtra prevents that. It does not, however, prevent the application of ण्य ordained by IV. 1. 152. Thus तक्षन्+अण्=ताक्ष्णः ॥ तक्षन्+ण्य=ताक्ष्ण्यः ॥ The अ is elided by VI. 4. 134, The word गंगा occurs in this class, as well as in Śubhrâdi class IV, 1. 123) and Tikâdi (IV. 1. 154). There are thus three forms of this word :—गांगः ; गांगायनिः and गांगेयः ॥ The word विपाशा occurs in this class as well as in Kuñjâdi class (IV. 1. 98) It has thus two forms: वैपाशः and वैपाशायन्यः with chphañ.

The affix अण् will come after a word consisting of two syllables, when it is the name of a river: the affix ढक् (IV. 1. 121) would have debarred the तन्नामिक अण् of (IV. 1. 113) in case of patronymics formed from river names. However, it is not so, because of this prohibition. The Patronymic from the river name त्रिवर्णी would be formed by अण् (IV. 1. 113), as त्रैवेण : but this is replaced by त्रिवणः ॥

1 शिव 2 प्रोष्ठ 3 प्रोष्ठिक 4 चण्ड 5 जम्भ 6 भूरि 7 दण्ड 8 कुठार 9 ककुभ् (ककुभा) 10 अनभिम्लान, 11 कोहित 12 सुख 13 संधि 14 मुनि 15 ककुत्स्थ 16 कहोड 17 कोहड 18 कहूय 19 कहय 20 रोध 21 कपिंजल (कुपिंजल) 22 खंजन 23 वतण्ड 24 तृणकर्ण 25 क्षीरह्रद 26 जलह्रद 27 परिल

28 पाषिक 29 पिष्ट 30 हैहय 31 पार्षिका 32 गोपिका 33 कपिलिका 34 जटिलिका 35 बधिरिका 36 मंजीरक 37 38 मांजरक 39 वृष्णिक 40 खंजार 41 खंजाल 42 कर्मार 43 रेख 44 लेख 45 आलेखन 46 विश्रवण 47 रवण 48 वर्तनाक्ष 49 ग्रीवाक्ष 50 विटप 51 पिटक 52 पिटाक 53 तक्षाक 54 नभाक 55 ऊर्णनाभ 56 जरत्कारु 57 पृथा 58 उत्क्षेप 59 पुरोहितिका 60 सुरोहितिका 61 सुराहिका 62 आर्यश्वेत (अर्यश्वेत) 63 सुपिष्ट 64 मसुरकर्ण 65 मयूरकर्ण 66 खर्जुरकर्ण 67 खदूरक 68 तक्षन् 69 ऋष्टिषेण 70 गंगा 71 विपाश 72 यस्क 73 लह्य 74 द्रुह्य 75 अयःस्थूल 76 तृणकर्ण (तृण कर्ण) 77 पर्ण 78 भलन्दन 73 विरूपाक्ष 80 भूमि 81 इला 82 सपत्नी 83 द्व्यचो नद्याः 84 त्रिवेणी त्रिवणं च ॥ 85 गोफिलिक, 86 रोहितिक, 87 कबोध, 88 गोभिलिक, 89 राजल, 90 तडाक, 91 वडाक, 92 परल ॥ It is an आकृतिगण ॥

अवृद्धाभ्यो नदीमानुषीभ्यस्तन्नामिकाभ्यः ॥ ११६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिर्यस्याचामादिस्तद्वृद्धम्। अवृद्धाभ्यः इति शब्दधर्मः । नदीमानुषीभ्य इत्यर्थधर्म, स्तेनाभेदास्मकुलयो निर्दिश्यन्ते । तन्नामिकाभ्य इति सर्वनाम्ना प्रत्ययप्रकृतेः प्रत्यवमर्शः । अवृद्धानि यानि नदीनां मानुषीणां च नामधेयानि तेभ्यो ऽपत्येऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । ढको ऽपवादः ॥

113. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a descendant, after words which are the names of rivers, or women, when such words are not Vriddham words; and when they are used as names and not as adjectives.

The word Vṛiddham in the sûtra, does not mean the technical Patronymic of that name as defined in other Grammars and used in Sûtras like IV. I. 166, but means the Vṛiddham as defined in this Grammar i. e. a word whose first syllable is a Vṛiddhi letter (I. I. 73). The word अवृद्धाभ्यः shows the *orthography* of the word to which the affix is to be added. The word नदीमानुषीभ्यः declares the *meaning* of that word and both attributes refer to one and the same base, i. e. orthographically the base should have a Vṛiddhi letter in the first syllable, and etymologically it should denote a man or a river. The word तन्नामिकाभ्यः applies both to the base and the affix.

Thus यमुना—यामुनः 'a son of the Yamunâ.' ऐरावत 'son of the Irâvati.' वैतस्तः 'son of the Vitastâ.' नार्मदः 'son of the Narmaddâ.' These are all *names* of rivers. Similarly शैक्षितः 'son of Śikshitâ.' चैन्तित 'son of चिन्तिता' ॥

Why do we say 'when not a Vṛiddha word'? Observe चान्द्रभाग्याया अपत्यं = चान्द्रभागेयः ; so also वासवदत्तेयः formed by ढक् (IV. I. 120). Why do we say being 'names of *rivers* or *women*.' Observe सौपर्णेयः and वैनतेयः ॥ Why do we say "when it is a *name*?" Observe शोभनाया अपत्यं = शौभनेयः 'the son of a beautiful woman.'

ढक् (IV. I. 120) is the general affix by which patronymics are formed from feminine bases. The present sûtra is an exception to that.

ऋष्यन्धकवृष्णिकुरुभ्यश्च ॥ ११४ ॥ ऋषि, अन्धक, वृष्णि, कुरुभ्यः च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋषयः प्रसिद्धा वसिष्ठादय । अन्धका वृष्णयः कुरव इति वंशाख्या । ऋष्यादिकुर्वन्तेभ्यः मातिपदिकेभ्यो ऽपत्ये ऽणप्रत्ययो भवती, ञोऽपवादः ।

114. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal-stem denoting the name of a Rishi, or the name of a person of the family of Andhaka, Vrishni, and Kuru.

This debars the affix इञ् ॥ The Rishis are like Vasishṭha, Viśvamitra &c. Thus वासिष्ठः, वैश्वामित्रः ॥ So also श्वाफल्कः, राध्यसः being persons belonging to the family of Andhaka; and वासुदेवः, आनुरुद्धः being persons belonging to the family of Vṛishṇi, and नकुलः, साहदेवः being persons belonging to the family of Kuru.

The word अत्रि is the name of a Rishi, in forming its Patronymic, the present sûtra enjoins अण्; but IV. 1. 122 enjoins ढक्; thus there being a conflict, we apply the maxim of interpretation contained in I. 4. 2. So that the Patronymic of अत्रि will be formed not by अण् but by ढक् ॥ Thus आत्रेयः ॥ Similarly उग्रसेन a person of Andhaka family, forms its patronymic औग्रसेन्यः IV. 1. 152 by ण्य; and not by अण्, so also वैष्वक्सेन्य 'son of Vaishvaksena' a person of Vṛishṇi, family; so also भैमसेन्यः 'son of Bhîmasena' a person of Kuru family.

Note.—The words or sabdâs are eternal; how is it then that rules applying to them should be made dependant upon their occurring in particular families or not, when families themselves are non-eternal? In other word, how a rule affecting a permanent object is conditioned by an impermanent adjunct? To this, some reply that Pâṇini has by mere coincidence (and not as cause and effect) classified certain definite number of words as belonging to certain families, and then the rule made applicable to them. Moreover a permanent object is sometimes designated by an impermanent object: as the permanent time is designated by the name of Saka. Others say that the families of Andhaka &c., are also permanent, and the words 'Nakula' 'Sahadeva' &c., found therein are, of course, permanent.

मातुरुत्संख्यासंभद्रपूर्वायाः ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातुः, उत्, संख्या, सम, भद्र, पूर्वायाः ॥

वृत्ति ॥ मातृशब्दात्संख्यापूर्वात्संपूर्वाद्भद्रपूर्वाच्चापत्ये ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति, उकारश्चान्तादेशः ।

115. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word mâtri when it is preceded by a Numeral, or by the words सम or भद्र; and the letter उ is substituted for the final ऋ of mâtri.

Thus from द्विमातृ we have द्वैमातुरः "son of two mothers i. e. son of one and adopted by another." द्विमातृ + अण् = द्वैमातृ + उ + अ = द्वैमात् + उ + र् + अ (I. 1. 51.) Similarly षाण्मातुरः, सांमातुरः, and भाद्रमातुरः ॥

This sûtra is made in order to teach the substitution of short उ for the

ऋ of मातृ ; for the word मातृ would have taken the affix अण् by the general rule IV. 1. 83. The sûtra contains the word पूर्वायाः in the feminine gender, showing by implication that the rule applies where the word मातृ denotes female. Thus संमिमीते = संमातृ 'he who measures together'. Its patronymic will be सांमात्रः 'son of a fellow-measurer'; because here the word मातृ does not mean 'mother', but a 'measure'. Nor the word धान्यमातृ 'barley measurer' will be affected by this rule. Why do we say "when preceded by a Numeral &c." Observe सौमात्रः 'son of Sumâtṛi'. The word वैमात्रेयः is formed by IV. 1. 123 as belonging to Śubhrâdi class.

कन्यायाः कनीन च ॥ ११६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्याशब्दादपत्येऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति ढकोपवादः । तत्सन्नियोगेन कनीनशब्दआदेशो भवति ॥

116. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कन्या, and when this affix is added, कनीन is the substitute of 'Kanyâ'.

Thus कन्याया अपत्यं = कानीनः 'the son of a virgin' viz Karṇa or Vyasa'. This debars the ढक् of IV. 1. 121. The word कन्या means a virgin, the son of a virgin is produced by immaculate conception. मुनिदेवतामाहात्म्याद् वा पुंयोगेऽपि न कन्यात्वं जहाति, यथा कुन्ती, यथा सत्यवती ॥

विकर्ण, शुङ्ग, च्छगलाद्वत्सभरद्वाजात्रिषु ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विकर्ण, शुङ्ग, छगलात्, वत्स, भरद्वाज, अत्रिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकर्णशुङ्गच्छगलशब्देभ्यो यथासंख्यं वत्सभरद्वाजात्रिष्वपत्यविशेषेष्वण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

117. The affix अण् comes after the words विकर्ण, शुङ्ग, and छगल, when the sense is a descendant of the family of Vatsa, Bharadvâja and Atri respectively.

Thus वैकर्णः = वात्सः otherwise वैकर्णिः ॥ शौङ्गः = भारद्वाजः, otherwise शौङ्गिः ॥ छागलः = आत्रेयः, otherwise छागलिः ॥

In some texts the word शुंगा is used and not शुंग ॥ The former being a feminine word, its Patronymic will be शौङ्गेयः, by IV. 1. 120 when it does not mean a descendant of भरद्वाजः ॥

पीलाया वा ॥ ११८ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पीलाया अपत्ये वाण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

118. The affix अण् comes optionally after the word पीला in denoting a descendant.

The word पीला being the name of a female would have taken अण् by

IV. 1. 113; but this अण् would have been prohibited by IV. 1. 121 as it is a dissyllabic feminine word. Hence the necessity of the present sûtra. Thus पैलः or पैलेयः 'son of Pilâ.'

ढक् च मण्डूकात् ॥ ११९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मण्डूकशब्दादपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The affix ढक् comes optionally in the sense of a descendant after the word मण्डूक as well as the affix अण् ॥

Thus we get three forms, मण्डूक + ढक् = मांडूकेयः ; मंडूक + अण् = मांण्डूकः ; मण्डूक + इञ् = माण्डूकिः ॥

स्त्रीभ्यो ढक् ॥ १२० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रीग्रहणेनेह टाबादिप्रत्ययान्ताः शब्दा गृह्यन्ते । स्त्रीभ्योऽपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वडवाया वृषे वाच्ये ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अण् कुञ्चाकोकिलात्स्मृतः ॥

120. Words ending in the feminine affixes take the affix ढक् in forming their Patronymic.

The word स्त्री in the aphorism means 'words ending in the feminine affixes टाप् &c.' That is, words ending in long आ and ई of the feminine. Thus विनता + ढक् = वैनतेयः (IV. 1. 2). So also सौपर्णेयः "Son of Vinatâ or Suparṇî". But ऐडविडः and दारदः formed by अण् meaning sons of इडविड and दरद्, for though these words are feminine, they do not *end in feminine affix*.

Vârt:—The affix ढक् comes after वडवा when meaning वृष ॥ . Thus वाडवेयः = वृषः "bull." Here 'ḍhak' has not the patronymic force. The patronymic will be वाडवः 'the son of a mare.'

Vârt.:—The feminine words कुञ्चा and कोकिला take the affix अण् in forming the patronymic. Thus क्रौञ्चः "the son of a curlew." कौकिलः "the son of a cuckoo.'

द्व्यचः ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि-अचः (स्त्रीभ्यां ढक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्व्यचः स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तादपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

121. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word ending in a feminine affix and consisting of two vowels.

Thus दत्ताया अपत्यं = दात्तेयः 'son of Dattâ', गौपेयः "son of Gopî". This debars the अण् of IV. 1. 113.

Why do we say 'having two vowels?' Observe यामुनः 'son of यमुना', which is a trisyllabic word, and not dissyllabic.

इतश्चानिञः ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, च, अनिञः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चकारो द्व्यच इत्यस्यानुकर्षणार्थः । इकारान्ताद्व्यचः प्रातिपदिकादनिञन्तादपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

122. The affix 'ढक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a dissyllabic Nominal-stem ending in short इ, but not, however, after a word ending in the patronymic affix इञ् ॥

The anuvṛitti of 'strî' does not extend to this aphorism. The force of the word च in the sûtra is to draw the anuvṛtti of the word द्व्यचः of the last sutra. Thus आत्रेयः 'the son of Atri'. नैधेयः 'the son of निधिः' ।

Why do we say "after a word ending in short इ"? Observe दाक्षिः "son of दक्ष" ॥ Here दक्ष though a dissyllabic word, yet ends in अ ॥

Why do we say 'not ending in the patronymic affix इञ्'? Observe दाक्षायणः 'son of दाक्षि' ॥ Here though दाक्षि is a dissyllabic word ending in short इ, it does not take the affix ढक् for इ here is the affix इञ् (IV. 1. 95.); so also प्लाक्षायनः ॥ Why do we say 'having two vowels'? Observe मारीचः "son of मरीचिः"

शुभ्रादिभ्यश्चः ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुभ्र-आदिभ्यः, च (ढक्)

वृत्तिः ॥ शुभ्र इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

123. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the stems शुभ्र &c.

This debars इञ् and other affixes. The word च in the sûtra shows that some words not occuring in the list of शुभ्रादि may take the ढक्, as it is an आकृतिगणः ॥ For though the words गंगा, पांडव are not in the list, we find still forms like गांगेयः, पाण्डवेयः &c.

Thus शुभ्रस्यापत्यं = शांभ्रेयः ॥

1 शुभ्र, 2 विष्ट पुर (विष्टपुर) 3 ब्रह्मकृत, 4 शतद्वार, 5 शलाथल, (शलाचल) 6 शलाकाभ्रू. 7 लेखाभ्रु, (लेखाभ्र), 8 विकंसा, (विकास), 9 रोहिणी, 10 रुक्मिणी, 11 धर्मिणी. 12 दिश्, 13 शालूक, 14 अजबस्ति, 15 शकंधि, 16 विमातृ, 17 विधवा, 18 शुक, 19 विश, 20 देवतर 21 शकुनि. 22 शुक्र, 23 उग्र, 24 ज्ञातल (शतल) 25 बन्धकी. 26 सृकण्डु, 27 विस्ति, 28 अतिथि, 29 गोदन्त. 30 कुशाम्ब, 31 मकष्टु. 32 शाताहर, 33 पवष्टुरिक, 34 सुनामन्, 35 लक्ष्मणश्यामयोर्वासिष्ठे । 36 गोधा, 37 कृकलास, 38 अणीव, 39 प्रवाहण, 40 भरत (भारत) 41 भरम; 42 मृकण्डु, 43 कर्पूर, 44 इतर, 45 अन्यतर, 46 आलीढ, 47 सुदन्त, 48 सुदक्ष, 49 सुवक्षस्, 50 सुदामन्, 51 कद्रु, 52 तुद, 53 अकशाय, 54 कुमारिका, 55 कुठारिका, 56 किशोरिका, 57 अम्बिका, 58 जिह्माशिन्, 59 परिधि, 60 वायुदत्त; 61 शकल, 62 शलाका, 63 खडूर, 64 कुबेरिका, 65 अशोका, 66 गन्धपिङ्गला, 67 खडोन्मत्ता, 68 अनुदृष्टिन्, (अनुदृष्टि) 69 जरतिन्, 70 बलीवर्दिन्, 71 विप्र, 72 बीज, 73 जीव, 74 श्वन्, 75 अश्मन्, 76 अश्व, 77 अजिर 78 शतावर, 79 शलाका, 80 कृकसा, 81 भरत, 82 मद्यष्टु, 83 ककल, 84 स्थूल, 85 मकष्टु, 86 यमष्टु, 87 कद्रु, 88 मृकण्ड, 89 गुद, 90 रुद, 91 कुशोरिका, 92 शबल, 93 अजिन ॥

विकर्णकुषीतकात्काश्यपे ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विकर्ण, कुषीतकात्, काश्यपे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकर्णशब्दात्कुषीतकशब्दाच्च काश्यपेऽपत्यविशेषे ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

124. The affix ढक्' comes after the words 'Vikarna' and 'Kushîta', when they mean the desc[illegible]ants of Kâsyapa.

Thus वैकर्णेयः and कौषीतकेयः = काश्यपः ; otherwise we have वैकर्णिः and कौषीतकिः formed by IV. 1. 95.

भ्रुवो वुक् च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रुवः, वुक्, च (ढक्)

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रूशब्दादपत्येढक प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च वुगागमः ।

125. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word भ्रू and the augment वुक् is added when this affix is to be applied.

Thus भ्रू + ढक् = भ्रू + वुक् + ढक् (I. 1. 46) = भ्रूव् + ढक् = भ्रौवेयः (VII. 1. 2).

कल्याण्यादीनामिनङ् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कल्याणी-आदीनाम्, इनङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कल्याणी इत्येवमादीनां शब्दानामपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च इनङादेशः ॥

126. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words कल्याणी &c. and the substitute इनङ् takes the place of the final of these words before this affix.

In the case of those words in this list which end in a feminine affix, the present sûtra teaches merely the substitution of इनङ्, for they would have taken the affix ढक् by IV. 1. 120. But in the case of other words, the Sûtra teaches both the substitution of इनङ and the addition of ढक्.

Thus कल्याणी + ढक् = कल्याणिन + ढक् = काल्याणिनेयः 'son of Kalyâṇî.' सुभगा + ढक् = सुभागिन् + ढक् = सौभागिनेयः ॥ Similarly दौर्भागिनेयः ॥ In these last two words, there is Vriddhi of both the initial vowel उ and the second vowel अ of भ. This is done by the special rule VII. 3. 19.

1 कल्याणी, 2 सुभगा, 3 दुर्भगा, 4 बन्धकी, 5 अनुदृष्टि, 6 अनुसृति (अनुसृष्टि) 7 जरती, 8 बलीवर्दी, 9 ज्येष्ठा, 10 कनिष्ठा, 11 मध्यमा, 12 परस्त्री ॥

कुलटाया वा ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुलटायाः, वा (ढक्)

वृत्तिः ॥ कुलटाया अपत्येढक् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च वा इनङादेशो भवति । आदेशार्थं वचनं प्रत्ययः पूर्वेणैव सिद्धः ।

127. The affix ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कुलटा, and इनङ् is optionally the substitute of the final before this affix.

The word कुलटा means literally one who wanders (अटति) from one family (कुल) to another i. e. an unchaste woman. This sûtra is made to teach substitution only, for कुलटा would have taken ढक् by the general rule IV. 1. 120. Thus कुलटा + ढक् = कुलटिन् + ढक् = कौलटिनेयः or कौलटेयः 'son of an unchaste woman.' This word कुलटा being a word denoting contempt, will take also the affix ढ्रक by IV. 1. 131. Thus कौलटेरः ॥

चटकाया ऐरक् ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चटकायाः, ऐरक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चटकाया अपत्ये ऐरक् प्रत्ययो भवति । वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चटकाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् । वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्त्रियामपत्ये लुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

128. The word चटका takes the affix ऐरक् in forming the patronymic.

Thus चाटकैरः 'son of Chaṭakâ'.

Vârt:—So also after the masculine word चटक ॥ Thus चाटकैरः 'son of Chaṭaka'.

Vârt:—In forming a descendant denoting a female, there is luk-elision of the affix. Thus the female descendant of चटका will be चटका, the टाप् being added as belonging to Ajâdi class IV. 1. 4.

गोधाया ढ्रक् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोधायाः, ढ्रक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोधाया अपत्ये ढ्रक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

129. The affix 'ढ्रक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the word गोधा ॥

Thus गोधा + ढ्रक् = गौधेरः ॥ Of the affix 'ḍhrak', the letter ढ् is replaced by एय् (VII. 1. 2), क् causes Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 118) and makes the udâtta accent fall on the final (IV. 1. 165). Thus the real affix is एय्र, but the य् is elided by VI. 1. 66 and so the affix that is actually added is एर ॥

This word गोधा occurs in the Śubhrâdi class IV. 1. 123, also, thus it takes the affix 'ḍhak' as well. Thus गौधेयः ॥

आरगुदीचाम् ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ आरक्, उदीचाम् (गोधायाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोधाया अपत्ये उदीचामाचार्याणां मतेन आरक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

130. The affix 'आरक्', comes in the sense of a descendant after the word 'गोधा,' according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians.

Thus गौधारः ॥ It might be objected that the आरक् contain the letter आ unnecessarily, for रक् would have served the purpose as well, because गोधा ends in long आ already. The objection is valid in the case of गोधा, but the very fact that Pâṇini uses this affix आरक्, shows by implication, that there are other words also which take this affix, and in whose case the affix रक् would not suffice. Thus the words जड and पण्ड also take this affix as जाडारः, पाण्डारः ॥ The mention of the name of Northern Grammarians is for the sake of showing respect only.

क्षुद्राभ्यो वा ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुद्राभ्यः, वा (ढ्रक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुद्रा अङ्गहीना धर्महीनाश्च । अर्थधर्मेण तदभिधायन्यः स्त्रीलिङ्गाः प्रकृतयो निर्दिश्यन्ते । क्षुद्राभ्यो वापत्ये ड्रक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

131. The affix 'ड्रक्' comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the feminine words denoting mean objects.

The anuvṛitti of ड्रक् is to be read in this sûtra, and not of आरक्, though the latter immediately precedes it. The word क्षुद्रा means those who are defective or wanting in any bodily limb or organ, or who are low in social status and religious principles. This sûtra debars ढक् which would come in the other alternative. Thus काणेरः 'the son of an one eyed woman', or काणेयः, दासेरः or दासेयः 'son of a female-slave'.

पितृष्वसुश्छण् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितृष्वसुः, छण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृष्वसृशब्दादपत्ये छण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

132. The affix 'छण्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'पितृ-ष्वसृ'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पितृष्वसृ + छण् = पैतृष्वस्रीयः 'the son of the father's sister'. The छ of the affix is replaced by ईय ॥

ढकि लोपः ॥ १३३ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृष्वसुरपत्यप्रत्यये ढकि परतो लोप भवति ॥

133. The final vowel of 'पितृ-ष्वसृ' is elided when the affix 'ढक्', in the sense of a descendant, is added.

Thus पितृष्वसृ + ढक् = पैतृष्वसेयः ॥ This sûtra indicates by jñâpaka that the word पितृष्वसृ takes the affix 'ḍhak' also.

मातृष्वसुश्च ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातृष्वसुः, च (छण्, ढकि लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृष्वसुरित्येतदपेक्षते, पितृष्वसुर्यदुक्तं तन्मातृष्वसुरपि भवति । छण्प्रत्ययो ढकि लोपश्च ॥

134. So also, after the word 'मातृष्वसृ' the affix 'छण्' is added, and the final is elided when 'ढक्' follows, in forming patronymics.

The Sûtras IV. 1. 132, 133 above apply to मातृष्वसृ also. As मातृष्वस्रीयः or मातृष्वसेयः 'the son of a mother's sister'.

चतुष्पाद्भ्यो ढञ् ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुष्-पाद्भ्यः, ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुष्पादभिधायिनीभ्यः प्रकृतिभ्योऽपत्ये ढञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135. The affix 'ढञ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the bases denoting quadrupeds.

This debars अण् &c. Thus कमण्डलु + ढञ् = कामण्डलेयः (IV. 4. 147, the उ being elided before ए). So also शैतिबाहेयः and जाम्बेयः from शितिबाहु and जम्बु ॥

गृष्ट्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गृष्टि-आदिभ्यः, च (ढञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गृष्ट्यादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽपत्ये ढञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ।

136. The affix 'ढञ्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words 'गृष्टि' &c.

This debars अण् and ढक् &c. Thus गार्ष्टेयः; हार्ष्टेय ॥ The word गृष्टि when it means 'a cow' will of course get the affix ढञ् by the last Sûtra. The present sûtra applies when it does not mean a four-footed animal, but means 'a woman who has one child only'.

1 गृष्टि, 2 हृष्टि, 3 बलि, 4 हलि, 5 विश्रि, 6 कुद्रि, 7 अजबस्ति, 8 मित्रयु ।

राजश्वशुराद्यत् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ राज-श्वशुरात्, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः राजन्श्वशुरशब्दाभ्यामपत्ये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

137. The affix यत् comes in the sense of the descendant, after the words 'राजन्' and 'श्वशुर'.

This debars अण् and अञ् respectively. Thus राजन्यः (IV. 4. 168) 'a person of Kshatriya class'. This is the special meaning of the word; it does not mean 'the son of a Râjâ.' The word राजनः will mean 'the son of a King.' So also श्वशुर्यः 'son of the father-in-in-law.'

क्षत्राद्घः ॥ १३८ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षत्रशब्दादपत्ये घः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

138. The affix "gha" comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the word "Kshattra."

Thus क्षत्रियः 'a Kshatriya.' This is also a class name. The son of क्षत्र will be क्षात्रिः ॥ The affix घ here should not be confounded with the technical घ which means the affixes तरप् and तमप् (I. 1. 22).

कुलात्खः ॥ १३९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुलशब्दान्तात् प्रातिपदिकात्केवलाच्चापत्ये खः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

139. The affix "kha" comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the Nominal-stem "kula" and a compound word that ends in "kula."

In the next sûtra, it will be taught that the word कुल when not preceded by any other word, takes the affixes "yat" and "ḍhakañ." That indicates by implication that the present sûtra applies to the simple word कुल and to the words ending in कुल also. Thus कुलीनः, आढ्यकुलीनः, श्रोत्रियकुलीनः ॥

अपूर्वपदादन्यतरस्यां यड्ढकञौ ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपूर्वपदात्, अन्यतरस्याम्, यत्, ढकञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानं पूर्वपदं यस्य तदपूर्वपदं, समाससंबन्धिनः पूर्वपदस्याभावेन कुलशब्दो विशेष्यते । अपूर्वपदात्कुलशब्दादन्यतरस्यां यत् ढकञ् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः । ताभ्यां मुक्ते खोऽपि भवति ॥

140. The affixes 'यत्' and 'ढकञ्' come optionally after the word 'kula,' when it is not preceded by any other word which gets the designation of pada (I. 4. 14).

The word अपूर्वपद means when the word 'kula' is not the last member of a compound. Thus कुल्यः, कौलेयकः ॥ By the use of the word 'optionally,' we get the affix ख also. Thus कुलीनः ॥ The word कुल्यः has udâtta on the first syllable (VI. 1. 213).

The word पद has been defined in I. 4. 14. The word बहु is not a pada. Therefore बहुकुल will take these affixes. Thus बहुकुल्यः, बाहुकुलेयकः and बहुकुलीनः ॥

महाकुलादञ्खञौ ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ महा-कुलात्, अञ्, खञौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्यतरस्यामित्युनवर्तते । पक्षे खः ।

141. The affixes 'अञ्' and 'खञ्' come optionally after the word 'mahâkula.'

Thus माहाकुलः, माहाकुलीनः and महाकुलीनः ॥ The last is formed by the affix ख of IV. 1. 139.

दुष्कुलाड्ढक् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दुष्कुलात्, ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुष्कुलशब्दादपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

142. The affix 'ढक्' comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'dushkala.'

Thus दौष्कुलेयः ॥ By the force of the word 'optionally' we get ख also. Thus दुष्कुलीनः ॥

स्वसुश्छः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वसुः, छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वसृशब्दादपत्ये छ : प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

143. The affix 'chha' comes in the sense of the descendant, after the word स्वसृ ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus स्वस्रीयः 'the sister's son.'

भ्रातुर्व्यच्च ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रातुः, व्यत्, च ॥

वृत्ति : ॥ भ्रातृशब्दादपत्ये व्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति । चकाराच्छश्च ॥

144. The affix 'vyat' also comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'भ्रातृ' ॥

By the force of the word च in the sûtra, we get the affix छ as well.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus भ्रातृव्यः or भ्रात्रीयः 'the brother's son'. The त् of व्यत् regulates the accent, making it svarita.

व्यन्सपत्ने ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यन्, सपत्ने (भ्रातुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातृशब्दाद् व्यन्प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेदमित्रः सपत्न उच्यते ॥

145. The affix 'vyan' comes after the word 'भ्रातृ' when the sense is that of 'an enemy'.

The word सपत्न means 'enemy'. The sense of descendant is not connoted by this affix. The difference between व्यन् and व्यत् is in accent (VI. 1. 185 and VI. 1. 197). Thus पाप्मना भ्रातृव्येण "by the sinful enemy". भ्रातृव्यः कण्टकः "the enemy is a thorn".

रेवत्यादिभ्यष्ठक् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रेवती-आदिभ्यः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेवतीत्येवमादिभ्योऽपत्ये ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

146. The affix 'ठक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words रेवती &c.

This of course debars ढक् &c. Thus रेवती + ठक् = रैवतिकः 'the son of Revati'. So also आश्वपालिकः (VII. 3. 50)

1 रेवती, 2 अश्वपाली, 3 मणिपाली, 4 द्वारपाली, 5 वृकवञ्चिन्, 6 वृकबन्धु, 7 वृकग्राह, 8 कर्णग्राह, 9 दण्डग्राह, 10 कुक्कुटाक्ष, 11 (ककुदाक्ष) 12 चामरग्राह,

गोत्रस्त्रियाः कुत्सने ण च ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रस्त्रियाः कुत्सने, ण, च (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रं गृह्यते । गोत्रं या स्त्री तदभिधायिनः शब्दादपत्ये णः प्रत्ययो भवति ; चकाराट्ठक्च, कुत्सने गम्यमाने । पितुरसंविज्ञाने मात्रा व्यपदेशोऽपत्यस्य कुत्सा ॥

147. And when contempt is to be expressed, the affix ण comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a feminine word denoting a Gotra-descendant.

By the force of the word च in the sûtra we get the affix ठक् also. When one's father is not known, and he is called by a name derived from his mother, it casts a slur upon his legitimacy; hence such an epithet is a कुत्सा or 'a defamatory or contemptuous epithet'. Thus गार्गी is a female gotra-descendant. Her son will be called गार्गः, as गार्गः जाल्मः ॥ So also गार्गिकः ॥ Similarly the son of ग्लुचुकायनी will be ग्लौचुकायनः and ग्लौचुकायनिकः ॥

This affix being added to a Gotra word has the force of a Yuvan affix,

Why do we say 'a Gotra descendant'. Observe कारिकेयो जाल्मः (formed by ढक् IV. 1. 120). Why do we say 'female descendant? Observe औपगविर्जाल्मः ॥ Why do we say 'when contempt is meant'? Observe गार्गेयो माणवकः which is to be explained as गार्ग्या अपत्यं पुमान् युवा भवति ॥ मातामहादेरुपलक्षणार्थोऽयं प्रयोग इति नास्ति कुत्सा ॥

वृद्धाट्ठक्सौवीरेषु बहुलम् ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्, ठक्, सौवीरेषु, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धात्सौवीरगोत्रादपत्ये बहुलं ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति कुत्सने गम्यमाने ॥

Kárikâ भागवृत्तिस्त्रिगर्तीयस्तार्णबिन्दवः ॥

तृतीयस्त्वाकशापेयो गोत्राट्ठग्बहुलं ततः ॥

148. When contempt is to be expressed, the affix ठक्' is diversely added in the sense of a descendant after a Vriddha word denoting Sauvîra Gotras.

Thus भागवित्तिकः 'the son of Bhâgavitti', So also तार्णबिन्दविकः formed from तृणबिन्दु + अण् (IV. 1. 83) तार्णबिन्दवः, and then adding ठक् ॥ In the alternative we have the affix फक् (IV. 1. 101) as भागवित्तायनः, so also तार्णबिन्दविः ॥ The word अकशाप belongs to Śubhrâdi class IV. 1. 123: and forms आकशापेयः, his son will be आकशापेयिकः or आकशापेयिः ॥ Of course, when contempt is not expressed, we have भागवित्तायनः only.

The operation of this sûtra is, in fact, confined to the three words भागवित्ति, तार्णबिन्दव, and आकशापेय as given in the kârikâ.

Q. What is the necessity of using the word 'Vṛddha' in the sûtra, for the anuvritti of the word 'gotra' is understood in the sûtra, and a Sauvîra class Nominal-stem formed with a Gotra affix will necessarily have a Vṛddhi letter in its first syllable? The word Vṛddha is employed in the sûtra to stop the anuvṛtti of स्त्रियाः; for had 'Vṛddha' not been used, then with the anuvṛtti of गोत्र from the last sûtra, there would have come the anuvṛtti of स्त्रियाः also, but by using 'Vṛiddha' the anuvṛtti of 'Gotra' only is taken, and not that of 'striyâh'.

Why do we say "of the Sauvîras"? Observe औपगविर्जाल्मः ॥ Why do we say 'in denoting contempt'? Observe भागवित्तायनो माणवकः ॥ Why do we say 'diversely'? The word बहुल indicates the anomalous nature of these four sûtras IV. 1. 147 to 150. Thus the first of these viz IV. 1. 147 only denotes contempt, the last of these viz IV. 1, 150, denotes 'Sauvîra' only and not contempt; whilst the middle two namely IV. 1. 148 and 189 denote both 'contempt' and 'Sauvîra'.

फेश्छ च ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ फेः, छ-च (कुत्सने-सौवीरेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फिञन्तात्सौवीरगोत्रादपत्ये छः प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराट्ठक् कुत्सने गम्यमाने ॥

Kárikâ यमुन्दश्च सुयामा च वार्ष्यायणिः फिञः स्मृताः ।

सौवीरेषु च कुत्सायां द्वौ योगौ शब्दवित् स्मरेत् ॥

189. When contempt is to be expressed, the affix छ (as well as the affix ठक्) comes in the sense of a des-

cendant, after a Nominal-stem ending in the affix फिञ् and denoting a Sauvîra Gotra.

Thus the son of यमुन्द will be यामुन्दायनि: formed by the affix फिञ् (IV. 1. 154) as this word belongs to Tikâdi class. The son of Yâmundâyani will be either यामुन्दायनीयः or यामुन्दायनिकः ॥

But when contempt is not to be expressed, the son of यामुन्दायनि: will be यामुन्दायनिः ॥ Thus यामुन्दायनि + अण् = यामुन्दायनि + o(II. 4. 58) = यामुन्दायनिः ॥

So also when persons of Suvîra country are not meant, छ is not added. Thus तैकायनिः ॥

The फे: of the sûtra refers to फिञ् and not to फिन्, for a stem formed by फिन् will not have a Vṛiddhi letter in the first syllable and will not be called 'Vṛiddham'; and the anuvṛitti of this word is understood in the sûtra.

According to the Kârikâ, three फिञन्त stems, all belonging to Tikâdi class, are only governed by this sûtra viz यमुन्द, सुयामा and वार्ष्यायणि: ॥ The son of वृष is Vârshyâyaṇi.

फाण्टाहृतिमिमताभ्यां णफिञौ ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ फाण्टाहृति-मिमताभ्यां-ण-फिञौ (सौवीरेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फाण्टाहृतिमिमतशब्दाभ्यां सौवीरविषयाभ्यामपत्ये णफिञौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

150. The affixes ण and फिञ् come, in the sense of a descendant of a person belonging to Suvîra country, after the words Phâṇṭâhriti and Mimata.

This debars फक् । By the rule of composition in II. 2. 34, the word मिमत consisting of less syllables than फाण्टाहृत, ought to have been placed first. Its not being placed first in this sûtra indicates, that Sûtra I. 3. 10 does not apply here. So that both the affixes ण and फिञ् are applied to each of these words, and not one to each respectively, Thus फाण्टाहृतः or फाण्टाहृतायनिः : मैमतः or मैमतायनिः ॥

When not denoting Sauvîra Gotras, we have फाण्टाहृतायनः and मैमतायनः (by फक् ॥ See IV. 1. 101 and IV. 1. 99). The word मिमत belongs to Naḍâdi-class. (IV. 1. 99).

कुर्वादिभ्यो ण्यः ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुरु-आदिभ्यः, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुरु इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽपत्ये ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

151. The affix ण्य comes, in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Kuru' &c.

Thus कुरु + ण्य = कौरव्य : ॥ So also गार्ग्यः ॥ The word कुरु takes the affix ण्य by IV. 1. 172 so that the form कौरव्य is evolved both under the present

sûtra and sûtra 172; but the difference in these two words is this. The word कौरव्य formed by the ण्य of IV. 1. 172, loses its affix in the plural, because ण्य of IV. 1. 172 is a Tadrâja affix (see II 4. 62): but the word कौरव्य formed by the present sûtra retains its affix in the plural. As कौरव्याः ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in the Tikâdi class (IV. 1. 154), and it takes as such the affix फिञ्. As कौरव्यायणिः ॥

The word रथकार occurs in this class and it means the caste known as Rathakâra. Rathakâra is a caste a little lower than the twice-born. See Yâjñyavalkya Smriti, V. 95. But when the word रथकार means a person who makes chariots, that is an artisan, it will take the affix ण्य not by this Sûtra, but by the succeeding sûtra.

The word केशिनी occurs in this class. Its derivative will be कैशिन्यः ॥ There will not be puṅvadbhâva as required by VI 3. 34 &c. For had there been puṅvadbhâva, then by भस्यढे तद्धिते, all Bha bases will become puṅvad before a taddhita affix except ढ ॥ Therefore केशिनी + ण्य = केशिन् + ण्य ॥ At this stage rule VI. 1. 144 will appear and cause the elision of टि and we shall have केश्+ण्य = कैश्य ॥ But this is not the form desired, hence the word केशिनी is read with the feminine affix in the list.

The word वेन takes this affix in the Vedic literature. Therefore, the form वैन्य in the modern Sanskrit is incorrect.

The word वामरथ occurs in this class With the exception of accent, it s treated in every other respect like a word of Kaṇvâdi class, a subdivision of Gargâdi (IV. 4. 105). Thus disciples of वामरथ्यः will be formed by the affix अण् (IV. 2. 111). As वामरथ्य + अण् = वामरथः (VI. 1. 105). The plural will be वामरथाः (II. 4. 64). The feminine gender will be वामरथी (IV. 1. 16) or वामरथ्यायनी (IV. 1. 17). The Yuvan will be वामरथ्यायनः (IV. 1. 101). So also it will take अण् when the sense of collection &c is expressed (IV. 3 127): as वामरथानि ॥ But as to accent, it will not be like Kaṇvâdi words, for while those words being formed by the affix यञ् will have udâtta on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197) the accent of वामरथ्य will be governed by ण्य ॥

1 कुरु, 2 गर्गर (गर्ग), 3 मङ्गुष, 4 अजमार (अजमारक), 5 रथकार, 6 वावदूक, 7 सम्राजः क्षत्रिये, 8 कवि, 9 विमति (मति), 10 कापिञ्जलादि, 11 वाक् (or वाच्) 12 वामरथ, 13 पितृमत्, 14 इन्द्रलाजी, (इन्द्रजालि), 15 एजि*, 16 वातकि*, 17 दामोष्णीषि, 18 गणकारि, 19. कैशोरि, 20 कुट, 21 शलाका (शालाका), 22 सुर, 23 पुर, 24 एरका (सरक), 25 शुभ्र*, 26 अभ्र, 27 दर्भ, 28 केशिनी, 29 वेनाच्छन्दसि, 30 शूर्पणाय, 31 श्यावनाय, 32 श्यावरथ, 33 श्यावपुत्र, 34 सत्यंकार, 35 वडभीकार, 36 पथिकार*, 37 मूढ, 38 शकन्धु, 39 शङ्कु, 40 शाक, 41 शाकिन्, 42 शालीन*, 43 कर्तृ, 44 हर्तृ, 45 इन, 46 पिण्डी (इनपिण्डी), 47 वामरथस्य कण्वादिवत्स्वरवर्जम् (is a Vartika). 48 विस्फोटक, 49, काक, 50 स्फाण्टक, 51 घातकि, 52 घेनुजी, 53 बुद्धिकार.

सेनान्तलक्षणकारिभ्यश्च ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सेनान्त, लक्षण, कारिभ्यः, च (ण्यः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेनान्तात् प्रातिपदिकाल्लक्षणशब्दात् कारिवचनेभ्यश्चापत्ये ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति । कारिशब्दः कारूणां तन्तुवायादीनां वाचकः ॥

152. The affix ण्य comes in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal stem ending in 'senâ,' after the word 'lakshaṇa,' and after words denoting artisans.

The word कारि means 'handicrafts,' such as weavers, barbers, potters &c. Thus कारिषेण्यः हारिषेण्यः, लाक्षण्यः, तान्तुवाय्यः, कौम्भकार्यः, नापित्यः ॥

उदीचामिञ् ॥ १५३ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेनान्तलक्षणकारिभ्यो ऽपत्ये इञ् प्रत्ययो भवति उदीचां मतेन ॥

153. According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, the affix 'इञ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words ending in 'senâ,' the word 'lakshaṇa,' and words expressing artisans.

Thus कारिषेणिः, हारिषेणिः, लाक्षणिः, तान्तुवायिः, कौम्भकारिः ॥ As to the word तक्षन् 'carpenter.' See IV. 1. 112. It will have ताक्ष्णः and ताक्ष्ण्यः, but will not take इञ् ॥ The word नापित being a Vṛiddha, non-gotra word, will take फिञ् under IV. 1. 157 according to the Northern Grammarians, as नापितायनिः ॥

तिकादिभ्यः फिञ् ॥ १५४ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिक इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽपत्ये फिञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

154 The affix 'फिञ्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words तिक &c.

Thus तैकायनिः, कैतवायनिः ॥ The word वृष occurs in this class. In taking this affix, it adds an intermediate य as वार्ष्यायणिः ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in this class, and denotes a Kshatriya: because it is immediately preceded by the word औरस = उरसा याते = उरसः क्षत्रियः, his son will be auraśa with, अञ् which ends in an affix denoting a Kshatriya (IV. 1. 168). But the word कौरव्य formed by the affix ण्य of IV. 1. 150 will take the affix इञ् and not फिञ् of this Sûtra. See II. 4. 58 and 68.

1 तिक, 2 कितव, 3 संज्ञा, 4 बाला (बाल) 5 शिखा, 6 उरस् (उरश), 7 शाठ्य (शाठ्य) 8 सैन्धव, 9 यमुन्द, 10 रूप्य, 11 ग्राम्य, 12 नील, 13 अमित्र, 14 गौकक्ष्य, 15 कुरु (करु) 16 देवरथ, 17 तैतल (तैतिल) 18 औरस (औरश), 19 कौरव्य, 20 भौरिकि, 21 भौलिकि, 22 चौपयत, 23 चैटयत, 24 शीकयत (शैकयत) 25 क्षैतयत, 26 वाजवत (ध्वाजवत K.) 27 चन्द्रमस, 28 शुभ, 29 गङ्गा, 30 वरेण्य, 31 सुयामन्, 32 आरद्ध (आरब्ध), 33 वह्यका, 34 खल्यका (खल्या; खल्य) 35 वृष, 36 लोमक, 37 उदन्य (उदन्य) 38 य-

त्त, 39 सुयामन्, 40 बदंग (बहुम्व), 41 भीत, 42 आजल, 43 रस, 44 लावक, 45 ध्वजवट, 46 वसु, 47 बन्धु, 48 आवन्धका (as well as आबन्धका).

कौसल्यकार्मार्याभ्यां च ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कौसल्य-कार्मार्याभ्यां च (फिञ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कौसल्यकार्मार्यशब्दाभ्यामपत्ये फिञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दगुकोसलकर्मारच्छागवृषाणां युट् ॥

155. The affix फिञ् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words Kausalya, and Kârmârya.

This debars इञ् ॥ Thus कौसल्यायनिः and कार्मार्यायणिः ॥ These words, how ever, do not mean "the son of कौसल्य or कार्मार्य," but they mean "the son of कोसल, and कर्मार," because of the following Vârtika

Vârt:—The words दगु, कोसल, कमार, छाग and वृष take the augment युट् before the affix फिञ् ॥ Thus दागव्यायनिः, कौसल्यायनिः, कार्मार्यायणिः, छाग्यायनिः and वार्ष्यायणिः ॥

अणो द्व्यचः ॥ १५६ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अणन्ताद् द्व्यचः प्रातिपदिकादपत्ये फिञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ त्यदादीनां वा फिञ् वक्तव्यः ॥

156. The affix 'phiñ' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a dissyllabic word ending in the affix 'अण्'.

This debars इञ् ॥ Thus कार्त्र्यायणिः 'son of Kârtra,' हार्त्र्यायणिः 'son of a Hârtra.'

Why do we say "which ends in the affix अण्"? Observe दाक्षायणः 'son of Dâkshi' (IV. 1. 101). Why do we say a 'dissyllabic word'? Observe औपगविः 'son of औपगव' ॥

Vârt:—The pronouns 'tyad &c.' optionally take the affix फिञ् or अण् ॥ Thus त्यादायनिः or त्यादः, यादायनिः or यादः, तादायनिः or तादः ॥

उदीचां वृद्धादगोत्रात् ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदीचां, वृद्धात्, अगोत्रात् (फिञ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धं यत्प्रातिपदिकमगोत्रं तस्मादपत्ये फिञ् प्रत्ययो भवति उदीचामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥

157. According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, after words with a Vriddhi in the first syllable, when it is not a Gotra-name, the affix 'phiñ' is employed in the sense of a descendant.

Thus आम्रगुप्तायनिः "son of आम्रगुप्त," ग्रामरक्षायणिः 'son of ग्रामरक्ष' ॥ नापितायनिः 'son of a barber.' This latter is formed in spite of IV. 1. 152, because rule I. 4. 2 applies here.

Why do we say 'according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians'? Observe आम्रगुप्तिः. Why do we say 'after a word having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable'? Observe याज्ञदत्तिः 'son of यज्ञदत्त.' Why do we say 'not being a Gotra-name'? Observe औपगविः ॥

वाकिनादीनां कुक्च ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाकिन-आदीनां, कुक्-च (फिञ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वाकिन इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽपत्ये फिञ् प्रत्ययो भवति सन्नियोगेन चैषां कुगागमः ॥

158. The augment क् (Kuk) is added to the words Vâkina &c. when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows.

This वाकिनकायनिः, गारेधकायनिः ॥ This debars इञ् &c. But if the anuvṛitti of उदीचां is read into this aphorism, then it becomes an optional rule. In that case we have in the alternative :—वाकिनिः, गारेधिः ॥

1 वाकिन, 2 गौधेर (गारेध K.) 3 कार्कष (कार्कश्य K.), 4 काक, 5 लङ्का, 6 चर्मिवर्मिणोर्नलोपश्च ॥

पुत्रान्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १५९ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रान्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद्यः फिञ्प्रत्ययस्तस्मिन् परभूते ऽन्यतरस्यां कुगागमो भवति पुत्रान्तस्य ॥

159. The augment 'कुक्' optionally comes after a stem ending with the word pûtra, when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows.

The anuvṛitti of the words "according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians when the word has a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable" must be read into this sûtra. Of course, a word ending in पुत्र cannot be a Gotra-word, for a Gotra word means a grandson or a still lower descendant. Hence a word ending in पुत्र having Vṛiddhi in the first syllable will take the affix फिञ् by IV. 1. 157; the present aphorism only rules that it takes the augment कुक् optionally.

Thus we have three forms :—गार्गीपुत्रकायणिः or गार्गीपुत्रायणिः or गार्गीपुत्रिः ॥ So also वात्सीपुत्रकायणिः, वात्सीपुत्रायणिः and वात्सीपुत्रिः ॥

प्राचामवृद्धात्फिन्बहुलम् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, अवृद्धात्, फिन्, बहुलम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अवृद्धाच्छब्दरूपादपत्ये फिन् प्रत्ययो भवति बहुलं प्राचां मतेन ॥

160. According to the opinion of Eastern Grammarians, after a stem not having a Vriddhi vowel in the first syllable, the affix 'phin' is diversely employed in the sense of a descendant.

Thus ग्लुचुकायनिः or ग्लौचुकिः 'son of Gluchuka', ॥ अहिचुम्बकायनिः or आहिचुम्बिः ॥ Why do we say, "not having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable"? Observe राजदन्तिः ॥ The words प्राचाम्, बहुलं and अन्यतरस्याम् all denote optional rules, so the employment of any one of them would have here sufficed. Why two are used in this sûtra viz. प्राचां and बहुलं? The mention of Grammarians is made as a token of respect, and बहुलं is used to express the non-uniformity of the sûtra construction. In some places this affix फिन् is not at all added, as दाक्षिः, प्लाक्षिः ॥

मनोर्जातावञ्यतौ षुक् च ॥ १६१ ॥ मनोः-जातौ, अञ्-यतौ, षुक् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनुशब्दादञ् यत् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतस्तत्सन्नियोगेन षुगागमः समुदायेन चेज्जातिर्गम्यते ॥

Kârikâ अपत्ये कुत्सिते मूढे मनोरौत्सर्गिकः स्मृतः ।
नकारस्य च मूर्द्धन्यस्तेन सिध्यति माणवः ॥

161. The affixes अञ् and यत् come after the word 'Manu', and the augment षुक् is added when these affixes follow, provided that, the whole word so formed denotes a class name (jâti).

Thus मनु+षुक्+अञ्=मानुषः "a man or man-kind". So also मनुष्यः formed with यत् ॥ These affixes here have not the force of Patronymics, hence they are not dropped in the plural, as मानुषाः "men". When the descendant is to be expressed, we have the affix अण् as मनु+अण्=मानवः 'son of Manu', as in मानवी प्रजा ॥ So also the word माणव, there न is changed into ण and denotes the descendant of Manu, with the sense of contempt as well as dullness implied.

अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम् ॥ १६२ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पौत्रप्रभृति यदपत्यं तद्गोत्रसंज्ञं भवति ॥

162. A descendant, being a grandson or a still lower offspring, is called Gotra.

When an offspring, with reference to a person, is the son's son of that person or lower than that, it is called Gotra. Thus the son of 'Garga' will be गार्गिः, and the son or grandsons &c of गार्गिः with reference to Garga will be गार्ग्यः ॥ Similarly वात्स्यः ॥

Why do we say 'a grandson or a still lower descendant'? The immediate descendants or the son will not be called Gotra. Thus कौञ्जिः, गार्गिः ॥

जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जीवति, तु, वंश्ये, युवा (अपत्यं-पौत्रप्रभृति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आभिजनप्रबन्धो वंशः । तत्रभवो वंश्यः पित्रादिः, तस्मिन् जीवति सति पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्यं युवसंज्ञं भवति ॥

163. But when one in a line of descent beginning with a father (and reckoning upwards) is alive, the descendant of a grandson or still lower descendant is called Yuvan only.

The word वंश means an uninterrupted series of family descent—or a line'. One who occurs in such a line, like father &c, is called वंश्यः ॥ When such

a vanśya is alive, then the descendant of a grandson &c is called Yuvan. The phrase पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्य in the sûtra should be construed as पौत्रप्रभृतेर् यद् अपत्यम् 'He who is the descendant of a grandson &c' In the last sûtra, however, this phrase पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्यं was properly construed by putting the word पौत्रप्रभृति in the case of apposition with अपत्यम् meaning "a descendant being a grandson &c." Thus the word Yuvan will be applied to a person who is at least fourth in the order of descent, from the *propositus* with reference to whom the derivative is made. Thus गर्गः being the head; we have गर्गीः

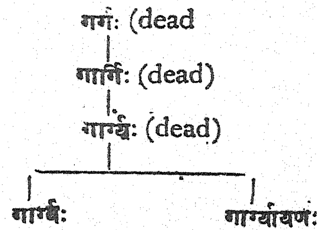
अपत्यम् — { गार्गिः (son or putra)
गार्ग्यः (Gotra)
गार्ग्यायणः (Yuvan) if Gârga or Gârgi &c be alive). The force of the word तु, in the sûtra is that it will be called Yuvan only, and not Gotra as well.

भ्रातरि च ज्यायसि ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रातरि, च, ज्यायसि (जीवति-अपत्य-पौत्रप्रभृति-युवा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातरि ज्यायसि जीवति कनीयान् युवसंज्ञो भवति पौत्रप्रभृतेरपत्यम् ॥

164. When an elder brother is alive, the younger brother gets the title of Yuvan, being the descendant of a grandson &c.

Even when a वंश्यः like father &c is not alive (and a brother is not vanśya), the younger brother gets the designation of yuvan, when the elder brother is alive; thus:



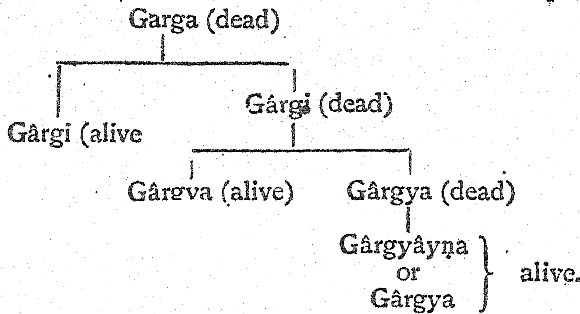
The word वंश्यः is confined to ancestors like father &c, so a brother can never be a vanśya, because he is not the source from which the other brother arises. This sûtra applies to cases when Vanśya is not meant. Thus Gârgyâyṇa ia the name of the younger brother with reference to the elder brother, Gârgya; similarly Vâtsyâyana, Dâkhsâyaṇa, and Plâkshâyaṇa.

वान्यस्मिन् सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अन्यस्मिन्, स-पिण्डे, स्थविरतरे, जीवति (अपत्यं-पौत्र प्रभृति युवा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातुरन्यस्मिन्सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति पौत्रप्रभृतेरपत्यं जीवदेव युवसंज्ञं वा भवति ॥

165. The living descendant of a grandson &c is called optionally a Yuvan, when a more superior sapinda other than a brother is alive.

The sapiṇḍa relationship extends up to seven degrees. The word स्थविर means 'superior', and स्थविरतर is comparative and means 'more superior', that is to say, superior both by *degree* of descent and by *age*. The word जीवति is again read in this aphorism, though there is the anuvṛitti of जीवति also from IV. 1. 163. This जीवति of the sûtra qualifies the word descendant, the जीवति which is understood by context qualifies the word sapiṇḍa thus :—



Here the uncle or the brother of a grand-father being alive, the descendant is optionally called Yuvan or Gotra.

वृद्धस्य च पूजायाम् ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धस्य, च, पूजायाम् (वा-युवा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपत्यमन्तर्हितं वृद्धमिति शास्त्रान्तरे परिभाषणाद्गोत्रं वृद्धमित्युच्यते । वृद्धस्य युवसंज्ञा वा भवति पूजायां गम्यमानायाम् । संज्ञासामर्थ्याद्गोत्रं युवप्रत्ययेन पुनरुच्यते ॥

166. The Gotra is sometimes optionally regarded as Yuvan, when respectful reference to him is intended.

The word Vṛiddha is another term for Gotra. As तत्र भवान् गार्ग्यायणः or गार्ग्यः "you honored Gargyâyana or Gârgya". This sûtra is in fact a Vârtika and not a sûtra of Pâṇini. Similarly तत्र भवान् वात्स्यायनः or वात्स्यः, तत्र भवान् दाक्षायणः or दाक्षिः ॥

Why do we say 'when respectful reference is intended'? Observe, वात्स्यः and गार्ग्यः ॥ The definition of Vṛiddham as given by other Grammarians is अपत्यमन्तर्हितं वृद्धम् ॥

यूनश्च कुत्सायाम् ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यूनः, च, कुत्सायाम्- (वा-युवा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुत्सायां गम्यमानायां यूनो वा युवसंज्ञा भवति ॥

167. The Yuvan is optionally spoken of as Gotra, when contemptuous reference to him is intended.

Thus गार्ग्यो जाल्मः or गार्ग्यायणो जाल्मः ॥ When contempt is not intended, the only form is गार्ग्यायणः ॥ This is also a Vârtika and not a sûtra.

जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादञ् ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपदशब्दात्,क्षत्रियात् अञ् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दो यः क्षत्रियवाची तस्मादपत्ये ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्षत्रियसमानशब्दाज्जनपदशब्दात्तस्य राजन्यपत्यवत् ॥

168. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word, which while denoting a country, expresses also a tribe of Kshatriyas.

Thus पाञ्चालः 'the son of Pañchala', so also ऐक्ष्वाकः and वैदेहः are Kshatriyas who live in that country. Of course, when the word is only expressive of Kshatriya, but not of the name of a country, अञ् will not be used but अण्; the difference being in the accent. Thus द्रौह्यवः 'the son of Drûhya'; पौरवः 'the son of Puru.' Why do we say when it expresses Kshatriyas? Observe ब्राह्मणस्य पञ्चालस्यापत्यं = पाञ्चालिः, (IV. 1. 95) 'the son of Pañchâla a Brahmaṇa'; so also वैदेहिः ॥

Vârt:—Let the same affix, which comes when the sense is that of the progeny, be added to a word denoting a country named after Kshatriyas, to denote the king thereof. Thus पंचालानाम् राजा = पाञ्चालः 'the king of the Kshatriyas called Pañchâla or of the country of Pâñchâlas'. So also वैदेहः, 'the king of the Kshatriyas or of the country of Videha'.

The words Pañchâla &c.originally are names of Kshatriya tribes only, secondarily they have been applied to the country inhabited by those tribes, because the Taddhita affix denoting 'the country inhabited by them,' is elided by IV. 2. 81. Thus the same word पञ्चाल comes to denote the Kshatriya tribe as well as the country called Pañchâla. It will make practically little difference to consider words like Pañchâla &c. as *original* (not *derivative*) name of countries as well as of Kshatriyas. In fact, Pâṇini himself considers them in the same light in this sûtra, and does not think them to be derivative words, in spite of his own sûtra IV. 2. 81. These words when denoting a country are always in the plural, as पञ्चालाः, in denoting the Kshatriya, they are in the singular.

साल्वेयगान्धारिभ्यां च ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ साल्वेय-गान्धारिभ्यां,च (अञ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ साल्वेयगान्धारिशब्दाभ्यामपत्ये ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

169. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Sâlveya' and 'Gândhâri'.

Both these are names of countries and denote also Kshatriyas as well. Therefore, by sûtra IV. 1. 171 they having a Vriddhi in the first syllable, would have taken the affix 'ñyaṅ', the present sûtra enjoins 'aṅ' instead. Thus साल्वेयः 'the son of Sâlveya, or the king of Sâlveya', गान्धारः 'the son of Gândhâri

or the king of Gândhâri?'. The vârtika under Sûtra IV. 1. 168 given above applies here also, i. e. the affix denotes also 'the king there of'

द्व्यञ्मगधकलिंगसूरमसादण् ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्व्यच्-मगध-कलिङ्ग-सूरमसात्-अण् (जनपदशब्दात्-क्षत्रियात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दात् क्षत्रियाभिधायिनो द्व्यचो मगध कलिङ्ग सूरमस इत्येतेभ्यश्चापत्येऽण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

107. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a descendant, after dissyllabic words, and the words 'Magadha', 'Kalinga' and 'Sûramasa', when they are the names of countries as well as of Kshatriyas.

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus आंगः, वांगः; मागधः, कालिङ्गः, and सौरमसः 'the son as well as the king of Anga, Banga, Magadha, Kalinga and Suramasa.' Similarly पौण्ड्रः, सौह्मः ॥ The Vârtika 'तस्यराजनि' given above applies to this also, as आंगो राजा, गान्धारि राजा &c.

वृद्धेत्कोसलाजादाञ्ञ्यङ् ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्ध-इत्-कोसल-अजादात्, ञ्यङ् (जनपदशब्दात्-क्षत्रियात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादित्येव । वृद्धाच्च प्रातिपदिकादिकारान्ताच्च कोसलाजादशब्दाभ्यां चापत्ये ञ्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पाण्डोर्जनपदशब्दात् क्षत्रियाड् ड्यण् वक्तव्यः ॥

171. The affix 'ञ्यङ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word having a Vriddhi in the first syllable, and after a word ending in short इ, and after the words 'Kosala' and 'Ajâda', when they are the names of countries and Kshatriyas.

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus, to give example of Vṛiddha words, आम्बष्ठ्यः सौवीर्यः 'the sons or kings of Ambashṭha and Sauvîra'. Similarly to take words ending in short इ, we have आवन्त्यः and कौन्त्यः 'the son or kings of Avanti and Kunti'. These are words ending in short इ ॥ So also कौसल्यः and आजाद्यः, which are neither Vṛiddhas nor end in short इ ॥

Vârt:—The affix 'ḍyaṇ' comes after the word 'Pâṇḍu' when it is the name of a country as well as of a Kshatriya tribe. Thus पांड्यः, otherwise it will be पांडवः ॥ See IV. 1. 74.

कुरुनादिभ्यो ण्यः ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुरु-नादिभ्योः, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादित्येव । कुरुशब्दान्नादिभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्योण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

172. The affix ण्य comes after the word 'Kuru', and a word beginning with न, when these words denote a country, being the name of a Kshatriya tribe also.

This debars 'aṇ' and 'añ'. Thus कौरव्यः, नैषध्यः 'the son of Kuru and Nishadha'. The affix denotes 'the king there of' also, as कौरव्यो राजा ॥ How do you explain the form नैषधोर्हति चेश्वम्? This is an ârchaic or Vedic form. How then in सनैषधस्यार्थपतेः सुतायां? This is a poetic license.

साल्वावयवप्रत्यग्रथकलकूटाश्मकादिञ् ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ साल्वावयव-प्रत्यग्रथ-कलकूट-अश्मकात्, इञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दात् क्षत्त्रियादित्येव ॥ साल्वावयवेभ्यः प्रत्यग्रथकलकूटाश्मकशब्देभ्यश्चापत्ये इञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

Kârikâ उदुम्बरास्तिलखला मद्रकारा युगन्धराः ।
भुलिङ्गाः शरदण्डाश्च साल्वावयवसंज्ञिताः ॥

173. The affix इञ् comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word which denotes any subdivision of the country of Sâlva; and after the words 'Pratyagratha', 'Kalakûta', and 'Asmaka', when these are names of countries and of Kshatriya tribes.

The word साल्वा is the name of a Kshatriyâ woman, her son will be साल्वेयः (IV. 1. 121) formed by ढक्; also साल्वः formed by अण् ॥ The dwelling place of साल्व will be also साल्वः which is the name of a country.

The sub-divisions of the country called साल्व are six, viz Udumbarâḥ, Tilakhalâḥ, Madrakarâḥ, Yugandharâḥ, Bhulingâḥ and Śaradaṇḍâḥ. The patronymic from these will be: औदुम्बरिः,तैलखलिः,माद्रकारिः, यौगन्धरिः,भौलिङ्गिः and शारदण्डिः॥ So also the affix 'iñ' will be added to the words 'Pratyagratha' &c. As प्रात्यग्रथिः, कालकूटिः and आश्मकिः ॥ The affix has the force also of 'the king there of'. As औदुम्बरो राजा ॥ According to Mahâbhâshya, the words Busa, Ajamiḍha, and Ajakanda also take this affix, as बौसः, आजमीढिः and आजकन्दिः ॥

ते तद्राजाः ॥ १७४ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेऽञादयस्तद्राजसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

174. These (viz the affixes अञ् IV. 1. 168 &c) are called Tadrâja ('the king there of') affixes.

The affixes treated of in these six sûtras 168 to 173 are called Tadrâja. The pronoun ते refers to these only and not to all the affixes treated of before S. IV. 1. 168; for they have the special designation of Gotra and Yuvan see II. 4. 62. The illustrations of these have already been given under each of the above six aphorisms.

कम्बोजाल्लुक् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कम्बोजात्-लुक् (तद्राजस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कम्बोजात् प्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कम्बोजादिभ्यो लुग्वचनं चोल/द्यर्थम् ॥

175. After the word 'Kamboja', there is elision by 'luk' of the Tadrâja affix:

Namely the affix अञ् which would have come after the word कम्बोज because it denotes a country as well as a Kshatriya tribe, is elided. Thus कम्बोजः 'The king of Kamboja'.

Vârt:—It should be stated rather 'after Kamboja and the like', because we find the affix elided after 'Cholâ' &c. Thus चोलः 'the king of Cholâs'. So also केरलः शकः, यवनः ॥

स्त्रियामवन्तिकुन्तिकुरुभ्यश्च ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाम्, अवन्ति-कुन्ति-कुरु-भ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवन्तिकुन्तिकुरुशब्देभ्य उत्पन्नस्य तद्राजस्य स्त्रियामभिधेयायां लुग्भवति ॥

176. In denoting a feminine name, the Tadrâja is elided after the words Avanti, Kunti and Kuru.

That is to say the affix 'ṇyaṅ'. (IV. I. 171) after the word 'Avanti' and 'Kunti', and the affix 'ṇya' after the word 'Kuru' are elided when the word to be formed is the name of a female. Thus अवन्ती, कुन्ती and कुरूः 'a daughter or princess of Avanti, Kunti or Kuru'. The word कुरु takes ऊङ् in the feminine by IV. I. 66. Why do we say 'in denoting the feminine'? Observe आवन्त्यः, कौरव्यः and कौन्त्यः ॥

अतश्च ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः-च (स्त्रियाम्, लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारप्रत्ययस्य तद्राजस्य स्त्रियामभिधेयायां लुग्भवति ॥

177. In forming the feminine of a word which ends in the masculine in the Tadrâja affix अ, the affix is luk-elided.

Thus *m.* शौरसेनः, *f.* शूरसेनी ; *m.* माद्रः, *f.* मद्री ॥ The word अतः of the sûtra should not be construed by the rule of tadanata vidhi (I. I. 72). If so construed it will mean "a Tadraja affix ending in अ is elided". There have been taught five Tadraja affixes, namely 'añ (अ)', 'aṇ (अ)', 'ñyaṅ (य)', 'ṇya (य)' and 'in (इ)'. Of these the first four all end in अ ; therefore all these four affixes should be elided in the feminine. But this is not the meaning of the author ; for had it been so, there would have been no necessity of the previous sûtra, for then the present sûtra would have covered the case of 'Avanti', 'Kunti' and 'Kuru'. But the very fact of this sûtra IV. I. 176 indicates by ज्ञापक, that the *tadanta vidhi* does not apply here. Therefore, the feminine of आम्बष्ठ्यः is आम्बष्ठ्या, of सौवीर्यः is सौवीर्या ॥.

नप्राच्यभर्गादियौधेयादिभ्यः ॥ १७८ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राच्येभ्यो भर्गादिभ्यो यौधेयादिभ्यश्चोत्पन्नस्य लुङ्न भवति । अतश्चेत्यनेन स्त्रियां लुक् प्राप्तः प्रतिषिद्ध्यति ॥

178. The Tadarâja affix is not elided in the feminine, if it forms the names of the Kshatriyas of the East, or it comes after the word 'Bharga' &c and 'Yaudheya' &c.

This sûtra debars the elision of the Tadrâja affix अ (required by the last sûtra). Thus पांचाली, वैदेही, आंगी, वांगी, मागधी these being all Eastern people dwelling in countries east of the Śarâvati river. Similarly of भर्ग &c. Thus भार्गी, कारुषी, कैकेयी ॥ So also of यौधेय &c. Thus यौधेयी, शौभ्रेयी and शौक्रेयी ॥ The Tadrâja affixes taught above are five, but besides these there are others taught in the fifth Adhyâya (V. 3. 112 to 119). The word यौधेय is formed by such an affix (V. 3. 177 अञ्). The present rule, therefore, indicates by implication, that the rule of elision contained in IV. 1. 177 applies not only to the Tadrâja affixes taught in this chapter, but to the Tadraja affixes taught in V. 3. 112 to 119. Thus the Tadraja affix अण् in (V. 3. 117) added to पर्शु &c. is elided in the feminine: e. g. m. पार्शवः f पर्शूः, m आसुरः f असुरी—&c.

1 भर्ग, 2 करूश (करूष), 3 केकय, 4 कश्मीर, 5 साल्व, 6 सुस्याल, 7 उरस (उरश and उरस), 8 कौरव्य.

1 यौधेय, 2 कौक्रेय, 3 शौभ्रेय, 4 ज्यावाणेय (यावाणेय), 5 धौर्तेय (धार्तेयः धार्तेय) 6 त्रिगर्त, 7 भरत, 8 उशनिर, 9 वार्तेय ॥

ओ३म् ।

अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER SECOND.

तेन रक्तं रागात् ॥ १ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थाद्रागविशेषवाचिनः शब्दाद्रक्तमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

1. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes after the name of a colour in the sense of "colored thereby".

The verb रञ्ज् means to change white into another color. That by which a thing is coloured is called रागः 'color'. तेन 'by which', i. e. after a word in the instrumental case in construction, being the name of a particular colour. Thus कषायेण रक्तं वस्त्रं = काषायम् 'a cloth coloured of a dull red'. So also माञ्जिष्ठम्, कौसुम्भम् ॥

Why do we say रागात् "after the name of a color"? Observe देवदत्तेन रक्तं वस्त्रम्, here the affix अण् will not come after the word 'Devadattena', for though it is in construction in the instrumental case, yet it is not the name of a colour.

In the sentence "काषायौ गर्दभस्य कर्णौ, हारिद्रौ कुक्कुटस्य पादौ" the words काषाय and हारिद्र are used metaphorically.

From this sûtra up to IV. 2. 12 inclusive, the affixes are to be added to the word which is in the instrumental case in construction in a sentence (IV. 1. 82): as in the last chapter, the affixes were added to a word in the genitive case.

लाक्षा रोचना शाकल कर्दमाट्ठक् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ लाक्षा, रोचना, शाकल, कर्दमात्, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लाक्षादिभ्यो रागवचनेभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो रक्तमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नील्या अन् वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ पीतात् कन् वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ हरिद्रामहारजनाभ्यामञ् वक्तव्यः ॥

2. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of colored thereby, after the words lâkshâ, rochanâ, sakala, and kardama, (which being names of colours, are in the instrumental case in a sentence).

This debars अण् ॥ Thus लाक्षाया रक्तं वस्त्रं = लाक्षिकम्, so also रौचनिकम्, शाकलिकम् and कार्दमिकम् ॥

According to the opinion of Patanjali, the affix अण् also comes after शकल and कर्दम: । Thus शाकलम् and कार्दमम् ॥ According to Mahâbhâshya the words शकल and कर्दम do not occur in the sûtra, but are given in the Vârtika.

Vârt:—The affix अन् comes after नीली: as नील्या रक्तं = नीलं वस्त्रं ॥

Vart:—The affix कन् (I. 3. 8) comes after पीत, as पीतेन रक्तं = पीतकम् ॥

Vârt:—The affix अञ् comes after हरिद्रा and महाराजन, as हारिद्रम् and माहा-राजनम् ॥

नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः ॥ ३ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयासमर्थान् नक्षत्रविशेषवाचिनः शब्दात् युक्त इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति । योऽसौ युक्तः, कालश्चेत्स भवति ॥

3. The affix अण् already ordained IV. 1. 83 comes after a word in the instrumental case in construction, which is the name of a lunar mansion, to signify a time connected with the asterism.

A time is said to be connected with an asterism when the moon is in conjunction with any one of such asterism. Thus पुष्य, तिष्य, मघा &c are lunar asterisms, when the moon is in any one of these asterisms, then the affix is added to the name of such asterism in order to denote time of such conjunction. Thus पुष्य + अण् = पौषः (VI. 4. 149) e. g. पौषिरात्रि: "the night in which moon is in Pushya". So also माघी रात्रिः ; पौषमह 'the month in which the moon is full in Pushya i. e. December', so also माघमह 'the month Mâgha' &c.

Why do we say नक्षत्रेण 'connected with the asterism'? Observe चन्द्र-मसा युक्ता रात्रिः ॥ Why do we say काल 'time'? Observe पुष्येण युक्तश्चन्द्रमा: ॥

लुबविशेषे ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुप्-अविशेषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेण विहितस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुब् भवति अविशेषे ।

4. The affix above ordained is elided by lup, when there is no specification.

That is the affix enjoined by the preceding aphorism is elided if no specification is to be understood of a particular portion of time such as

night &c. Thus अद्य: पुष्य: 'to day belongs to the asterism Pushya' meaning that to-day the moon is in conjunction with Pushya; but by 'to-day' neither the day time in particular nor the night time in particular is meant, but both alike. The time is day and night, when there is no specification of such time, whether it is day or night, then there is elision.

संज्ञायां श्रवणाश्वत्थाभ्याम् ॥ ५ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रवणशब्दादश्वत्थशब्दाच्चोत्पन्नस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुब् भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

5. The affix above ordained is elided by lup, after the words Sravana and Asvatha, when the whole word so formed is an appellation, and there is specification of time.

Thus श्रवणा रात्रिः, अश्वत्थो मुहूर्तः "the night called Śravaṇâ; the Muhûrta called Aśvattha". The affix being elided by 'lup', why should not I. 2. 51 apply here? We should say श्रवणाः रात्रिः and not श्रवणं रात्रिः The reason is that श्रवणा is an irregularly formed word, as Pâṇini himself uses it in sûtra IV. 2. 23. Why do we say 'when it is a Name or Sañjñâ'? Observe श्रावणी or आश्वत्थी रात्रिः।

द्वन्द्वाच्छः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वात्-छ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वात्तृतीयासमर्थाद्युक्ते काले छः प्रत्ययो भवति विशेषे चा विशेषे च ॥

6. The affix छ comes after the Dvandva compound of the names of lunar mansions, when it is in the instrumental case in construction, to signify time connected with the asterism whether there be a specification or not.

Thus राधानुराधीया रात्रिः, तिष्यपुनर्वसवीयमहः ॥ So also when there is no specification: as अद्य राधानुराधीयम्, अद्य तिष्यपुनर्वसवीयम् ॥ The affix here in these two last cases is not elided, though there is no specification of time, because the present sûtra, being a subsequent sûtra, will debar IV. 2. 4 which ordains lup (I. 4. 2).

दृष्टं साम ॥ ७ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थाद् दृष्टं सामेत्यैतास्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यद् दृष्टं साम चेत्तद्भवति ॥

7. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes, after a word in construction in the Instrumental case, in the sense of seen—the thing seen by the one whose name is in the Instrumental case, being the Sâma Veda.

Thus क्रुञ्चेन दृष्टं=क्रौञ्चं साम "the portion of the Sâma seen by (or revealed to) Kruñcha." So also वासिष्ठम्, वैश्वामित्रम् ॥

कलेर्ढक् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलेः-ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलिशब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थाद् दृष्टं सामेत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वत्राग्निकलिभ्यांढग्वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दृष्टे सामनि अण् वा डिद्भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ जाते चार्थे योऽन्येन बाधितः पुनरण्विधीयते स वा डिद्भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तीयादीकक् स्वार्थे वा वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ न विद्यायाः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गोत्राद्दङ्कवदिष्यते ॥

Kârikâ   दृष्टे सामनि जाते च द्विरण्डिद्वा विधीयते ।
तीयादीकक् न विद्याया गोत्राद्दङ्कवदिष्यते ॥

8. The affix ढक् comes, in the sense of Sâma-Veda seen, after the word 'Kali', being in the instrumental case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus कलिना दृष्टं साम=कालेयं ॥ "The Sâma Veda revealed to Kali". This sûtra is really a Vârtika and not a sûtra of Pâṇini.

Vârt:—The affix 'ḍhak' comes always after अग्नि and कलि; not merely in the sense of Sama-Veda seen. Thus अग्निना दृष्टं साम=आग्नेयम् 'the Sama-Veda revealed to Agni'. अग्नौ भवं=आग्नेयम् 'who stays in Agni' (IV. 3. 53) अग्नेरागतं "what has come from Agni" =आग्नेयम् (IV. 3. 74) &c. Similarly कालेयम् means 'the Sama-Veda seen by Kali, he who stays in Kali, what has come from Kali &c.,

Vârt:—The affix अण् is optionally treated as if it had an indicatory ड् when the sense is that of Sama-Veda seen. Thus उशनसा दृष्टं साम=औशनसम् or औशनम् (the force of डित् being to elide the टि portion; VI. 4. 143).

Vârt:—The affix अण् in the sense of 'born', is optionally treated as डित्, provided that it be that अण् which being debarred by IV. 3. 11, is re-ordained by IV. 3. 16. The affix अण् governs all sûtras up to IV. 4. 2 by force of IV. 1. 83.; but it is debarred by ठञ् of IV. 3. 11, and is re-ordained in IV. 3. 16. Thus शतभिषजि जातः=शतभिषः or शतभिषजः ॥

Vârt:—The affix ईकक् comes, optionally, without changing the sense, after words ending in तीय ॥ Thus द्वैतीयीकम् or द्वितीयकम्, तार्तीयीकम् or तृतीयकम् ॥

Vârt:—Not so when it qualifies विद्या, as द्वितीया or तृतीया विद्या ॥

Vârt:—The affix वुञ् IV. 3. 126 has the force of "Sama-Veda seen" when it comes after a Gotra-word. This औपगवकम् or कापटवकम् 'the Sâma-Veda seen by Aupagava, or Kâpaṭava'. The affix वुञ् comes after a word denoting a Gotra or Charaṇa.

वामदेवाड्, ड्यड्, ड्यौ ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वामदेवात्-ड्यत्-ड्यौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वामदेवशब्दात् तृतीयासमर्थाद् दृष्टं सामेत्यस्मिन्नर्थे ड्यत् ड्य इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

Kârikâ   सिद्धे यस्येतिलोपेन किमर्थं ययतौ डितौ ।
ग्रहणं माऽतदर्थे भूद्वामदेव्यस्य नञ्स्वरे ॥

9. The affixes ड्यत् and ड्य come in the sense of the Sâma-Veda seen, after the word Vâmadeva, being in the Instrumental case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus वामदेवेन दृष्टं साम = वामदेव्यं or वामदेव्यं ॥ The indicatory त् in 'ḍyat' shows that य has svarita accent (VI. 1. 125).

Q. What is the use of the indicatory ड्?

Ans. The final syllable is elided when a डित् affix is added, by VI. 4. 143.

Q. The final अ of वामदेव would have been elided without making this affix डित्, by the rule VI. 4. 148, then what is the use of making this affix डित्?

Ans. Well, the author here indicates by jñapaka, the existence of these two maxims of interpretation, viz. Paribhashas निरनुबन्धकग्रहणे न सानुबन्धकस्य "when a term void of anubandhas is employed, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it". तदनुबन्धकग्रहणे नातदनुबन्धकस्य "when a term with one or more anubandhas is employed it does not denote that which, in addition to those, has another anubandha attached to it".

For had य and यत् been only taught instead of 'ḍya' and 'ḍyat', then by rule VI. 2. 156 the final of such word, with the negative particle अ, would take udâtta on the final, but that is not the case. Therefore अवामदेव्यं is not finally acute, but has acute on the first syllable, taking the accent of the Indeclinable (VI. 2. 2). As अवामदेव्यं ॥

परिवृतो, रथः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ परिवृतः रथः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थात्परिवृत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, योसौ परिवृतो रथश्चेत् भवति ॥

10. The affix अण् comes, after a word in the Instrumental case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded' the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

Thus वस्त्रेण परिवृतो रथः = वास्त्रः "a chariot surrounded with cloth". So also काम्बलः, चार्मणः ॥ Why do we say 'the thing so surrounded being a chariot?' Observe वस्त्रेण परिवृतः कायः 'the body surrounded with cloth' the word परिवृत means covered from all sides. The affix will not be used if the chariot is not completly surrounded. As छात्रैः परिवृतो रथः ॥

पाण्डुकम्बलादिनिः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाण्डु-कम्बलात्-इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाण्डुकम्बलशब्दात् तृतीयासमर्थात् परिवृतो रथ इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इनि प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

11. The affix इनि comes after the word पाण्डुकम्बल, being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पाण्डुकम्बली रथः 'a carriage covered with a white woolen blanket'. The word पाण्डुकम्बल means the housing of a royal elephant. The form पाण्डुकम्बलिन् would have been obtained by the affix इनि of V. 2. 115, the present sûtra is made in order to debar the affix अण् ॥

द्वैपवैयाघ्रादञ् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वैप-वैयाघ्रात्-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वीपिव्याघ्रयोर्विकारभूते चर्मणी द्वैपवैयाघ्रे, ताभ्यां तृतीयासमर्थाभ्यां परिवृतो रथ इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

12. The अञ् comes after the words 'dvaipa' and 'vaiyâghra' being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

Thus द्वैपेन परिवृतो रथः = द्वैपः 'a car covered with a tiger's skin'. So also वैयाघ्रः ॥ This affix अञ् debars अण्, the difference between these two being in accent only.

कौमारापूर्ववचने ॥ १३ ॥ कौमार-अपूर्व-वचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौमारं इत्येतदण्प्रत्ययान्तं निपात्यते ऽपूर्ववचने ॥

Kârikâ कौमारापूर्ववचने कुमार्या अण्विधीयते ।
अपूर्वत्वं यदा तस्याः कुमार्या भवतीतिवा ॥

13. The word 'kaumâra' is irregularly formed by adding the affix अण्, when meaning 'virginity

Thus कौमारो भर्ता = अपूर्वपतिं कुमारीमुपपन्नः 'the husband of a virgin'. i. e. one whose wife was given to him in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow). So also कौमारी भार्या = कुमारी अपूर्वपतिः पतिमुपपन्ना "a virgin wife" i. e. a wife who is taken in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow). In both these cases the word refers to the woman

The word कौमार is formed by adding अण् to कुमारी ॥ Thus कुमार्याम् भवः = कौमारः; तस्य स्त्री कौमारी भार्या ॥

तत्रोद्धृतममत्रेभ्यः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-उद्धृतम्, अमत्रेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थादमत्रवाचिनः शब्दादुद्धृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

14. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes in the sense of 'placed thereon' after words denoting vessels, when such words are in the locative case in construction.

The word तत्र means, 'thereon' i. e. a word in the seventh case in construction. अमत्र means 'vessels': उद्धृतम् means 'placed', or literally the 'refuse

of dinner'. Thus शरावेषूद्धृत: = शाराव ओदन: "boiled rice placed on a dish." So also माल्लिक:, कार्पर: ॥

Why do we say "after a word denoting vessel"? Observe पाणावुद्धृत ओदन: 'boiled rice placed on the hand'.

The word तत्र, denoting 'a word in the locative case in construction', governs the six subsequent sûtras upto IV. 2. 20 inclusive.

स्थण्डिलाच्छयितरि व्रते ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थण्डिलात्-शयितरि-व्रते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थण्डिलशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थात् शयितर्यभिधेये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, समुदायेन चेद्व्रतं गम्यते ॥

15. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes after the word स्थण्डिल being in the seventh case in construction, in the sense of 'a sleeper thereon', and the whole word so formed denotes 'a person performing a vow'.

Thus स्थण्डिले शयितुं व्रतमस्य = स्थाण्डिल: 'a person who has taken the vow to sleep on the bare ground' i. e. an ascetic or a Brahmachârî.

Why do we say 'vow'? Observe स्थण्डिले शेते ब्रह्मदत्त: 'Brahmadatta sleeps on the bare ground', not as a matter of vow, but of necessity or pleasure. The word व्रत means a 'vow or an observance ordained by religious codes'.

संस्कृतं भक्षाः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संस्कृतम्-भक्षाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थात्संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्संस्कृतं भक्षाश्चेत्ते भवन्ति ॥

The affix अण् comes after a word ending in the locative case, to denote 'what is prepared therein'—if that which is so prepared be 'granular food'.

Thus भ्राष्ट्रे संस्कृता भक्षा = भ्राष्ट्रा 'a cake fried in the pan'. Similarly कालशाः कौम्भाः ॥ Why do we say "if it means food"? Observe पुष्पपुटे संस्कृतो मालागुण: ॥

शूलोखाद्यत् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शूल-उखात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शूलशब्दादुखाशब्दाच्च सप्तमीसमर्थात्संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. The affix यत् comes in the sense of prepared food, after the words शूल and उखा ending in the locative case.

This debars अण् (IV. 1. 83). As शूले संस्कृतं = शूल्यं 'roasted on a spit'—i. e. meat. So also उख्यम् 'flesh boiled in a pot'.

दध्नष्ठक् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दध्नः-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दधिशब्दात् सप्तमीसमर्थात्संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix ठञ् comes, in the sense of prepared food, after the word 'dadhi' ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus दधनि संस्कृतं = दाधिकम् 'made of coagulated milk'. This form will be evolved by IV. 4. 3, but the दाधिकं formed by that rule means दध्ना संस्कृतं i. e. anything prepared or seasoned with curd; while the दाधिकं of this sûtra means 'curd itself seasoned with salt or, pepper'.

उदश्वितो ऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदश्वितः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदश्विच्छब्दात् सप्तमी समर्थात् संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थेऽन्यतरस्यां ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'prepared food', optionally after the word उदश्वित् ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus औदश्वित्कम् (VII. 3. 51), or औदश्वितम् by अण् ॥

क्षीराड्ढञ् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षीरात् ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षीरशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थात्संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

20. The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of 'prepared food', after the word 'Kshîra' ending in the locative case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥. Thus क्षीरे संस्कृताः = क्षैरेयी यवागूः 'milky gruel'.

सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति संज्ञायाम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सा-अस्मिन्-पौर्णमासी-इति संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेति प्रथमासमर्थाद् अस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं पौर्णमासी चेद्भवति ॥

21. The affix अण् comes after the name of a full-moon-night, to denote the division of time in which the night falls.

The word स means 'that'. It is in the nominative case, therefore by IV. 1. 82 it means that "after a word in the first case in construction". अस्मिन् 'in it' i. e. in the sense of a seventh case. पौर्णमासीति "if the word in the first case in construction is the name of a full-moon night". The word इति after पौर्णमासी is used for the sake of clearness. The word संज्ञायाम् does not occur in the original sûtras of Pâṇini; but is added by a Vartika; and means 'if the word so formed is an appellative', i. e. if it is the name of a month, a half-month and a year. The whole sûtra therefore literally translated means "the affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes in the sense of a 7th case affix, after a word in the 1st case in construction, if that word is the name

of a full-moon-night, provided that the whole word so formed is an appellation of a month, a half-month or a year.".

Thus पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् = पौषो मासः 'the month Paus i. e. that month in which the moon is full in the asterism Pushya'. Similarly पौषऽर्द्धमासः and पौषः संवत्सरः ॥ But not so in the following पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् दशरात्रे, because daśarâtra is not a month or a fortnight or a year.

The words इति and संज्ञायाम् have the same force here; namely, they make the word an appellative. The word संज्ञायाम् added to the sûtra by the Vârtika is a redundancy.

The word पौर्णमासी is formed by adding अण् to पूर्णमास ॥ Or it may be evolved in this way:—पूर्णो माः = पूर्णमाः, पूर्णमास इयम् = पौर्णमासी ॥ The word माः means "moon".

आग्रहायण्यश्वत्थाट्ठक् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आग्रहायणी, अश्वत्थात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति सर्वमनुवर्तते । आग्रहायणीशब्दाश्वत्थशब्दाच्च प्रथमासमर्थात्पौर्णमास्युपाधिकाद् अस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of the locative case after the words 'agrahâyanî' and 'asvattha' ending in the first case-affix in construction and being the name of a full-noon night.

The words सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति of the last sûtra govern this also. This debars अण् ॥ Thus आग्रहायणिको मासः 'the month called Agrâhâyaṇika i. e. in which the moon is full in the asterism of Agrahâyaṇa. Similarly आश्वत्थिकः ॥

विभाषा फाल्गुनीश्रवणाकार्तिकीचैत्रीभ्यः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, फाल्गुनी, श्रवणा-कार्त्तिकी-चैत्रीभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फाल्गुन्यादयः पौर्णमासीशब्दास्तेभ्यो विभाषा ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति, सास्मिन् पौर्णमासीति संज्ञायामित्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

23. The affix ढक् optionally comes after the words 'Phâlgunî', 'Sravanâ', 'Kârtikî' and 'Chaitrî' being the names of full moon nights, the whole word so formed being a Name denoting a division of time (a month, a fortnight or a year) in which the moon is full.

Thus फाल्गुनः or फाल्गुनिकः, श्रावणः or श्रावणिक, कार्तिकः or कार्तिकिकः; चैत्रः or चैत्रिकः ॥ This optionally ordains ठक् instead of अण् ॥

सास्य देवता ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सा-अस्य, देवता ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थं देवता चेत् सा भवति ॥

24. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) is added to the name of a deity when someting is to be spoken of as his.

सा = 'after a word in the 1st case in construction' अस्य 'in the sense of a sixth case'. देवता 'if the word in the first case is the name of a deity'. Thus इन्द्रो देवताऽस्य = ऐन्द्रम् 'oblation sacred to Indra'. Similarly आदित्यम् 'oblation belonging to Âditya'. So also बार्हस्पत्यम्, प्राजापत्यम् ॥ Why do we say "after the name of a *deity*"? Observe, कन्यादेवताऽस्य, no affix is added to कन्या ॥ In the sentnces ऐन्द्रीमन्त्राः and आग्नेयो वै ब्राह्मणोदेवतयेति the affix is added by analogy.

The whole phrase साऽस्य देवता governs up to sûtra IV. 2. 35. Though the word स was understood in this sûtra by anuvṛitti from sûtra IV. 2. 21, its repetition is for the sake of indicating that the anuvṛitti of संज्ञा does not extend to it. The affix ordained by this sûtra has the force of indicating 'lord of oblations like Puroḍâsá &c offered in a sacrifice'.

कस्येत् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कस्य, इत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कस्य इकारादेशो भवति प्रत्ययसन्नियोगेन ॥

25. The short इ is the substitute of the final अ of क, when the affix is added.,

Thus क + अण् = कि + अण् = कै + अ = कायं "oblation sacred to Ka". As कायं हविः, कायमेककपालं निर्वपेत् ॥

शुक्राद् घन् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुक्रात्-घन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुक्रशब्दात्सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्नर्थे घन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix घन् comes in the sense of "that its deity", after the word 'Sukra.

This debars अण् (IV. 1. 83). Thus शुक्र + घन् = शुक्रियम् हविः (VII. 1. 2) 'an oblation belonging to Śukra'. Thus शुक्रियोऽध्यायः ॥

अपोनप्त्रपान्नप्तृभ्यां घः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपः नप्तृ, अपाम् नप्तृभ्याम् घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपोनप्तृ अपान्नप्तृ इत्येताभ्यां घः प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

27. The affix घ comes after the words 'aponaptri' and 'apannaptri', in the sense of 'that its deity'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus अपोनप्त्रियं हविः or अपांनप्त्रियम् ॥ The words अपांनपात् and अपांनपात् are the names of two deities; these words irregularly assume the form ending in नप्तृ when the affix is to be added.

छ च ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ छ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपोनप्तृ अपान्नप्तृ इत्येताभ्यां छकारः प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छप्रकरणे पैङ्गाक्षीपुत्रादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शतरुद्राच्छश्चघश्च ॥

28. Also 'Chha' is added to 'Aponaptri' and 'Apannaptri' in the sense of 'that its deity'

The affix छ also comes in the sense of "that its deity" after the word Aponaptṛi and Apânnaptṛi. This debars अण्॥ Thus अपोनप्त्रीयं or अपान्नप्त्रीयम् 'oblation sacred to Aponapât or Apânnapât'. This is made a separate sûtra, in order to prevent the application of rule I. 3. 10. For if it was included in the last, the sûtra would have run thus: "The affixes घ and छ come after Aponaptṛi and Apânnaptṛi", the meaning of which according to maxim I. 3. 10 would have been, "the affix घ comes after Aponaptṛi, and छ after Apânnaptṛi". But this is not what the author intended. Hence two distinct sûtras.

Vârt :—The affix छ comes after the words पैंगाक्षीपुत्र &c. As, पैंगाक्षीपुत्रीयम्, तार्णबिन्दवीयम्॥

Vârt :—The word शतरुद्र takes घ and छ both: e. g. शतरुद्रीयम् and शतरुद्रियं॥

महेन्द्राद् घाणौ च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ महेन्द्रात्, घ, अणौ च ॥

वृत्तिः॥ महेन्द्रशब्दाद् घाणौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः, चकाराच्छश्च, सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

29. The affix घ, and अण् as also the affix छ, come after the name Mahendra, in the sense of "this its deity"

As महेन्द्रीयम्, महेन्द्रियम् and माहेन्द्रम् 'oblation sacred to Mahendra'.

सोमाट्ट्यण् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमात्, ट्यण् ॥

वृत्तिः॥ सोमशब्दाद् ट्यण्प्रत्ययो भवति सास्यदेवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

30. The affix ट्यण् comes after the name 'Soma', in the sense of "this its deity".

This debars अण्॥ The ण् of ट्यण् causes Vṛiddhi. The ट causes the affixing of ङीप् in the feminine. Thus सौम्यं हविः, सौम्यं सूक्तम्, सौमी ऋक्॥ सौम्य+ङीप् (IV. 1. 15)=सौम्+ई (VI. 4. 150)=सौमी॥

वाय्वृतुपित्रुषसो यत् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वायु-ऋतु, पितृ-उषसः, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः॥ वाय्वादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

31. The affix यत् comes after the names 'Vâyu', 'Ritu' 'Pitri' and 'Ushas', in the sense of "this its deity".

This debars अण्॥ As, वायव्यम्, ऋतव्यम्, पित्र्यम् and उषस्यम्॥ The form पित्र्यम् is thus evolved पितृ+यत्=पित्+रीङ्+यत् (VII. 4. 27)=पित्र्यम् (VI. 4. 148). The पि॑त्र्य has udâtta on the first syllable by VI. 1. 213.

द्यावापृथिवीशुनासीरमरुत्वदग्नीषोमवास्तोष्पतिगृहमेधाच्छ च ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्यावा, पृथिवी, शुनासीर, मरुत्वद्, अग्नी-षोम, वास्तोष्पति-गृह, मेधात्-।-छ, च ।

वृत्तिः ॥ द्यावापृथिव्यादिभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

32. The affix छ comes also in the sense of 'this its deity', after the names 'Dyâvâ Prithivî', 'Sunâsîra', 'Maruttvat', 'Agnîshoma', 'Vâstoshpati' and 'Grihamedha'.

This debars अण् &c. Thus द्यावापृथिवीयम् or द्यावापृथिव्यम् 'belonging to the Gods Heaven and Earth'. शुनासीरीयम् or शुनासीर्यम् 'belonging to Śuna (Wind) and Śîra (Sun)'. मरुत्वतीयम् or मरुत्वत्यम् ॥ अग्निषोमीयम् or अग्निषोम्यम् ॥ वास्तोष्पतीयम् or वास्तोष्पत्यम् ॥ गृहमेधीयम् or गृहमेध्यम् ॥

अग्नेर्ढक् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नेः, ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्निशब्दाद् ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्राग्दीव्यतीयेषु तद्धितार्थेषु सर्वत्राग्निकलिभ्यां ढग्वक्तव्यः ॥

33. The affix ढक् comes in the sense of 'this its deity', after the name Agni.

Thus अग्निर्देवताऽस्य = आग्नेयोऽष्टकपालः ॥

Vârt:—The affix 'dhak' always comes after the words Agni and Kali, in the various senses of the affixes called Prâgdivyatîya. See IV. 2. 8.

कालेभ्यो भववत् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालेभ्यो-भववत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालविशेषवाचिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो भववत्प्रत्यया भवन्ति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये। कालाट्ठञिति प्रकरणे भवे प्रत्यया विधास्यन्ते ते सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्नर्थे तथैवेष्यन्ते, तदर्थमिदमुच्यते ॥

34. After words expressive of time, the affixes denoting 'who stays there' (IV. 3. 11 to IV. 3. 53), come also in the sense of 'this its deity'.

Thus by IV. 3. 11 (read with IV. 3. 53), the affix ठञ् comes after the words expressive of time, in the sense of 'who stays there'. The same affix will also come in the sense of साऽस्यदेवता ॥ Thus मासे भवं = मासिकम् (मास + ठञ् = मास = इक VII. 3. 50); अर्द्धमासिकम्, सांवत्सरिकम्, वासन्तम् (IV. 3. 16), प्रावृषेण्यम् (IV. 3. 17): meaning 'monthly', 'half monthly', 'annual', 'vernal', and 'rainy'. The words will also mean 'an oblation sacred to a month i. e.' as-मासो देवताऽस्य मासिकम् ॥ &c.

महाराजप्रोष्ठपदाट्ठञ् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ महाराज-प्रोष्ठपदात्, ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ महाराजशब्दात्प्रोष्ठपदशब्दाच्च ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ठञ्प्रकरणे तदस्मिन्वर्ततइति नवयज्ञादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पूर्णमासादण् ॥

35. The affix ठञ् comes, in the sense of 'this its deity', after the words 'Mahârâja' and 'Proshthapada'.

Thus महाराजो देवताऽस्य = माहाराजिकम्, प्रौष्ठपदिकं ॥

Vârt :—After the words नवयज्ञ &c the affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'that exists in it'. As नवयज्ञोऽस्मिन् वर्तते = नावयज्ञिकः कालः ॥ So also पाकयज्ञिकः &c.

Vârt :—After the word पूर्णमास; the affix अण् comes in the same sense. As पूर्णमासोऽस्यां वर्तते = पौर्णमासी तिथिः 'the day in which the full-moon occurs.'

पितृव्यमातुलमातामहपितामहाः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितृव्य-मातुल-मातामह, पितामहाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृव्यादयो निपात्यन्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अवेर्दुग्धे सोढदूसमरीसचो वक्तव्याः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तिलान्निष्फलात्पिञ्जपेजौ प्रत्ययौ वक्तव्यौ ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पिञ्जश्छन्दसि डिच्च ॥

36. The words 'pitrivya, a father's brother', 'mâtula, a mother's brother', 'mâtâmaha, a mother's father' and 'pitâmaha, a father's father' are irregularly formed.

We can infer from these forms, what were the affixes, having what indicatory letters, *employed* in what sense and coming after what cases of the base. Thus if any rules need be formed, we may ennunciate the following rules :—पितृमातृभ्यां भ्रातरि व्यद् डुलचौ "the affixes व्यत् and डुलच् come respectively after the words pitṛi and mâtṛi in the sense of his brother'. Similarly the second rule will be ताभ्यां पितरि डामहच्, मातरि षिच्च 'and the affix ḍâmahach comes, in the sense of their father; and their feminine is formed as if the affix had an indi catory ष ॥ Thus पितृव्यः, मातुलः, पितामहः (f. पितामही), मातामह (f. मातामही) ॥

Vârt :—The affixes सोढ, दूस, and मरीसच् come after the word अवि, in the sense of 'milk'. As अवेर्दुग्धम् = अविसोढम् or अविदूसम् or अविमरीसम् ॥

Vârt :—The affixes पिञ्ज and पेज come after the word तिल, in the sense of fruitless. As निष्फलस्तिलः = तिलपिञ्जः and तिलपेजः ॥

Vârt :—The affix पिञ्ज is treated like डित् in the Chhandas. As तिल्पिञ्जः ॥

तस्य समूहः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, समूहः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थात्समूह इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गुणादिभ्यो ग्रामज्वक्तव्यः ॥

37. An affix is added to a word, when the sense is 'a collection thereof'.

The affix अण् (IV. 7. 83) already taught, is added to a word in the 6th case in construction, in the sense of collection. What is the example of this ? In order to apply the affix अण्, we must apply it to those words only, to which the special rules hereinafter taught do not apply. In other words, the affix अण् is added in the sense of collection thereof, to a word which denotes a conscious being, which has udâtta accent on the first syllable, which

does not end with a Gotra-affix, and which is not a word specifically mentioned in the subsequent sûtras. For, a word expressing a non-conscious being, will take the affix ठक् by IV. 2. 47, a word having anudâtta on the first syllable will have the affix अञ् IV. 3. 44, a Gotra word will take वुञ् IV. 2. 39 and especial words like केदार &c take यञ् &c. Making all these exclusions, the example we get is:—काकानां समूहः = काकम् 'a collection of crows'. बाकम् ॥ The phrase तस्य समूहः of this aphorism governs all the subsequent sûtras up to sûtra IV. 2. 51 inclusive.

Vârt:—The affix ग्रामच् comes after the words गुण् &c. As गुणग्रामः 'a collection of qualities', करणग्रामः &c. The following is some of such words:— गुण, करण, तत्व, शब्द, इन्द्रिय, &c. It is an âkṛitigaṇa.

भिक्षादिभ्योऽण् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिक्षा आदिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिक्षेत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

38. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'bhikshâ' &c.

The repetition of the word अण् in this sûtra, though its anuvṛitti was here, is for the sake of removing the operation of any obstructing rule.

Thus भिक्षाणां समूहः = भैक्षम् 'what is collected in the shape of alms'. So also गर्भिणी + अण् = गर्भिण् + अण् (the masculine form of a Bha is substituted, when a Taddhita affix follows without an indicatory ढ, भस्याढे तद्धिते) = गार्भिणः (VI. 4. 164). In the case of युवति, the word however is not changed to its masculine form. Thus युवतीनां समूहः = यौवतम् 'a collection of young women'.

1 भिक्षा, 2 गर्भिणी, 3 क्षेत्र, 4 करीष, 5 अङ्गार, 6 चर्मन् (चर्मिन् according to some texts) 7 सहस्र, 8 युवति, 9 पदाति, 10 पद्धति, 11 अथर्वन, (also अर्वन् K.) 12 दक्षिणा, 13 भूत, 14 विषय, 15 श्रोत्र. also 16 धर्मिन्

गोत्रोक्षोष्ट्रोरभ्रराजराजन्यराजपुत्रवत्समनुष्याजाद् वुञ् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र, उक्ष, उष्ट्र, उरभ्र, राज, राजन्य, राजपुत्र, वत्स, मनुष्य-अजाद्-वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रादिभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वृद्धाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

39. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after a word denoting a patronymic, and after 'ukshan', 'ushtra', 'urabhra', 'râjan', 'râjanya', 'râjaputtra' 'vatsa', 'manushya' and 'aja'.

The word गोत्र is used here in its popular and not technical sense, meaning any descendant or offspring. Thus औपगवकम्, औक्षकम्, (VI. 4. 144) औष्ट्रकम्, औरभ्रकम्, राजकम्, (VI. 4. 144) राजन्यकम्, राजपुत्रकम्, वात्सकम्, मानुष्यकम्, आजकम्. ॥ The final य of मनुष्य and राजन्य is not elided when the affix अक् is added (VI. 4. 150)

Vârt:—Also after the word वृद्ध ; e. g. वार्द्धकम् 'a collection of old men'.

केदाराद्यञ्च ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ केदारात्, यञ् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केदारशब्दाद् यञ्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद् वुञ् च, तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गणिकायाश्च यञ्वक्तव्यः ॥

40. The affix यञ as well as the affix वुञ्, comes after the word केदार, in the sense of 'collection thereof'.

This debars ठक् of IV. 2. 47. Thus केदाराणाम् समूहः=कैदार्यम् or कैदारकम् ॥

Vârt:—The affix यञ् comes after गणिका e. g. गाणिक्यम् ॥

ठञ् कवचिनश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ठञ् कवचिनः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवचिन्शब्दाद्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

41. The affix ठञ comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the word 'Kedâra', and also after the word 'Kavachin'.

Thus कावचिकम् (VI. 4. 144); and कैदारिकम्. We read the anuvṛitti of केदार in this Sûtra, by virtue of the word च

ब्राह्मणमाणववाडवाद्यन् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्राह्मण, माणव-वाडवात्-यन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्राह्मणादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो यन्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यन्प्रकरणे पृष्ठादुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अह्नः खः क्रतौ ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पर्श्वा णस्वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वातादूलः ॥

42. The affix यन् is added, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'brâhmana', 'mâṇava', and 'vâḍava'.

The indicatovy न् of यन् makes the word take udâtta accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). Thus ब्राह्मण्यम्, माणव्यम्, वाडव्यम् ॥

Vârt:—Also after the word पृष्ठ e. g. पृष्ठ्यः ॥

Vârt:—The affix ख is added to अहन्, in the sense of a 'sacrifice'. e. g. अहीनः 'a collection of days of sacrifice'. Otherwise the form is आह्नः by अञ् see IV. 2. 45.

Vârt:—The affix णस् comes after पर्शु, e. g. पार्श्वम् 'a collection of axes'. The final उ of पर्शु is not changed by guṇa into ओ before the affix, because the word पर्शु is treated as a pada-word (I. 4. 16) and not a Bha-word.

Vârt:—The affix ऊल is added to वात e. g. वातूलः 'a collection of winds or a mad-man'.

ग्रामजनबन्धुसहायेभ्यस्तल् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्राम, जन-बन्धु-सहायेभ्यः तल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामादिभ्यस्तल्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गजाचेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

43. The affix 'tal' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'grâma', 'jana', 'bandhu' and 'sahâya'.

Thus ग्रामता 'a collection of villages'. The words ending in तल् are all feminine. So also जनता 'a collection of persons', बन्धुता 'a collection of relatives', and सहायता 'a collection of allies'.

Vârt:—The affix '*tal*' comes after गज also e. g. गजता 'a collection of elephants'.

अनुदात्तादेरञ् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तादेः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तादेः शब्दादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

44. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words having anudâtta on the first syllable.

Thus कपोतानां समूहः = कापोतम्, मायूरम्, तैत्तिरम् ॥

खण्डिकादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खण्डिकादिभ्यः च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खण्डिका इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

Kârikâ　अञ्सिद्धिरनुदात्तादेः कोऽर्थः क्षुद्रकमालवात् ।
गोत्राद्वुञ् न च तद्गोत्रं तदन्तान्न च सर्वतः ॥
ज्ञापकं स्यात्तदन्तत्वे तथा चापिशलेर्विधिः ।
सेनायां नियमार्थं च यथा बाध्येत चाञ् वुञा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्षुद्रकमालवात्सेनासंज्ञायाम् ॥

45. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof' after the words 'Khan*d*ika &c.

This sûtra applies to words having anudâtta on the first syllable, and being names of non-living things. e. g. खाण्डिकम्, वाडवम् ॥

The word क्षुद्रकमालवं is included in this list. It is a Dvandva compound of two words क्षुद्रक and मालव, denoting tribes of Kshatriyas. The Tadrâja affix अञ् (IV. I. 168) is elided after the first, and ञ्यङ् (IV. I. 171) after the second word which is a Vriddham. When these two words form a compound, the acute falls on the final (VI. I. 223), the initial of this compound is therefore, anudâtta: and therefore by the last sûtra IV. 2. 44, this word would have taken अञ्; where is the necessity of its being included in this list?. It is to exclude the वुञ् of IV. 2. 39 which comes after a Gotra word. But will not the subsequent अञ् (IV. 2. 44) debar the preceding वुञ् (IV. 2. 39) by the rule of paratva? Moreover, a collection or aggregate of two Gotra words will not be called Gotra, as an aggregate of countries is not called a 'country' for the application of janapada rule, as काशिकोसलीयाः does not take वुञ् and there will not apply tadanta vidhi to the compound word क्षुद्रकमालव, which ends in a gotra word?. To this we reply, that the fact of the inclusion

of this word in the list, is an indication of the existence of these two rules : (1) that वुञ् affix supersedes a *subsequent* affix in cases of conflict. Thus औपगव and कापटव are anudâttâdi words because formed by अण् (III. 1. 2), and require therefore अञ् by IV. 2. 44, but वुञ् supersedes it, and we have औपगवकम् and कापटवकम् ॥ The second rule is: (2) that in सामूहिक affixes there is tad-antavidhi in spite of the prohibition contained in vârtika under I. 1. 72. As वानहस्तिकं, गौधेनुकम् ॥ The complete sentence in the Gaṇapâṭha is क्षुद्रकमालवात् सेनासंज्ञायाम्, the first portion denotes the existence of the above two rules, the second portion सेना &c restricts the application of the rule. The affix is added when it is the name of a सेना 'army' and not otherwise. As क्षौद्रकमालवी सेना, otherwise क्षौद्रकमालवकं ॥ The existence of above corollaries is proved by the sûtra of the Grammarian Ápisâli also धेनुरनञि ठकमुत्पादयति 'the affix ठक् comes after धेनु in denoting collection thereof, when not preceded by the negative particle नञ्', therefore, when preceded by any other word, the affix will apply.

1 खण्डिक (खण्डिका K.), 2 वडबा, 3 क्षुद्रकमालवात्सेनासंज्ञायाम् (a Vârttika to 4, 2, 45), 4 भिक्षुक, 5 शुक, 6 उलूक, 7 श्वन्, 8 अहन्, 9 युगवरत्र, (वरत्रा v. l.; युग, वरत्रा K.), 10 हलबन्ध (बन्धा).

चरणेभ्यो धर्मवत् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरणेभ्यः धर्मवत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चरणशब्दाः कठकलापादयः, तेभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यः समूहे धर्मवत् प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चरणाद्धर्माम्नाययोरिति ॥

46. After the name of a Vedic School, the affixes which denote the rule of that School, come also in the sense of 'collection thereof'.

The Vedic Schools or Charaṇas are like कठ, कलाप &c. The affixes denoting the rule of the School are those taught in Sûtra IV. 3. 126 &c. The word धर्म does not occur in the Sûtra IV. 3. 126, or any where else, but it occurs in the following *ishti* under that Sûtra :—चरणाद्धर्माम्नाययोः ॥ Thus कठानां धर्म = काठकम्, so also कठानां समूहः = काठकम् ॥ Similarly कालापकम्, छान्दोग्यम्, औक्थिक्यम् and आथर्वणम् ॥

अचित्तहस्तिधेनोष्ठक् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचित्त-हस्ति-धेनोः-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचित्तार्थेभ्यो हस्तिधेनुशब्दाभ्यां च ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ धेनोरनञ इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

47. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the names of things without consciousness, and after 'hasti' and 'dhenu'.

This debars अण् and अञ् ॥ The अपूपानां समूहः = आपूपिकम् ॥ The affix ठक् is replaced by इक् (VII. 3. 50) or क (VII. 3. 50). Thus हास्तिकम्, धेनुकम्, शाष्कुलिकम् ॥

Vârt:—Not so, if the word धेनु is preceded by the negative particle नञ् ॥ As आधेनवम् ॥ (See IV. 2. 45).

केशाश्वाभ्यां यञ्छावन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ केश-अश्वाभ्याम्-यञ्-छौ-अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केश अश्व इत्येताभ्यां यथासंख्यं यञ् छ इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतो ऽन्यतरस्यां तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

48. The affixes 'yañ' and 'chha' come optionally in the sense of 'collection thereof', respectively after the words केश and अश्व ॥

Thus केशानां समूहः = कैश्यम् or कैशिकम् (IV. 2. 47), अश्वानां समूहः = आश्वम् (IV. 1. 63) अश्वीयम् ॥

पाशादिभ्यो यः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाशादिभ्यः यः

वृत्तिः ॥ पाशादिभ्यो यः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

49. The affix 'ya' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words पाश &c.

Thus पाश्या, तृण्या &c. These words are feminine.

1 पाश, 2 तृण, 3 धूम, 4 वात, 5 अङ्गार, 6 पाढल (पाटलका K.), 7 पोत, 8 गल, 9 पिटक, 10 पिटाक, 11 शकट, 12 हल, 13 मट (नड K.), 14 वन. also 15 बालक.

खलगोरथात् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ खल-गो-रथात्-य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खलगोरथशब्देभ्यो यः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

50. The affix 'ya' comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'Khala', 'Go' and 'Ratha'.

Thus खल्या, गव्या and रथ्या ॥ These three words have not been included in the पाशादि class, in order that rule IV. 2. 51 should apply to them.

इनित्रकट्यचश्च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इनि-त्र-कट्यचः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खलगोरथशब्देभ्यो यथासंख्यम् इनि त्र कट्यच् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति तस्य समुह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ खलादिभ्य इनिर्वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कमलादिभ्यः खण्डच् प्रत्ययो भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नरकरितुरङ्गाणां स्कन्धच् प्रत्ययः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पूर्वादिभ्यः काण्डः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affixes 'ini', 'tra' and 'kaṭyach' come in the senses of 'collection thereof', respectively after the word 'khala', 'go' and 'ratha'.

Thus खलिनी, गोत्रा, रथकट्या ।

Vârt:—The affix इनि comes after the words खल &c. Thus डाकिनी, कुण्डलिनी, कुटुम्बिनी, ॥

Vârt:—The affix खण्डच् comes after the words Kamala &c. As कमलखण्डम्, अम्भोजखण्डम् ॥ कमल, अम्भोज, पद्मिनी, कुमुद, सरोज्, नलिनी, कैरविणी belong to this class. These are आकृतिगणः ॥

Vârt:—The affix स्कन्धच् comes after the words नर, करि, and तुरङ्ग ॥ As, नरस्कन्धः, करिस्कन्धः and तुरङ्गस्कन्धः ॥

Vârt:—The affix काण्ड comes after the words पूर्व &c. Thus पूर्वकाण्डम्, तृणकाण्डम्, कर्मकाण्डम् ॥

विषयो देशे ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विषयः, देशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समूह इति निवृत्तम् । षष्ठीसमर्थविभक्तिरनुवर्तते । तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाद् विषय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, योसौ विषयो देशश्चेत्स भवति ॥

52. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'any body's sphere', if a country is indicated by such sphere.

The anuvṛitti of समूहः (IV. 2. 37) does not extend further: but the anuvṛitti of तस्य (IV. 2. 37) is to be read into it. The whole sûtra thus becomes तस्य विषयो देशे 'his sphere—in denoting a country'. The word विषय 'sphere, topic' has many significations. Sometime it means an estate, as विषयो लब्धः 'a village has been acquired'. Some time it means an object of perception, as चक्षु र्विषयो रूपं 'color is the object of sight &c'. Therefore the word देश has been used in the Sûtra, in order to fix the particular meaning of the word विषय ॥

Thus शिबीनां विषयो देशः = शैबः 'The country within the sphere of the Sibi'. So also औष्ट्रः &c. Why do we say 'if a country is meant'? Observe देवदत्तस्य विषयोऽनुवाकः ॥

राजन्यादिभ्यो वुञ् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजन्यादिभ्यः, वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन्यादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विषयो देशइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

53. The affix वुञ् comes after the words rajanya &c, in the same sense.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus राजन्यानां विषयो देशः = राजन्यकः, देवायनकः ॥ It is an आकृतिगणः ॥

1 राजन्य, 2 आनृत*, 3 बाभ्रव्य*, 4 शालङ्कायन, 5 हेवयात (देवयातव; स्वयान.), 6 अब्रीड, 7 वरत्रा*, 8 जालंधरायण, 9 राजायन*, 10 तेलु*, 11 आत्मकामेय, 12 अम्बरीषपुत्र, 13 वसाति, 14 बैल्ववन. 15 शैलूष, 16 उदुम्बर, 17 तीव्र*, 18 बैल्वज (बैल्वज) 19 आर्जुनायन, 20. संप्रिय, 21 दाक्षि, 22 ऊर्णनाभ. 23 आभीत, 24 वैतिल, 25 वाचक, ॥

भौरिक्याद्यैषुकार्यादिभ्यो विधल्भक्तलौ ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भौरिक्यादि, ऐषुकार्य्यादिभ्यः, विधल्, भक्तलौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भौरिक्यादिभ्य ऐषुकार्यादिभ्यश्च यथासंख्यं विधल् भक्तल् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतो, विषयो देश इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

54. The affixes 'vidhal' and 'bhaktal' come respectively after the words 'Bhauriki', and 'Aishukàri &c' in the sense of 'sphere of country'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus भौरिकिविधः, वैपेयविधः &c. ऐषुकारिभक्तः, सारस्यायनभक्तः &c.

1 भौरिकि, 2 भौलिकि, 3 चौपयत*, 4 चैटयत (चौटयत), 5 काणेय, 6 वाणिजक, 7 वालिकाज्य (वाणिकाज्य; वालिज, वालिज्यक), 8 सैकयत (शैकयत.), 9 वैकयत. 10 वैपेय.

1 ऐषुकारि, 2 सारस्यायन (सारसायन), 3 चान्द्रायण, 4 द्याक्षायण, 5 त्र्याक्षायण (त्र्यायण), 6 औडायन, 7 जौलायन, 8 खाडायन, 9 दासमित्रि, 10 दासमित्रायण, 11 शौद्रायण (शौद्राण), 12 दाक्षायण, 13 शायण्डायन*, 14 तार्क्ष्यायण, 15 शौभ्रायण, 16 सौवीर, 17 सौवीरायण*, 18 शयण्ड, 19 शौण्ड, 20 शयाण्ड, 21 वैश्वमानव, 22 वैश्वधेनव, 23 नड (नद) 24 तुण्डदेव, 25 विश्वदेव (विशदेव and वैश्वदेव), 26 तापिण्डि. 27 शौण्डि, 28 सायण्डि, 29 अलायत, 30 औलालायत.

सोऽस्यादिरितिच्छन्दसः प्रगाथेषु ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, अस्य, आदिः, इति-छन्दसः-प्रगाथेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स इति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थं छन्दश्चेत्तदादिर्भवति, यत्तदस्येति निर्दिष्टं प्रगाथाश्चेत्ते भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसः प्रत्ययविधाने नपुंसके स्वार्थे उपसंख्यानम् ॥

55. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) added to the names of Metres, indicates a Pragâtha beginning therewith.

The words of this sûtra require a little explanation. सः 'that' i. e. a word in construction in the first case. अस्य 'its' i. e. this gives the meaning of the affix. आदिः 'beginning'; this qualifies the base or prakṛiti. The word इति is added for the sake of precision. छन्दसः 'after the name of a metre'. This points out the base. प्रगाथेषु 'in the sense of Pragâtha'. This qualifies the meaning of the affix. To put it in other words, the sûtra means, that the affix अण् is added to the name of a metre, when that metre is the beginning of a Pragâtha, and the whole word so formed means a Pragâtha beginning with that metre. Thus पंक्ति is the name of a metre, adding अण् to it we get पांक्तः which means "a Pragâtha beginning with the metre Paṅkti". Similarly आनुष्टुभः, जागतः &c.

Why do we say "beginning"? If the metre is in the middle or end of a 'Pragâtha' the affix will not be employed. Why do we sav 'after the

name of a metre'? The affix will not be added to a word which is in the beginning of a Pragâtha. Why do we say 'in the sense of a Pragâtha'? The affix will not be added, if the metre is the beginning of an Anuvâka &c and not of a Pragâtha. Pragâtha is the name of a particular kind of Mantra or Hymn. यत्र द्वे ऋचौ प्रगथनेन तिस्रः क्रियन्ते, स प्रगायनात् पकर्षगानात् वा प्रगाथ इत्युच्यते ॥

Vârt:—The affix अण् is added to the name of a metre in a self-descriptive sense without changing the meaning of it; and the word so formed is in the neuter gender. As, त्रैष्टुभम् 'the metre Trishṭubha', जागतम् &c.

संग्रामे प्रयोजनयोद्धृभ्यः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संग्रामे, प्रयोजन, योद्धृभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रयोजनवाचिभ्यो योद्धृवाचिभ्यश्च शब्देभ्यः प्रथमासमर्थेभ्योऽस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे संग्रामेऽभिधेये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

56. The same affix अण् indicates, when it is added to a word which denotes either the object of a battle or the warrior of a battle, a battle fought for that object or by that warrior as a leader.

The phrase सोऽस्य is understood here; showing that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the first case: and must be the name of the "object" प्रयोजनः, or of the "warrior" योद्धृ ॥ The whole word so formed must denote a 'battle'. Therefore, the word संग्राम gives the meaning of the affix.

This भद्रा प्रयोजनमस्य संग्रामस्य = भाद्रः "A battle fought for Bhadrâ". So also सौभाद्रः "a battle fought to gain Subhadrâ". Similarly अहिमाला योद्धारोऽस्य संग्रामस्य = आहिमालः 'battle led by Ahimâlâ warriors' So also स्यान्दनाश्वः, भारतः ॥

Why do we say "in the sense of a battle?" Observe सुभद्रा प्रयोजनमस्य दानस्य 'Subhadrâ is the object of this gift'. Here no affix is added. Why do we say 'after a word denoting an object or a warrior'? Observe, सुभद्रा प्रेक्षिकाऽस्य संग्रामस्य ।

तदस्यां प्रहरणमिति क्रीडायां णः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत-अस्याम्, प्रहरणम्, इति-क्रीडायाम्, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्यामिति सप्तम्यर्थे णः प्रत्ययो भवति. यत्तदिति निर्दिष्टं प्रहरणं चेत्तद्भवति, यदस्यामिति निर्दिष्टं क्रीडा चेत्सा भवति ॥

57. The affix ण added to the name of a weapon, indicates a game played with that weapon.

The sûtra literally translated means: 'that is the weapon in this, denoting play; the affix ण is added' i. e. to a word in the first case in construction,

denoting the name of a weapon; ण is added to denote a play. Thus दण्डः प्रहरणमस्यां क्रीडायां = दाण्डा "a game played with sticks". So मौष्टा "a game played with fists".

Why do we say 'a weapon'? Observe माला भूषणमस्यां क्रीडायाम् 'the garland is an ornament in this play'. Here no affix is added to माला ॥ Why do we say 'in denoting a game'? Observe:—खड्गः प्रहरण मस्यां सेनायाम् 'the sword is the weapon in this army'. These words are as a rule in the feminine gender (IV. 1. 4 and 15), the feminine being formed by आ ॥

घञः सास्यां क्रियेति ञः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ घञः सा-अस्याम् क्रिया-इति-ञः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घञन्तात्क्रियावाचिनः प्रथमासमर्थादस्यामिति सप्तम्यर्थे स्त्रीलिङ्गे ञः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

58. The affix ञ, added to a noun of action ending in the affix घञ्, denotes an action occurring in that.

These words are also feminine. The meaning of the words of the aphorism is:—घञः "after a word ending in the affix घञ्"; सा 'that', अस्यां 'in it', the feminine gender shows that the word is also feminine. क्रिया "action"; this qualifies the sense of the affix. To put it in other words, the sûtra means, "After a word ending in घञ्, expressing an action, being in the 1st case in construction, the affix ञ is added in the sense of a 7th case-affix, the resultant word being in the feminine gender".

Thus श्येनपातोऽस्यां वर्तते – श्यैनंपाता, so also तैलंपाता ॥ The nasal is added by VI. 3. 71. Thus श्यैनंपाता मृगया 'a chase with hawks to bring down or fell the prey'. तैलंपाता स्वधा "an oblation to the ancestors in which sesamum is thrown".

The repetition of सास्यां in this sûtra, though its anuvṛitti could have been obtained from the last sûtra, indicates that this is a general rule, and not one confined to "games" only. Thus दण्डपातोऽस्यां तिथौवर्तते = दाण्डपाता तिथिः; मौसलपाता तिथिः ॥

तदधीते तद्वेद ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अधीते-तद्-वेद ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थादधीते वेद इत्येतयोरर्थ योर्यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

59. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word denoting 'some subject of study', in the sense of 'who has studied that or who understands that'.

In others words, the sûtra means that the affix is added to a word in the accusative case in construction, denoting a person who studies or knows, that. As छन्दोऽधीते = छान्दसः 'who studies Prosody'. वैयाकरणः (VII. 3. 3) 'who knows grammar'. So also नैरुक्तः, नैमित्तः 'who knows the causes'. मौहूर्तः, औत्पातः ॥

The word तद् is repeated in this sûtra, in order to show a distinction between one who studies and who understands.

क्रतूक्थादिसूत्रान्ताट्ठक् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रतु-उक्थादि-सूत्रान्तात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रतुविशेषवाचिभ्य उक्थादिभ्यश्च सूत्रान्ताच्च ठक्प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्वेदेत्यस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सूत्रान्तादकल्पादेरिष्यते ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विद्यालक्षणकल्पान्तादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विद्या च नाङ्गक्षत्रधर्मसंसर्गत्रिपूर्वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आख्यानाख्यायिकेतिहासपुराणेभ्यष्ठग्वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनुसूर्लक्ष्यलक्षणे च ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इकन्पदोत्तरपदात् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शतषष्टेः षिकन् पथो बहुलम् ॥

60. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'one who studies or one who understands', after the name of a sacrifice, after 'uktha &c', and after a stem ending with the word 'sûtra'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus आग्निष्टोमिकः 'who understands or studies Agnishṭoma Sacrifice'. वाजपेयिकः, औक्थिकः, लौकायतिकः, वार्त्तिकसूत्रिकः, सांग्रहसूत्रिकः ॥

Ishti :—If a word ending in 'sûtra', begins with the word 'Kalpa', the affix अण् is added and not ठक्. Thus : काल्पसूत्रः 'who studies Kalpa-sûtra'.

Vârt :—This affix comes after words ending in विद्या, लक्षण and कल्प, as वायसविद्यिकः, सार्पविद्यिकः, गौलक्षणिकः, आश्वलक्षणिकः, मातृकल्पिकः, पाराशरकल्पिकः ॥

Vârt :—Not so if the word विद्या is preceded by the words अङ्ग, क्षत्र, धर्म, संसर्ग and त्रि ॥ As अंगविद्यामधीते = आङ्ग विद्यः, क्षात्रविद्यः, धार्मविद्यः, सांसर्गविद्यः. त्रैविद्यः ॥ All these are formed by अण् and not ठक् ॥

Vârt :—The affix ठक् comes in the same sense after names of stories (आख्यान), narratives (आख्यायिका), and after the words इतिहास and पुराण ॥ As यावक्रीतिकः, प्रैयङ्गविकः. वासवदत्तिकः, सौमनोत्तरिकः, ऐतिहासिकः, पौराणिकः ॥

Vârt :—The affix ल comes in the same sense, after words beginning with सर्व, and स, and after Dvigu compounds. As सर्ववेदः, सर्वतन्त्रः, सवार्त्तिकः, ससंग्रहः, द्विवेदः पंचव्याकरणः ॥

Vârt :—The affix ठक् comes in the same sense after the words अनसू, लक्ष्य, and लक्षण; As अनसूर्नामग्रन्थ स्तमधीते = आनुसुकः, लाक्षिकः, लाक्षणिकः ॥

Vârt :—The affix इकन् comes in the same sense after a compound word ending in पद्; as, पूर्वपदिकः ॥

Vârt :—The affix षिकन् comes diversely in the same sense, after the compound words शतपथ, and षष्टिपथ. As शतपथिकः f. शतपथिकी IV. 1. 41), षष्टिपथिकः (f. षष्टिपथिकी). By the force of the word 'diversely' we get the affix अण्, as शातपथः and षाष्टिपथः ॥

1 उक्थ, 2 लोकायत, 3 न्याय, 4 न्यास, 5 पुनरुक्त, 6 निरुक्त, 7 निमित्त, 8 द्विपद, 9 ज्योतिष (द्विपदी, ज्योतिषि) 10 अनुपद, 11 अनुकल्प, 12 यज्ञ, 13 धर्म, 14 च-

र्चा, 15 क्रमेतर, 16 श्लक्ष्ण, 17 संहिता, 18 पदक्रम (पद । क्रम) 19 संघट्ट संघात also संघट) 20 वृत्ति, 21 परिषद्*, 22 संग्रह, 23 गण, 24 गुण (गुणागुण st. गण, गुण), 25 आयुर्वेद. 26 अनुगुण.

क्रमादिभ्यो वुन् ॥ ६१ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रम इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो वुन्प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्वेदेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

61. The affix वुन् comes, in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the words 'Krama &c'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus क्रमकः (VII. 1. 1) पदकः &c. The words 1 क्रम, 2 पद, 3 शिक्षा, 4 मीमांसा, 5 सामन् belong to this class.

अनुब्राह्मणादिनिः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु, ब्राह्मणात्, इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुब्राह्मणशब्दादिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्वेदेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

62. The affix 'ini' comes in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the word 'anubrâhmana'.

This debars अण् ॥ The word अनुब्राह्मण means 'a book in the imitation of or similar to a Brâhmaṇa book'. He who studies an अनुब्राह्मण is called अनुब्राह्मणिन्, which word is thus declined :—अनुब्राह्मणी, अनुब्राह्मणिनौ, अनुब्राह्मणिनः &c. The affix इनि also has the force of मतुप्, and by Sûtra V. 2. 115 अत इनि ठनौ, this word अनुब्राह्मण might have taken both the affixes इनि and ठन् in the sense of मतुप्; but as a matter of fact, it only takes इनि in that sense.

वसन्तादिभ्यष्ठक् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसन्तादिभ्यः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसन्त इत्येवमादिभ्यष्ठक्प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्वेदेत्यस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

63. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the words 'vasanta &c.'

This debars अण् ॥ As, वासन्तिकः 'who studies the book relating to Spring'. वार्षिकः &c ॥ 1 वसन्त, 2 वर्षा, 3 शरद्, 4 हेमन्त, 5 शिशिर, 6 प्रथम, 7 गुण, 8 चरम, 9 अनुगुण, 10 अपर्वन्, 11 अथर्वन् 12 ग्रीष्म,

प्रोक्ताल्लुक् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रोक्तात्-लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रोक्तप्रत्ययान्तादध्येतृवेदित्रोरुत्पन्नस्य लुग्भवति ॥

64. After the title of a work, which is named after the Announcer thereof, the affixes denoting "who studies or who knows that" are elided by 'luk'.

This sûtra may be rendered in the following way also :—" There is लुक् of these affixes after a word ending with an affix denoting announcer". The affixes denoting प्रोक्त or the first propounder are taught in IV. 3. 101 &c. Thus पाणिनिना प्रोक्तम् = पाणिनीयम् 'the system of Grammar enounced by Pâṇini',

पाणिनीयमधीते = पाणिनीयः, so also आपिशलः ॥ The difference between the word पाणिनीय meaning the system of Grammar, and पाणिनीय formed with अण्, meaning who studies that Grammar, would consist in the accent, and the formation of the feminine. As पाणिनीया ब्राह्मणी ॥ For had there been no elision expressly enjoined by this sûtra, in forming the feminine, ङीप् would be required by IV.1.15, as the word would end in अण्; and the accent of the word would be finally acute (अण् being acute by the universal rule of affix-accent III. 1. 3). But when the affix is elided, the feminine is formed by टाप्, the accent is on the middle, owing to the छ affix. (Phiṭ Su II. 19)

सूत्राच्च कोपधात् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूत्रात्-च-कोपधात्-(लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सूत्रवाचिनः ककारोपधादुत्पन्नस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुग्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संख्याप्रकृतेरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

65. The affix denoting "who studies that or who knows that" is elided by luk, after the title of a sûtra work, having क् as penultimate.

Thus अष्टकं is the title of Pâṇini sûtra. Those who study अष्टकं will be called also अष्टकः, as अष्टकाः पाणिनीयाः 'those who study, the Ashṭaka'. So also दशका वैयाघ्रपदीयाः, त्रिकाः काशकृत्स्नाः ॥

Vârt:—The elision takes place only where the title is formed by a *numeral*: as in the examples above given. Thus महावार्त्तिकं सूत्रमधीते = महावार्त्तिकः, so also कालापकः ॥

Why do we say 'having क् for its penultimate"? Observe चतुष्टयमधीते = चातुष्टयः ॥ This sûtra applies, of course, to those words which are not formed by affixes dénoting प्रोक्त or the Announcer.

छन्दोब्राह्मणानि च तद्विषयाणि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दो-ब्राह्मणानि-च-तत्-विषयाणि-(प्रोक्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रोक्तग्रहणमनुवर्तते । छन्दांसि ब्राह्मणानि च प्रोक्तप्रत्ययान्तानि तद्विषयाण्येव भवन्ति ॥

66. The affixes denoting the announcer, when added to Chhandas and the Brâhma*n*as, express this relation only.

The word प्रोक्त is to be read into this sûtra. The force of the affixes denoting announcer (IV. 3. 101), when used after a word denoting a Vedic Text or a Brâhmaṇa, is that of expressing "one who studies" or "one who knows". तद्विषयाणि means "this relation", i. e. the subject treated of in this section, namely, the relation of अध्येतृ or वेदितृ ॥ In other words, the affixes, which ordinarily denote 'announcer', have the force of "one who studies or one who knows" when added to Veda-Text or Brâhmaṇas. That is, a प्रोक्त affix should not be added to a Veda or a Brâhmaṇa, except when an अध्येतृ or

वेदितृ affix follows it, and as such latter affixes are always elided by IV. 2. 94, it follows that a प्रोक्त affix when added to a Veda or a Brâhmaṇa, means "he who studies or knows the Veda anounced by". In fact there is no affix which can denote merely the announcer of a Veda, perhaps because the Vedas are eternal and no one can be its announcer only, but must be one who has studied it and known it, in order to qualify him to promulgate it.

Thus from the word कठ, the name of a Veda-Text, we get कठाः meaning 'those who study or know Kaṭha Veda'. The wórd is thus formed. To the word कठ we add the affix णिनि denoting announcer, by IV. 3. 104: then we elide it by IV. 3. 107, leaving the bare word कठ, then we add अण्, which again we elide by IV. 2. 64. कठ+णिनि=कठ+० (IV. 3. 107); कठ+अण्= कठ (IV. 2. 64) Plural कठाः "those who study the Veda announced by Kaṭha".

Other examples to illustrate this sûtra are: मौदाः (IV. 3. 101) 'who study the Veda announced by Muda'. पैप्पलादः, आर्चाभिनः (IV. 3. 104) वाजसनेयिनः (IV. 3. 106) "who study the Veda announced by Pippalâda, Richâva, or Vâjasaneya". Similarly with words denoting a Brâhmaṇa-Text. Thus: ताण्डिनः (IV. 3. 104), भाल्लविनः (IV. 3. 105), शाट्यायनिनः (IV. 3. 105) ऐतरेयिणः (IV. 3. 105) "who study the Brâhmaṇas announced by Tâṇḍya, Bhallava, Śâṭyâyana, or Aitareya".

Why is the word Brâhmaṇa which is also Chhandas, used separately in this sûtra? In order to include only a certain limited number of Brâhmaṇa-Texts to the benefits of this rule, and not all. Thus it will not apply to the Brâhmaṇa announced by Yâjnyavalkya. Thus याज्ञवल्क्येन प्रोक्तानि ब्राह्मणानि = याज्ञवल्क्यानि ॥ Similarly सौलभानि ॥ These Brâhmaṇas being of recent origin, the presumption of eternity does not apply to them, See IV. 3. 105.

The word च meaning "and" is employed in the sûtra. It has the force of applying this rule to some other cases not specially mentioned in the sútra. Thus it will apply to some Kalpa Texts and Sûtra Texts also. Thus काश्यपिनः, कौशिकिनः "who study or know the Kalpa texts announced by Kâśyapa or Kuśika' so also sûtra: as, पाराशरिणो भिक्षवः "the Bhikshus who study the Sûtras promulgated by Parasara". शैलालिनो नटाः. कर्मन्दिनः, कृशाश्विनः &c.

Why do we say "Chhandas and Brâhmaṇas"? Because the प्रोक्त affix after any other word will have its *own* significance, pure and simple; as, पाणिनीयं व्याकरणम् ॥ पैङ्गीकल्पः ॥

The Quadruply-significant affixes.

तदस्मिन्नस्तीति देशे तन्नाम्नि ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अस्मिन्-अस्ति-इति-देशे-तत्-नाम्नि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्यया भवति, यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थमस्ति चेत्तद्भवति, यदस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टं देशश्चेत्स तन्नामा भवति ॥

67. (An affix is placed after a word expressive of anything) in the sense of–"that thing is in this"—the place taking a name therefrom.

The words of this aphorism require a detailed examination. तद् 'that', i. e. the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the nominative case. अस्मिन् "in this"—this gives the meaning of the affix; अस्ति "is" this qualifies the sense of the base. इति is added merely for the sake of distinctness, serving the same purpose as quotation marks in modern writing. देशेतन्नाम्नि "a country having that name"; this qualifies the sense of the affix. The sense is:--"the affixes already taught or to be taught, come after a word being in the nominative case in construction, in the sense of the location, when the whole word so formed denotes the name of a country in which that thing exists".

This sûtra and the three subsequent sûtras are in fact one, though divided into four, for purposes of convenience. The affixes having the sense of these four sûtras,are called चातुरर्थिक "quadruple significants".

Thus उदुम्बरा अस्मिन् देशे सन्ति = औदुम्बरः Audumbara--the country in which there are glomerous fig trees. Similarly बाल्बजः, पार्वतः &c. all these words are formed by the universal affix अण् (IV. 1. 83).

This sûtra debars the मत्वर्थीय affixes.

तेन निर्वृत्तम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन-निर्वृत्तम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थान्निर्वृत्तमित्यस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. After a word in the third case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of 'completed by him', when the whole word so formed is the name of a country.

The phrase देशे तन्नाम्नि of the last sûtra governs this and the two subsequent sûtras. By these four sûtras the names of countries are formed from various substantives. Thus कुशाम्बेन निर्वृत्ता = कौशाम्बी नगरी "the city of Kauśâmbî, completed by Kuśâmba". Similarly साहस्री परिखा "a mote completed by a thousand (gold coins) or persons". A place is named after the means or the person, by which or through whom it is established.

तस्य निवासः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-निवासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थान्निवास इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति देशनामधेये गम्यमाने ॥

69. After a word in the sixth case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of 'his dwelling-place'; the whole word expressing the name of a country.

The sûtra literally means "his dwelling place'. A place is sometimes named after the people whose habitation it is. Thus शैवः "the country of

the Śibis", औशिष्टः ॥ ऋजुनावान्निवासौ देशः = आर्जुनावः ॥ The word ऋजुनावां = ऋज्वीनै र्येषां॥

अदूरभवश्च ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदूरभवः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वा समर्थ विभक्तिरनुवर्तते । तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाददूरभव इत्यस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति॥

70. And lastly a place is named after whatever is found near it.

In this aphorism the word, to which the affix is to be added, is not shown. The word तस्य must, therefore, be supplied from the last sûtra. It means, therefore, "an affix is added to a word in the genetive case in construction, in the sense of not far off" the whole word being the name of a place. Thus विदिशाया अदूर भवं = वैदिशम् is the city in the neighbourhood of which the river Vidiśâ flows. So also हैमवतम् ॥

The च has the force of combining the sense of all the three previous aphorisms with this; so that the four sûtras 67, 68, 69 and 70 form but one complete sûtra, and the meaning denoted by these will be understood in the subsequent aphorisms.

ओरञ् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद्यथाविहितं समर्थविभक्तियुक्तादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, तदस्मिन्नस्तीत्येवमादिष्वर्थेषु । अणोपवादः ॥

71. The affix अञ् comes after a stem ending in उ or ऊ, (in the four-fold senses given above).

This of course debars the universal affix अण् (IV. 1. 83). Thus आरडवम् from अरडु 'a tribe of Kshatriyas'; काक्षतवम् from कक्षतु, and कार्कटेलवम् from कर्कटेलू ॥ But from इक्षु we have इक्षुमती 'the river Ikshumatî, named after the sugar-canes near it'. Here we add the affix मतुप् taught in the subsequent sûtra IV. 2. 85, which debars अञ् by the rule of a subsequent debarring the prior when both are of equal force (I. 4. 2). The affix अञ् governs the six sûtras upto IV. 2. 77. The difference between अञ् and अण् consists in the accent.

मतोश्च बह्वजङ्गात् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतोः-च-बह्वच्-अङ्गात्-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बह्वज् अङ्गं यस्यासौ बह्वजङ्गो मतुप् तदन्तात्प्रातिपदिकादञ्प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः । अणोपवादः ॥

72. The affix अञ् comes in the quadruple sense after a word which ends in the affix मतुप्, and whose stem is polysyllabic.

The word बह्वजङ्ग is a compound of बह्वच् meaning literally 'many vowels' i. e. polysyllabic, and of अङ्गः meaning stem. A word which, exclusive

of the affix मतुप्, consists of more than two syllables, takes the affix अञ् ॥ This debars अण् ॥ Thus ऐषुकावतम्, सैध्रकावतम् ॥

Why do we say "after a polysyllabic stem"? Observe आहिमतम् वामर्तम् ॥ Here though the word अहिमत् ends in the affix मतुप्, yet the अङ्ग or the stem viz. अहि, is a word of two syllables only, hence these words take अण् in forming names of countries. In fact, the word बह्वच् qualifies the word अङ्ग, as it stands without the affix मतुप्, and not the word inclusive of that affix. Therefore मालावतां निवासः = मालावर्तम् by अण् ॥

बह्वचः कूपेषु ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बह्वचः-कूपेषु-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बह्वचः प्रातिपदिकादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः कूपेष्वभिधेयेषु ॥

73. The affix अञ् comes in the quadruple sense, after a polysyllabic Nominal stem when 'a well' is to be designated.

This debars अण्. Thus दीर्घवरत्रेण निर्वृत्तः कूपः = दैर्घवरत्रः "a well completed by Dîrghavaratra". So also कापिलवरत्रः ॥

उदक् च विपाशः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदक्-च-विपाशः-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विपाश उत्तरे कूले ये कूपास्तेष्वभिधेयेष्वञ् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

74. The affix अञ् comes in the quadruple sense, after any Nominal stem in denoting 'a well' situated on the northern bank of the river Vipâsâ.

This debars अण् ; and it applies to all words whetner polysyllabic or not. Thus दात्तः "a well completed by Datta", गौप्तः &c.

Why do we say on the "northern bank"? Because if a well is situate on the southern bank of the river Vipâśâ, then the affix अण् will apply as दात्तः and गौप्तः, the difference being in the accent. This sûtra illustrates the refined distinctions drawn by the author, and the importance attached to accents in former times.

संकलादिभ्यश्च ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संकलादिभ्यः-च-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संकल इत्येवमादिभ्यो ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः । अणोपवादः ॥

75. The affix अञ् comes after the words sankala &c, in the above four-fold sense.

This debars अण् ॥ The word संकलः is equivalent to संगतः कलः ॥ Thus सांकलः, पौष्कलः &c.

1 संकल, 2 पुष्कल, 3 उत्तम*, 4 उडुप, 5 उद्वप (उडप), 6 उत्पुट, 7 कुम्भ, 8 निधान (विधान), 9 सुदक्ष, 10 सुदत्त, 11 सुभूत, 12 सुपूत*, 13 सुनेत्र, 14 सुमङ्गल*, 15 सुपिङ्गल, 16 सूत*, 17 सिकत (सिकता), 18 पूतिक (पूतिका ; पूतीकी), 19 पूलास, 20 कूलास, 51 पलाश, 22 निवेश, 23 गवेष,

24 गम्भीर, 25 इतर, 26 आन्*, 27 अहन्, 28 लोमन्, 29 वेमन्, 30 वरुण (चरण), 31 बहुल, 32 सद्योज, 33 अभिषिक्त, 34 गोभृत्, 35 राजभृत्, 36 भल्ल, 37 मल्ल*, 38 माल. also 39 शर्मन्, 40 गृह, 41 भूत.

स्त्रीषु सौवीरसाल्वप्राक्षु ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रीषु-सौवीर-शाल्व-प्राक्षु-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्याप्प्रातिपदिकादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः सौवीरे स्त्रीलिङ्गे देशे वाच्ये साल्वे प्राचि ॥

76. So also when the place is situate in the lands of the Sauvîra, or Sâlva or of the Eastern people; and the word in these cases is always feminine.

The word सौवीर &c, are attributes of देशेतन्नाम्नि (IV. 2. 67): so also the word स्त्रीषु ॥ Thus दात्तामित्री "the city founded by Dattâmitra" (in Sauvîra). So also वैधूमाग्नी (in Sâlva) काकन्दी, माकन्दी, माणिचरी, जारुषी (in Eastern countries).

सुवास्त्वादिभ्यो ऽण् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुवास्त्वादिभ्यः (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुवास्तु इत्येवमादिभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

77. The affix अण् comes after the words सुवास्तु &c, in the four-fold sense.

This debars the affix अञ् which would have otherwise come by IV. 2, 71 and 73. Thus सुवास्तोरदूरभवं नगरं = सौवास्तवम् ॥ So also वार्णवम् ॥ The use of the word अण्, though its anuvṛitti came from IV. 1. 83, is for the sake of indicating that this sûtra debars sûtra IV. 2. 85. Thus सौवास्तवी नदी ॥

1 सुवास्तु, 2 वर्णु, 3 भण्डु, 4 खण्डु (कण्डु), 5 सेवालिन् (सेचालिन्), 6 कर्पूरिन्, 7 शिखण्डिन्, 8 गर्त, 9 कर्कश, 10 शकटीकर्ण (शटीकर्ण), 11 कृष्णकर्ण (कृष्ण), 12 कर्क, 13 कङ्कन्धुमती (कर्कन्धू), 14 गोह (गोह्य and गाहि), 15 अहिसक्थ 16 वृत् ॥

रोणी ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रोणी-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोणीशब्दादण्प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

78. The affix अण् comes after रोणी in the fourfold sense.

This debars अञ् of IV. 2. 74. This sûtra consists of one word रोणी in the nominative case. As a general rule all words to which affixes are to be added are put in the ablative case in these sûtras. The fact of this exceptional treatment of the word रोणी indicates that this word takes अण् under *all* circumstances, whether alone, or forming part of a compound. In fact, the nominative case in this sûtra is a very ingenious explanatory artificiality. Thus रौणः, आजकरौणः or सैंहिकरौणः

कोपधाच्च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कोपधात्-च-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ककारोपधाच्च प्रातिपदिकादण्प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

79. The affix अण् comes in the fourfold sense after a stem having क् for its penultimate.

This debars अञ् which would have come by IV. 2. 71 and 73. Thus कार्णच्छिद्रिकः कूपः ॥ कार्णवेष्टकः ॥ कार्कवाकवम्, त्रैशङ्कवम् ॥

वुञ्छण्कठजिलसेनिरढञ्ण्ययफक्फिञिञ्ञ्यकक्ठकोऽरीहणकृशाश्वर्श्यकुमुद-काशतृणप्रेक्षाश्मसखिसङ्काशबलपक्षकर्णसुतङ्गमप्रगदिन्वराहकुमुदादिभ्यः ॥ ८० ॥

पदानि ॥ वुञ्-छण्-क-ठच्-इल्-श-इनि-र-ढञ्-ण्य-य-फक्-फिञ्-इञ्-ञ्य-कक्-ठकः;अ-रीहण-कृशाश्व-ऋश्य-कुमुद-काश-तृण-प्रेक्ष-अश्म-सखि-सङ्काश-बल-पक्ष- कर्ण- सुत ङ्गम-प्रागदिन्-वराह-कुमुदादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वुञादयः सप्तदश प्रत्यया, अरीहणादयोऽपि सप्तदशैव प्रातिपदिकगणाः । आदिशब्दः प्रत्येकमभि संबध्यते । तत्र यथासख्यं सप्तदशभ्यः प्रातिपदिकगणेभ्यः सप्तदश प्रत्यया भवन्ति चातुरर्थिकाः ॥ यथा:— (1) अरीहणादिभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (2) कृशाश्वादिभ्यश्छण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (3) ऋश्यादिभ्यः कः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (4) कुमुदादिभ्यष्ठच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (5) काशादिभ्य इलः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (6) तृणादिभ्यः शः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (7) प्रेक्षादिभ्य इनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (8) अश्मादिभ्यो र प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (9) सख्यादिभ्यो ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (10) संकाशादिभ्यो ण्य प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (11) बलादिभ्यो यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (12) पक्षादिभ्यः फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (13) कर्णादिभ्यः फिञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (14) सुतङ्गमादिभ्य इञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (15) प्रगदिन्नादिभ्यो ञ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (16) वराहादिभ्यः कक प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (17) कुमुदादिभ्यष्ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

80. In the above four senses are added the following 17 affixes after the following 17 classes of words respectively :—

1. वुञ् (=अक) after अरीहण &c. 2. छण् (=ईय) after कृशाश्व &c. 3. क after ऋश्य &c. 4. ठच् (=इकै) after कुमुद &c. 5. इल after काश &c. 6. स (or श) after तृण &c. 7. इनि (=इन्) after प्रेक्ष &c. 8. र after अश्मन् &c. 9. ढञ् (=एय) after सखि &c. 10. ण्य (=य) after संकाश &c. 11. य after बल &c. 12. फक् (=आयन) after पक्ष &c. 13. फिञ् (=आयनि), after कर्ण &c. 14. इञ् (इ) after सुतंगम &c. 15. ञ्य (य) after प्रगदिन् &c. 16. कक् (कै) after वराह &c. 17. ठक् (इकै) after कुमुद &c.

The above affixes वुञ् &c. are applied to the above classes of words. आदि is to be added to every one of the above seventeen words. The first part of the sûtra upto ठक् gives the seventeen affixes, and the latter part gives the seventeen word-class. The allotment or assignment of affixes is made by I. 3. 10.

The examples of the above are :—

(1) आरीहणकम्, द्रौघणकम् (2) कार्शाश्वीयः, आरिष्टीयः, (3) ऋश्यकैः, न्यग्रोधकैः, (4) कुमुदिकैम्, शर्करिकैम्, (5) काशिलम्, वाशिलम्, (6) तृणसैः, नडसैः, (7) प्रेक्षिन्, हलकिन्, (8) अश्मरैः, (9) साखेयम्, साखिदत्तेयम्, 10 सांकाश्यम्, काम्पिल्यम्, (11) बल्यैः, कल्यैम्, (12) पाक्षायणैः, तौषायणैः, (13) कार्णायनिः, वासिष्ठायनिः, (14) सौतङ्गमिः, मौनिचित्तिः, (15) प्रागद्य (16) वाराहकैम्, पालाशकैम्, and (17) lastly कौमुदिकैम् ॥

The word शिरीष will be seen, by referring to the above lists, to occur in three classes viz अरीहणादि,(36),कुमुदादि(14),and वराहादि (3), Moreover it is governed by the general affix अण् also in the quadruple sense, according to the opinion of Patanjali. And because it occurs in the वरणादि class (IV. 2. 82), therefore this universal अण् (IV. 1. 83) will be elided after it. As we have already shown before under I. 2. 51 when शिरीषवन was formed from शिरीषाः ॥

1 अरीहण, 2 द्रुघण, 3 द्रुहण*, 4 भगल, 5 उलन्द, 6 किरण, 7 सांपरायण, 8 क्रौष्ट्रायण, 9 औष्ट्रायण*, 10 त्रैगर्तायन, 11 मैत्रायण, 12 भास्त्रायण, 13 वैमतायन (also वैमत्तायन), 14 गौमतायन (गो), 15 सौमतायन, 16 सौसायन, 17 धौमतायन*, 18 सौमायन*. 19 ऐन्द्रायण*, 20 कौन्द्रायण*, 21 खाडायन, 22 शाण्डिल्यायन, 23 रायस्पोष, 24 विपथ, 25 विपाश, 26 उद्दण्ड, 27 उदञ्चन, 28 खाण्डवीरण (खाण्ड), 29 वीरण, 30 काशकृत्स्न (कश.), 31 जाम्बवत (वन्त), 32 शिंशपा, 33 रैवत (रेवत), 34 बिल्व (बैल्व K.) 35 सुयज्ञ, 36 शिरीष, 37 बधिर, 38 जम्बु, 39 खदिर, 40 सुशर्मन् (सुशर्म K.), 41 दलतृ*, 42 भलन्दन*, 43 खण्डु*, 44 कनल* (कलन), 45 यज्ञदत्त*. 46 सार, 47 वैगर्तायण (sic) and 48 खाण्डायन.

1 कृशाश्व, 2 अरिष्ट, 3 अरिश्म (अरीश्व), 4 वेश्मन्, 5 विशाल, 6 लोमश*, 7 रोमश*, 8 रोमक, 9 लोमक*, 10 शबल, 11 कूट, 12 वर्चल*, 13 सुवर्चल*, 14 सुकर, 15 सूकर, 16 प्रतर (प्रातर), 17 सदृश, 18 पुरग, 19 पुराग*, 20 सुख, 21 धूम, 22 अजिन, 23 विनत (विनता, वानिता), 24 अवनत, 25 विकुध्यास (v. l. कुविद्यास ; विकुधास), 26 पराशर*, 27 अरुस्, 28 अयस्*, 29 मौद्गल्य, 30 शूकर* (मौद्गल्याकर). 31 रोमन्, 32 बर्बर, 33 अवयास and अयावस्

1 ऋश्य, 2 न्यग्रोध, 3 शर (शिरा), 4 निलीन, 5 निवास, 6 निवात, 7 निधान, 8 निबन्ध (v. l. निबन्धन ; निबद्ध), 9 विबद्ध, 10 परिगूढ, 11 उपगूढ, 12 असनि, 13 सित, 14 मत*, 15 वेश्मन्*, 16 उत्तराश्मन्, 17 अश्मन्*, 18 स्थूल, 19 बाहु (स्थूलबाहु), 20 खदिर, 21 शर्करा, 22 अनडुह्, 23 अरडु*, 24 परिवंश, 25 वेणु, 26 वीरण, 27 खण्ड, 28 दण्ड*, 29 परिवृत्त, 30 कर्दम, 31 अंशु.

1 कुमुद, 2 शर्करा, 3 न्यग्रोध, 4 इक्कट (इत्कट, उत्कट), 5 सङ्कट, 6 कङ्कट, 7 गर्त, 8 बीज, 9 परिवाप, 10 निर्यास*, 11 शकट*, 12 कच*, 13 मधु*, 14 शिरीष, 15 अश्व*, 16 अश्वत्थ, 17 बल्वज, 18 यवाष, 19 कूप, 20 विकङ्कत, 21 दशग्राम. 22 कण्टक, 23 पलाश, 24 त्रिक, 25 कत.

1 काश, 2 पाश (वाश), 3 अश्वत्थ, 4 पलाश, 5 पीयूक्षा (पीयूष), 6 चरण, 7 वास, 8 नड, 9 वन, 10 कर्दम, 11 कच्छूल*, 12 कङ्कट, 13 गुहा, 14 बिस (विश and विस), 15 तृण, 16 कर्पूर, 17 बर्बर*, 18 मधुर*, 19 ग्रह (गृह) 20 कपित्थ*, 21 जतु, 22 शीपाल.: 23 नर, 24 कंटक.

1 तृण, 2 नड, 3 मूल*, 4 वन, 5 पर्ण, 6 वर्ण, 7 वराण*, 8 बिल*, 9 पुल*, 10 फल*, 11 अर्जुन*, 12 अर्ण, 13 सुवर्ण*, 14 बल, 15 चरण, 16 बुस. 17 जन, 18 लव.

1 प्रेक्षका, 2 हलका (फलका), 3 बन्धुका. 4 ध्रुवका, 5 क्षिपका 6 न्यग्रोध, 7 इक्कट (इर्क्कट) 8 कङ्कट (कर्कटा), 9 संकट, 10 कट*, 11 कूप*, 12 बुक*, 13 पुक*, 14 पुट*, 15 मह (महा), 16 परिवाप*, 17 यवाष* (d. i. यवास), 18 ध्रुवका*, 19 गर्त*, 20 कूपक (कूपका) 21 हिरण्य*. 22 बुधका, 23 सुकटा, 24 मङ्कट, 25 मुक.

1 अश्मन्, 2 यूथ (also ग्रुष), 3 ऊष (रूष and हष), 4 मीन, 5 नद, 6 दर्भ, 7 वृन्द, 8 गुद*, 9 खण्ड, 10 नग, 11 शिखा, 12 कोट (काट), 13 पाम (पांम!), 14 कन्द*, 15 कान्द*, 17 गहू*, 18 गुड*, 19 कूण्डल*, 20 पीन*. 21 गह*.

1 साखि, 2 अग्निदत्त, 3 वायुदत्त, 4 सखिदत्त, 5 गोपिल (गोहित and गोहिल), 6 भल्ल 7 प.ल (भल्लपाल st. भल्ल, पाल), 8 चक्र (चर्क), 9 चक्रवाक*, 10 छगल, 11 अशोक, 12 करवीर, 13 वासव*, 14 वीर*, 15 पूर*, 16 वज्र*, 17 कुशीरक*, 18 सीहर (शीहर; सीकर), 19 सरक (सकर), 20 सरस, 21 समर*, 22 समल, 23 सुरस, 24 रोह, 25 तमाल, 26 कदल, 27 सप्तल, 28 चक्रपाल, 29 चक्रवाल, 30 वक्रपाल, 31 उशीर ॥

1 संकाश, 2 काम्पिल, 3 कश्मीर (कश्मर), 4 समीर, 5 सूरसेन (शूर), 6 सरक*, 7 सूर*, 8 सुपान्थिन् (rightly सुपथिन्), पन्थ (सक्थ!) च, 9 यूप (यूथ), 10 अंश, 11 अङ्ग*, 12 नासा*, 13 पलित*, 14 अनुनाश*, 15 अश्मन्, 16 कूट, 17 मलिन, 18 दश*, 19 कुम्भ*, 20 शीर्ष*, 21 विरत (चिरन्त; विरत!), 22 समल*, 23 सीर*, 24 पञ्जर*, 25 मन्थ*, 26 नल*, 27 रोमन*, 28 लोमन्*, 29 पुलिन*, 30 सुपरि*, 31 कटिप*, 32 सकर्णक*, 33 वृष्टि*, 34 तीर्थ, 35 अगस्ति, 36 विकर*, 37 नासिका, 38 एग, 39 चिकार, 40 विरह,

1 बल, 2 चुल (बुल), 3 नल*, 4 दल*, 5 वट* 6 लकुल*, 7 उरल*, 8 पुल*, 9 मल*, 10 उल, 11 डुल, 12 वन, 13 कुल, 14 तुल, 15 कवल,

1 पक्ष, 2 तुक्ष*, 3 तुष, 4 कुण्ड*, 5 अण्ड, 6 कम्बलिका (कम्बालिक), 7 वलिक*, 8 चित्र 9 अस्ति*, 10 पथिन् पन्थ च (also पान्थायन), 11 कुम्भ, 12 सीरक (सीरज), 13 सरक, 14 सकल (सलक), 15 सरस, 16 समल, 17 अतिश्वन् (स्वन्). 18 रोमन्, 19 लोमन्, 20 हस्तिन्*, 21 मकर*, 22 लोमक, 23 शीर्ष*, 24 निवात*, 25 पाक*, 26 सिंहक, 27 अंकुश*, 28 सुवर्णक, 29 हंसक (हंसका), 30 हिंसक*, 31 कुत्स*, 32 बिल*, 33 खिल*, 34 यमल, 35 हस्त, 36 कला*. 37 सकर्णक (सकण्डक), 38 अश्मन्, 39 अस्तिबल ॥

1 कर्ण, 2 वसिष्ठ, 3 अर्क, 4 अर्कलूष (लूष), 5 द्रुपद (डुपद), 6 आनडुह्य (अन), 7 पाञ्चजन्य, 8 स्फिज्, 9 कुम्भी*, 10 कुन्ती*, 11 जित्वन् (जित्व), 12 जीवन्त (जीवन्ती), 13 कुलिश, 14 आण्डीवत (आण्डीवत्), 15 जव*, 16 जैत्र*, 17 आनक*, 18 अलुश, 19 शाल, 20 स्थिरा ॥

1 सुतंगम, 2 मुनिचित (चित्त), 3 विप्रचित (चित्त), 4 महाचित्त*, 5 महापुत्र, 6 स्वन*, 7 श्वेत, 8 खडिक (गडिक) 9 शुक्र, 10 विग्र, 11 बीजवापिन्, 12 अर्जुन, 13 श्वन्, 14 अजिर, 15 जीव, 16 खण्डिन*, 17 कर्ण*, 18 विग्रह*,

1 प्रगदिन्, 2 मगदिन्, 3 मदविन्, (शरदिन्), 4 कविल (कलिव), 5 खण्डित (खडिव), 6 गदित (गदिव), 7 चूडार, 8 मडार (मार्जार), 9 मन्दार*, 10 कोविदार ॥

1 वराह, 2 पलाश, 3 शिरीष, 4 पिनद्ध, 5 निबद्ध, 6 बलाह*, 7 स्थूल (स्थूण), 8 विदग्ध, 9 विजग्ध, 10 विभग्न, 11 निमग्न*, 12 बाहु, 13 खदिर, 14 शर्करा, 15 विनद्ध, 16 विरुद्ध, 17 मूल ॥

1 कुमुद, 2 गोमय, 3 रथकार, 4 दशग्राम, 5 अश्वत्थ, 6 शाल्मलि (ली), 7 शिरीष, 8 मुनिस्थल (स्थूल), 9 कुण्डल, 10 कूट, 11 मधुकर्ण, 12 घासकुन्द*, 13 शुचिकर्ण, 14 सुचुकर्ण, 15 कुन्द ॥

जनपदे लुप् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपदे लुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देशे तन्नाम्नीति यश्चातुरर्थिकः प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य देशविशेषे जनपदेऽभिधेये लुब्भवति ॥

81. The name of a kingdom is formed by the *lup* elision of these affixes, (when the name of the people without the change of number and gender, is at the same time the name of the kingdom).

The words within bracket in the above sûtra are added by the reading together of this sûtra with sûtra I. 2. 51. Dr. Otto Böhtlingk the learned

translator of Pâṇini in German, has done so, and I think this addition is necessary for the elucidation of the sûtra. The aphorism literally means: (The quadruply significant affix) is elided, when the *place* (देश) to be named is a kingdom (जनपद). Thus पंचालानां निवासो जनपदः = पंचालाः । So also कुरवः, मत्स्याः, अङ्गाः, वङ्गाः, मगधाः, सुह्माः, पुण्ड्राः ॥

Why is there no lup-elision of the affix in the following examples :. औदुम्बरो जनपदः 'the Kingdom in which there are fig-trees'. वैदिशो जनपदः &c? Because here the words औदुम्बरः and वैदिशः are not *names* of Kingdom, but are used merely as epithets. In fact the phrase तन्नाम्नि is understood here also.

वरणादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णादिभ्यश्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वरण इत्येवमादिभ्य उत्पन्नस्य चातुरर्थिकस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुब् भवति ॥

82. Also after the word वरण &c, the affix denoting locality becomes elided, but the number and gender are not changed.

After the words वरण the quadruply significant affix is elided by लुप् ॥ The origination of this rule is for the sake of what is not a kingdom (or जनपद), to which the last rule applies. Thus वरणानामदूरभवं नगरं = वरणाः "the city (not a kingdom) not far from the place Varaṇâ", So slso शृङ्गी, शाल्मलयः ॥

The word च in the sûtra implies that this rule applies even to words other than those which are given in the list of वरणादि ॥ As कटुकबदरी "a city near to bitter Badari tree".

1 वरणा, (वरण), 2 शृङ्गी, 3 शाल्मलि, 4 शुण्डी*, 5 शयाण्डी°, 6 पर्णी, 7 ताम्रपर्णी, 8 गोद (पूर्वौ गोदौ, पूर्वेण गोदौ, अपरेण गोदौ), 9 आलिङ्गायन, 10 जानपदी (जालपदी; जालपद) 11 जम्बू*, 12 पुष्कर*, 13 चम्पा*, 14 पम्पा*, 15 वल्गु°, 16 उज्जयनी (उज्जयिनी), 17 गया, 18 मथुरा, 19 तक्षशिला, 20 उरसा (उरशा) 21 गोमती°, 22 वलभी*, 23 कटुकबदरी (with कन्दुक), 24 शिरीषाः 25 काञ्ची, 26 सदाण्डी, 27 वणिकि, 28 वंणिक, Is an आकृतिगण ॥

शर्कराया वा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शर्करायाः-वा (लुप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शर्कराशब्दादुत्पन्नस्य चातुरर्थिकस्य प्रत्ययस्य वा लुब् भवति ॥

83. Optionally after the word शर्करा, the quadruply significant affix is lup-elided.

Why do we say "Optionally"? The word शर्करा occurs in the classes कुमुदादि (2) and वराहादि (14) (IV.2.80 classes 4 and 16), and must *necessarily* take the affixes ठच् and कक् taught therein: for had itnot taken those affixes absolutely, their would have been no necessity of inserting this word in those classes. The present rule, therefore. teaches by implication, that the word शर्करा takes the general affix अण्, besides the above two especial affixes, denoting locality

And when the word takes this universal affix (IV 1. 83), there the option is allowed, not otherwise. Thus शर्करा + अण् = शार्करम्, शर्करा + अण् लुप् = शर्करा ॥

ठक्छौ च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ठक्-छौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शर्कराशब्दाट्ठक् छ इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतश्चातुरर्थिकौ ॥

84. The affix ठक् and छ come after the word शर्करा in the quadruple sense.

Thus of the word शर्करा there are altogether six forms denoting locality, namely two formed by this sûtra, two by the last, and two by the sûtra IV. 2. 80. Thus शर्करा, शार्करम्, शर्करिकम् (formed by ठच्), शार्करकम् (formed by कक्), शार्करिकम् (formed by ठक्), and शर्करीयम् (by छ).

नद्यां मतुप् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नद्याम्-मतुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नद्यामभिधेयायां मतुप्प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

85. The affix मतुप् is added in denoting a river.

When the name of a river is to be designated by something which is found near it, we add the affix मतुप् (मत् and वत्). Thus उदुम्बरावती, मशकावती, वीरणावती, पुष्करावती, इक्षुमती, द्रुमती ॥ See VI. 3. 119 by which the अ is lengthened in these words, and VI. 1. 219 by which the udâtta is placed on this vowel. See VIII. 2. 10 by which मत् becomes वत् ॥

The affix मतुप् is not however employed in forming the river-names भागीरथी and भैमरथी, which are formed by अण् added under IV. 2. 68.

मध्वादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्वादिभ्यः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधु इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो मतुप्प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

86. The affix मतुप् is added to the words मधु &c in the four senses given above.

The origination of this rule is for the sake of what is not a *river*. As मधुमान्, विसवान् &c.

1 मधु, 2 बिस, 3 स्थाणु, 4 वेणु, 5 कर्कन्धु, 6 शमी, 7 करीर (किरीर) 8 हिम, 9 किशरा, 10 शर्याण (शर्पणा) 11 मरुत्, 12 वार्दाली*, 13 शर, 14 इष्टका, 15 आसुति, 16 शक्ति, 17 आसन्दी, 18 शकल, 19 शलाका, 20 आमिषी (आमिधी) 21 इक्षु, 22 रोमन्, 23 रुष्टि (मुष्टि हृष्टि) 24 रुष्य 25 तक्षशिला, 26 खड (खडा) 27 वट*, 28 वेट (वेटा) 29 रम्य, 30 ऋक्ष, 38 मरुव, 32 शर्वाघाट.

कुमुदनडवेतसेभ्यो ड्मतुप् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमुद-नड-वेतसेभ्यः-ड्मतुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमुद नड वेतस इत्येतेभ्य शब्देभ्यो ड्मतुप् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ महिषाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

87. The affix ड्मतुप् comes after the words कुमुद, नड and वेतस, in the above four senses, and the final of these words is elided before this affix.

Thus कुमुद्वान्, नड्वान्, वेतस्वान् ॥

Vârt :—So also after the word महिष, as महिष्मान् ॥

नडशादाड् ड्वलच् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नड-शादात्-ड्वलच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नडशादशब्दाभ्यां ड्वलच् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

88. The affix ड्वलच् comes after नड and शाद in the four senses given above, the final of the words being elided.

Thus नड्वलम् and शाद्वलम् ॥

शिखाया वलच् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिखाया-वलच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शिखाशब्दाद्वलच् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः । यथासंभवमर्थसंबन्धः ॥

89. The affix वलच् comes after the word शिखा in the above four-senses.

Thus शिखावलम् 'the city Sikhâ-vala' lit. 'crested as a peacock'. The word शिखा takes वलच् by V. 2. 111, the affix having the same force as मतुप् V. 2. 94, ('whose it is' or 'in whom it is'). That वलच् should be distinguished from the present, in as much as, the latter is employed in making names of locality, not so the affix taught in Book V.

उत्करादिभ्यश्छः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्करादिभ्यः-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्कर इत्येवमादिभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

90. The affix छ comes after the words उत्कर &c, in the four senses:

As उत्करीयम्, शफरीयम् ॥

1 उत्कर, 2 संफल, 3 शफर, 4 पिप्पल, 5 पिप्पलीमूल, 6 अश्मन्, 7 सुवर्ण (सुपर्ण) 8 खलाजिन, 9 तिक, 10 कितव, 11 अणक*, 12 त्रैवण*, 13 पिचुक, 14 अश्वत्थ, 15 काश, 16 क्षुद्र (शकाक्षुद्र st. काश, क्षुद्र) 17 भस्त्रा, 18 शाल, 19 जन्या, 20 अजिर (अजिन) 21 चर्मन्, 22 उत्क्रोश, 23 क्षान्त (शान्त) 24 खदिर, 25 शूर्पणाय, 26 श्यावनाय, 27 नैवाकव (नैव, बक) 28 तृण*, 29 वृक्ष 30 शाक*, 31 पलाश, 32 विजिगीषा*, 33 अनेक, 34 आतप, 35 फल*, 36 संपर*, 37 अर्क, 38 गर्त, 39 अग्नि, 40 वैराणक*, 41 इडा, 42 अरण्य, 43 निशान्त*, 44 पर्ण, 45 नीचाबक*, 46 शंकर, 47 अवरोहित, 48 क्षार*, 49 विशाल, 50 वेत्र, 51 अरोहण*, 52 खण्ड, 53 वातागर 54 मन्त्रणार्ह*, 55 इन्द्रवृक्ष, 56 नितान्तवृक्ष, (नितान्तावृक्ष; नितान्त, वृक्ष) 57 आर्द्रवृक्ष. 58 तृणव, 59 अन्य, 60 मङ्च, 61 अर्जुनवृक्ष.

नडादीनां कुक् च ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नडादीनाम्, कुक्-च (छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नड इत्येवमादीनां कुगागमो भवति, छश्च प्रत्ययश्चातुरर्थिकः । यथासंभवमर्थसंबन्धः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्रुञ्चाया ह्रस्वत्वंच । तक्षन्नलोपश्च ॥

91. The augment कुक् comes after the words नड &c, when the affix छ follows in the above four senses.

To the words नड &c. the same affix is added, with the insertion of a कुक् after the stem. As नड+कुक्+छ=नडकीयम्; प्लक्षकीयम्, &c.

The words क्रुञ्चा and तक्षन् belong also to this class. In the case of क्रुञ्चा the long vowel is shortened, and in the case of तक्षन् the न् is elided : e. g. क्रुञ्चकीयम्, तक्षकीयम् ॥

1 नड, 2 प्लक्ष, 3 बिल्व, 4 वेणु, 5 वेत्र, 6 वेतस, 7 इक्षु, 8 काष्ठ, 9 कपोत, 10 तृण, 11 क्रुञ्चा (क्रुञ्चाया) ह्रस्वत्वं च, 12 तक्षन् नलोपश्च.

शेषे ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेष इत्यधिकारोयम्। यानित ऊर्ध्वं प्रत्ययाननुक्रमिष्यामः, शेषेऽर्थे ते वेदितव्याः ॥

92. The affixes taught hereafter, have senses other than those mentioned above.

The suffixes that will be taught now have senses other than those already taught in the previous aphorisms. "Let a meaning, other than those of which 'progeny' (IV. 1 92) was the first mentioned, and the quadruple signification', the last, be called शेष or the remainder'—and in that remainder of senses, too, let there be the affix अण् &c. Thus चाक्षुषं 'visible' viz. colour which is apprehended by vision' from चक्षुष्; श्रावणः 'audible' viz. sound, from श्रवण, औपनिषदः 'treated of in Upanishad' i. e. soul, दार्षदः from दृषद्, 'ground on a stone' i. e. flour of a fried corn, चातुरं 'ridden in by four person' viz. a cart; चातुर्दशम् 'who is seen on the fourteenth day of the moon' viz. a goblin; औलूखलः 'pounded in a mortar' viz. barley: आश्वः 'drawn by horses' viz. a chariot. (Adapted from Dr. Ballantyne's Laghukaumudi).

The regulating influence of the expression शेषे "in the remainder" extends from this aphorism forward as far as IV. 3. 134. The affixes छ &c taught hereafter, do not come in the sense of 'progeny' &c, but they have, every one of them, all the senses of जात 'being born' (IV. 3. 25), प्रायभवः (IV. 3. 101), आगतः (IV. 3. 74) &c. निवासः (IV. 3. 89), &c कृतः &c (IV. 3. 38).

Thus स्रौघ्नः means "born in Srughna (IV. 3. 25), or done in Srughna, or bought in Srughna, or obtained in Srughna, or skillful in Srughna (IV. 3. 38), or abundant in Srughna (IV. 3. 39), or suited to Srughna (IV. 3. 41), or staying in Srughna (IV. 3. 53), or what has come from Srughna (IV. 3. 74) or which has its rise in Srughna (IV. 3. 83), a road leading to Srughna (IV. 3. 85) a messenger going to Srughna (IV. 3. 85), a gate facing Srughna or from which men go out to Srughna (IV. 3. 86) a book relating to the History of Srughna (IV. 3. 87), an inhabitant of Srughna (IV. 3. 89), a person whose ancestral home is at Srughna (IV. 3. 90)"

राष्ट्रावारपाराद् घखौ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राष्ट्र-अवारपारात्-घ-खौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राष्ट्र अवारपार इत्येताभ्यां यथासंख्यं घखावित्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विगृहीतादपीष्यते ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विपरीताच्च ॥

93. The affixes *gha* and *kha* are respectively added after the words राष्ट्र and अवारपार ॥

The affix इय is substituted for घ, and ईन for ख (VII. 1. 2). Thus राष्ट्रियः 'born &c. in a country', अवारपारीणः 'who or what goes or extends to both banks'.

Vârt:—The affix ख comes also when the words अवार and पार are taken separately; as well as when compounded inversely: e. g. अवारीणः 'belonging to this bank of the river', पारीणः 'belonging to the other bank', पारावारीणः 'belonging to the other bank as well as to this'. Here as well as in several of the subsequent aphorisms, merely the stems and their appropriate affixes are given; the sense of these affixes are those of 'being born' &c. to be taught hereafter in IV. 3. 25 and sûtras that follow it.

"There shall now be mentioned derivatives which end with those affixes the first whereof is घ, and the last where of are ल्यु (IV. 3. 24), with specification of the original term to which the application of those affixes is appropriate; and their varieties of meaning, such as 'being produced therefrom' IV. 2. 25, and the like, shall be mentioned; and the declensional cases in connection with which the affixes are appropriately applicable". (Dr. Ballantyne's Laghu Kaumudi).

ग्रामाद्यखञौ ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामात्, य-खञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामशब्दाद्य खञ् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

94. The affixes य and खञ् (ईन) come after the word 'grâma'.

As ग्राम्य and ग्रामीणः, 'a rustic'.

कत्त्र्यादिभ्यो ढकञ् ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कत्त्रि-आदिभ्यो-ढकञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कत्त्रि इत्येवमादिभ्यो ढकञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कुल्याया यलोपश्च ॥

95. The affix ढकञ् (एयक) comes after the words कत्त्रि &c.

As कात्त्रेयकः, औम्भेयकः &c.

1 कत्त्रि, 2 उम्भि, 3 पुष्कर, 4 पुष्कल, 5 मोदन, 6 कुम्भी, 7 कुण्डिन, 8 नगरी (नगर) 9 माहिष्मती, 10 वर्मती, (चर्मण्वती) 11 उख्या, 12 ग्राम, 13 कुड्याया (कुल्याया) यलोपश्च, 14 वञ्जी, 15 भक्ति.

कुलकुक्षिग्रीवाभ्यः श्वास्यलङ्कारेषु ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुल-कुक्षि-ग्रीवाभ्यः, श्व-असि-अलङ्कारेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुलकुक्षिग्रीवाशब्देभ्यो यथासंख्यं श्वन् असि अलंकार इत्येतेषु जातादिष्वर्थेषु ढकञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

96. The same affix ढकञ् is added to the words कुल, कुक्षि and ग्रीवा, when the whole words so formed mean respectively, 'a dog', 'a sword' and 'an ornament'.

The force of the affix, as already told above, is to denote 'produce' &c. (IV. 3. 25 &c): but the whole word has specific significance. As कौलेयकः =a dog (lit. pertaining to a family); कौक्षेयकः =a sword (lit. remaining in a sheath), ग्रैवेयकः =a necklace. When not having these meanings, the regular derivatives from these words are formed by अण् as, कौलः, कौक्षः and ग्रैवः ॥

नद्यादिभ्यो ढक् ॥ ९७ ॥ नद्यादिभ्यः, ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नदी इत्येवमादिभ्यो ढक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

97. The affix ढक (एयँ) comes after the words 'nadî' &c, in the remaining senses (i. e. IV. 3. 25. &c).

Thus नादेयं, 'pertaining to a river', माहेयम् earthen', &c.

1 नदी, 2 मही, 3 वाराणसी, 4 श्रावस्ती, 5 कौशाम्बी, 6 वनकौशाम्बी (वनको) 7 काशपरी° 8 काशफरी (फारी) 9 खादिरी, 10 पूर्वनगरी, 11 पाठा (पावा) 12 माया (मावा) 13 शाल्वा (साल्वा) 14 दार्वा°, 15 सेतकी (वासेनकी) 16 वडवाया वृषे, 17 शाल्वा.

The word पूर्वनगरी occurs in the above list. Its derivative will be पौर्वनगरेयम् ॥ But some say, it is composed of three words पुर्—वन—गिरि and they apply the affix to each of them separately. As पौरेयम, वानेयम् and गैरेयम् ॥

दक्षिणापश्चात्पुरसस्त्यक् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दक्षिणा, पश्चात्, पुरसः, त्यक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दक्षिणा पश्चात् पुरस् इत्येतेभ्यस्त्यक् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

98. After the words 'dakshinâ', 'paschât' and 'puras' the affix 'tyak' (त्य) is added in the remaining senses.

As दाक्षिणात्यः 'pertaining or produced in the south'; पाश्चात्यः 'occidental', पौरस्त्यः 'oriental'.

कापिश्याः ष्फक् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कापिश्याः, ष्फक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कापिशीशब्दात् ष्फक् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बाह्ल्युर्दिपर्दिभ्यश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

99. After the word 'Kâpisî', the affix 'shphak' is added in the remaining senses; (the feminine being formed by ङीष् IV. 1. 41).

Thus कापिशायनं मधु, कापिशायनी द्राक्षा 'a liquor'.

Vârt:—So also after बाह्लि, उर्दि and पर्दि as, बाह्लायनी, और्दायनी, पार्दायनी ॥ This debars वुञ् of IV. 2. 125.

रङ्कोरमनुष्येऽण् च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ रङ्कोः-अमनुष्ये-अण्-च-(ष्फक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रङ्कुशब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात्ष्फक्च शैषिको ऽमनुष्येऽभिधेये ॥

100. After the word रंकु the same affix 'shphak' as well as the affix अण् is added, in the remaining senses, when the meaning is a non-human being.

As राङ्कवो गौः or राङ्कवायणो गौः but राङ्कवको मनुष्यः (IV. 2. 134).

Q. The word रंकु belongs to कच्छादि class (IV. 2. 133); and when a human being is to be denoted, then by IV. 2. 134, it will take the affix अण्, and when a non-human being is to be designated, then it will take अण् by rule IV. 2. 133; then where is the necessity of the present sûtra by which अण् is enjoined when a non-human being is to be designated? To this the reply is that the force of the negative affix in amanuysha is that of इव; i. e. अमनुष्य = मनुष्य सदृशः "a being like man, but not man". The word अमनुष्य does not mean 'anything which is not a man'. For had this been its meaning, then a blanket is also a thing which is not a man, and in denoting a blanket, we should add ष्फक्; but we never do so. When blanket is to be denoted we add अण् of IV. 2. 133, as राङ्कवः "a woolen blanket". When we want to denote a *living* being other than man, then we add अण् and ष्फक् of this sûtra. The अण् is repeated in this sûtra, for the purpose also of showing that otherwise अण् would have been debarred by the special affix ष्फक् ॥

The word रंकु is the name of a country, it would have taken अण् under the universal rule IV. 1. 83, but this is debarred by वुञ् of IV. 2. 125, and वुञ् is debarred by ठञ् of IV. 2. 119, and ठञ् is debarred by अण् of IV. 2. 132, as it has क् as penultimate, the present sûtra debars that and ordains अण् and ष्फक् ॥

द्युप्रागपागुदक्प्रतीचो यत् ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्यु, प्राग्-अपाग्-उदक्-प्रतीचो-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिव् प्राच् अपाच् उदच् प्रत्यच् इत्येतेभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ।

101. After the words '*div*', '*prâch*', '*apâch*', '*udach*' and '*pratyach*', the affix यत् is added in the remaining senses.

Thus दिव्यम्, प्राच्यम्, अपाच्यम्, उदीच्यम्, (IV. 4. 130) and प्रतीच्यम् ॥ For accent see VI. 1. 213. When these words are used as Indeclinables, and denote time, they take also the affixes 'tyu' and 'tyul', e. g, प्राक्तनम् (IV. 3. 25). The word अपाच् means south.

कन्थायाष्ठक् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्थायाः ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्थाशब्दाट्ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

102. After the word 'Kanthâ', comes the affix ठक् in the remaining senses.

As कान्थिकः ॥

वर्णौ वुक् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णौ-वुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्थाया इत्येव । वर्णौ या कन्था तस्या वुक् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

103. To the same stem is added the affix वुक् when it treats about some thing which is to be found in the land of Varnu.

The Varṇu is the name of a river, and the country near it is also called Varṇu, the affix denoting country being elided by IV. 2. 81. Thus कान्थकम् ॥

अव्ययात्त्यप् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययात्-त्यप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययात् त्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

Kârikâ अमेहक्वतसित्रेभ्यस्त्यब्विधिर्यो ऽव्ययात्स्मृतः ।
निर्निभ्यां ध्रुवगत्योश्च प्रवेशो नियमे तथा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ त्यब्नेर्ध्रुवे ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निसो गते ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आविसश्छन्दसि ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अरण्याण्णोवक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दूरादेत्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उत्तरादाहञ् ॥

104. The affix 'tyap' comes after an Indeclinable, in the remaining senses.

This rule is too wide. The affix त्यप् is restricted to the following Indeclinables:—अमा 'together', इह 'here', क्व 'where', those that end in तसि (V. 3. 7) and त्र (V. 3. 10). As अमात्यः 'a minister', इहत्यः, क्वत्यः, ततस्त्यः, तत्रत्यः &c.

Why do we say 'its application should be restricted'? Observe: औपरिष्टः, पौरस्त्यः, पारस्त्यः formed from the Indeclinables उपरि, पुर, and पार; moreover, the Indeclinables, that are Vṛiddha (i. e. having आ, ऐ and औ in the first syllable), take the affix छ in the same sense. As, आरातीय ॥

Vârt:—The त्यप् is added to नि, in the sense of "fixed" as, नित्यम् = ध्रुवम् ॥

Vârt:—The त्यप् is added to निस् in the sense of 'going'. As निष्ट्यः "Chanḍalas &c who have *gone out* of the caste".

Vârt:—The त्यप् is added to the word आविस् in the Vedas: As, आविष्ट्यो वर्द्धते ॥

Vârt:—The affix ण comes after अरण्यः e. g. आरण्याः सुमनसः ॥

Vârt:—The affix एत्य comes after दूर, e. g. दूरेत्यः पथिकः ॥

Vârt:—The affix आहञ् comes after उत्तर e. g. औत्तराहः ॥

ऐषमोह्यः श्वसोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऐषमस्-ह्यस्-श्वसो-अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऐषमस् ह्यस् श्वस् इत्येतेभ्यो ऽन्यतरस्यां त्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

105. The affix त्यप् is added optionally after the words 'aishamas', 'hyas', and '*s*vas'; in the remaining senses.

As ऐषमस्त्यम् or ऐषमस्तनम् (IV. 3. 23), ह्यस्त्यम् or ह्यस्तनम् (IV 3. 23); श्वस्त्यम् or श्वस्तनम् (IV. 3. 23) or शौवस्तिकम् (IV. 3. 15). The word 'śvas' takes the augment तुट् also, hence the above three forms.

तीररूप्योत्तरपदादञ्ञौ ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तीर-रूप्य-उत्तर-पदात्-अञ्-ञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तीरोत्तरपदाद् रूप्योत्तरपदाच्च प्रातिपदिकाद्यथासंख्यमञ् ञ इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः शैषिकौ ॥

106. The affix अञ् comes after a word ending with तीर, and the ञ comes after a word ending with रूप्य; in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus काकतीरम्, पाल्वलतीरम्, वार्करूप्यम्, शैवरूप्यम् ॥ The words formed by अञ्, take the affix ङीप् in the feminine (IV. 1. 15); those in ञ take the affix टाप् (IV. 1. 4). The sûtra is not enunciated as तीररूप्यान्तात्, for had it been so, the affix would apply to बहुरूप्य also, where रूप्य is final, but cannot be called uttara-pada, as 'bahu' is not a pada but is an affix V. 3. 68. Therefore, we have बाहुरूप्यम् formed by अण् ॥

दिक्पूर्वपदादसंज्ञायां ञः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-पूर्वपदात्, असंज्ञायाम्-ञः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असंज्ञायामिति प्रकृतिविशेषणम् । दिक्पूर्वपदात्प्रातिपदिकादसंज्ञा विषयाद् ञः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

107. The affix ञ comes in the remaining senses, after a word preceded by another that signifies 'direction', provided the compound is not a Name.

To a stem, whose first member is a word denoting direction, and which is not a Name, the affix ञ is added, forming the feminine in आ ॥ The word असंज्ञायाम् qualifies the 'base'. This debars अण् ॥ Thus पूर्वशाला+ञ =पौर्वशालः (VI. 4. 148, VII. 2. 117) 'who is in the eastern hall'. Similarly दाक्षिणशालः, आपरशालः ॥

Why do we say "when not a Name"? Observe, from the word पूर्वेषुकामशमी (II. 1. 50) we have पूर्वैषुकामशमः (VII. 3. 14), The example illustrates, how first a compound of Tatpurusha kind is formed by the words पूर्व+इषुकामशमी; "Ishukâmshami-in-the-East"; the whole being the name of the city.

Then when the Taddhita affix is added to this word, the first vowel is not vṛiddhied, as is the general rule VII. 2. 117; but the first vowel of the second member of the compound is vṛiddhied, *viz* the letter इ of इषुकामशमी by rule VII. 3. 14. Similarly अपरैषुकामशमः "who is in Ishukâmashamî-in-the-West".

The word 'संज्ञ' is used in the sûtra for the sake of percision, for had the sûtra been दिक्पूर्वास्संज्ञायां, there would rise the doubt, whether the the word-form दिक् was meant, or words denoting दिक् were meant. In fact the स्वरूपविधि is debarred by the use of the word ॥ For had it meant दिक्; the rule would have applied to words like दिग्गजः &c.

मद्रेभ्योऽञ् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मद्रेभ्यो-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपदान्मद्रशब्दादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

108. The affix अञ् is added to the word मद्र, preceded by a word denoting direction; in the remaining senses.

Thus पौर्वमद्रः *f.* °द्री; आपरमद्रः *f.* द्री ॥ Here contrary to the examples in the preceding sûtra, the initial vowel is vṛiddhied by VII. 3. 13 which makes a special exception in the case of the word मद्र ॥

उदीच्यग्रामाच्च बह्वचोऽन्तोदात्तात् ॥ १०९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिग्ग्रहणं निवृत्तम् । उदीच्यग्रामवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाद् बह्वचोऽन्तोदात्ताद् अञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

109. The affix अञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a word consisting of more than two syllables, having udâtta accent on the final, being the name of a village of the peoples of the North.

The governing force of the word दिक् ceases here. The अञ् debars अण् ॥ Thus शैवपुरम्, नाण्डपुरम् ॥

Why do we say "village of north-folk"? Observe माथुरम् formed by अण्; difference in accent.

Why do we say "consisting of more than two syllables"? Obseve धूंजी—धौजम् ॥

Why do we say "being oxytone?" Observe शार्कराधानम् ॥ Here धा is udâtta by VI. 1. 194, taking लित् accent.

प्रस्थोत्तरपदपलद्यादिकोपधादण् ॥ ११० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थोत्तरपदात् पलद्यादिभ्यः ककारोपधाच्च प्रातिपदिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

110. The affix अण् comes, in the remaining senses after a word ending with प्रस्थ, after the words पलदी &c, and

after a word having a penultimate क, whether these words express villages of North folk or not.

This debars the अञ् of the last aphorism. Thus माद्रीप्रस्थः, माहकीप्रस्थ· पालदः, पारिषदः, नैलिनकः, चैयातकः ॥

In the class Paladyâdi, those words which denote villages of वाहीकं, will not take इञ् or ञिठ् affix of IV. 2. 117; but will take the affix अण् of this rule. Such as the words गौष्ठी and नैतकी ॥

The word गोमती occurs in Paladî class, and consequently it does not take the affix वुञ् (IV. 2. 123) which it would otherwise have taken by reason of its being a Vṛiddha word ending in long ई ॥

The word वाहीक has a penultimate क, but it is recited in Paladî class, showing that it does not take the affix छ of IV. 2. 114 though it is a Vṛiddha word.

The affix अण् is repeated in this sûtra, (though its anuvṛitti comes from IV. 1. 83), in order to exclude the application of any rule which might have debarred the general अण् ॥

1 पलदी, 2 परिषद, 3 रोमक, 4 वाहीक, 5 कलकीट (मलकीट) 6 बहुकीट (बालुकीट) 7 जालकीट, 8 कमलकीट, 9 कमलकीकर, 10 कमलभिदा, 11 गौष्ठी, 12 नैकती (नैतकी), 13 परिखा, 14 रसेन, 15 गामती, 16 पटचर, 17 उदपान (उदयानि) 18 यकृल्लोम, 19 सकृल्लोमन् ॥

कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे ॥ १११ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रमिह न प्रत्ययार्थो न च प्रकृतिविशेषणं, तत्रैवं संबध्यते, कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे यः प्रत्ययो विहितः तदन्तेभ्य एवाण् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

111. The affix अण् comes after the patronymics formed from कण्व &c.

Here the word गोत्रे does not qualify the sense of the base, nor does it give the sense of the affix. It simply means "that after a word ending with the affix which has been ordained after the words Kaṇva &c, in denoting a Gotra or Family-name; the affix अण् is employed in the remaining senses." This debars the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus काण्वाः "the pupils of Kâṇva". गौकक्षाः (IV. 1. 105).

Why do we say "when denoting Family-names?" Thus the word काण्व, when it means कण्व देवताऽस्य, forms its secondary derivative काण्वीयम् by छ ॥

The Kaṇva-class is a sub-class of Gargâdi. The Family-names from कण्व and गौकक्ष are काण्व्य and गौकाक्ष्य by rule IV. 1. 105. To this, the affix अण् is added. काण्व्य+अण्=काण्वः (VI. 4. 148 and VI. 4. 152).

इञश्च ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इञः, च-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रे य इञ् विहितस्तदन्तात्प्रातिपदिकादण्प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

112. After a Family-name formed by इञ्, the affix अण् is added in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus from दक्ष we have Patronymic दाक्षि, from which दाक्षाः "the pupils of Dâkshi"; प्लाक्षाः, माहकाः ॥ The final इ is elided before अण् by VI. 4. 148.

Why do we say 'denoting a family-name'? Observe सौतङ्गमिः, a word formed by इञ् of IV. 2. 80, not denoting a family, but having the four-fold sense of IV. 2. 68-70. The further derivative from this will be सौतङ्गमीयम् by छ (IV. 2. 114).

न द्व्यचः प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-द्व्यचः, प्राच्य-भरतेषु(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्व्यचः प्रातिपदिकात्प्राच्यभरतगोत्रादिञन्तादण् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

113. The affix अण् is not however added to a word which, though ending in the Patronymic afffix इञ्, consists of two syllables, when it is the family name of Eastern people or of Bharata.

This sûtra debars अण् which would have come by the last sûtra. The result being, that the words answering to the description given in this aphorism, form the शैषिक derivatives by the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus पौष्कीयाः, काशीयाः from पौष्कि, काशि ॥ Why do we say "consisting of two syllables"? Observe पान्नागाराः formed by अण् from पान्नागारि ॥

Why do we say "when it denotes the family-names of East folks or Bharata"? Observe: दाक्षाः from दाक्षि ॥

Q. How do you form काशीय when by rule IV. 2. 116, the proper form would be काशिकी or काशिका ?

Ans. The word काशि of sûtra 116 refers to a country because it occurs with चेदि, while the काशि of the example under the present aphorism is a Family-name.

The Bharatas belong also to the East-Folk or Prâchyas. Their separate mention here indicates by Jñâpaka or inference, that whereever Prâchya is used in these sûtras, it does not include the Bharatas. See. II 4. 66.

वृद्धाच्छः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्-छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धात्प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

114. After a word called Vriddha, the affix छ is added in the remaining senses.

The word गोत्र does not govern this sûtra. This is a general rule. The Vriddha is defined in I. 1. 73 &c. This debars अण् ॥ Thus from गार्ग्य we

have गार्गीय (VI. 4. 148 & 152). So also वातुलीयः, शालीयः, मालीयः, ॥

This rule being a subsequent one, debars the following preceding rules, in case of conflict of rules (I. 4. 2) 1. The rule relating to Indeclinables (104), 2. The rule relating to words ending in तीर and रूप्य (106) 3. The rule relating to Villages of North-folk (109), 4. The rule relating to penultimate क (110). Thus.

इह—इहत्य; but आरात्—आरातीयः करवतीर—कारवतीरम्; but वायसतीर—वायसतीरीयः चणारकरूप्य—चाणारकरूप्यम्; but माणिरूप्य—माणिरूप्यकः (IV. 2, 21) शिवपुर—शैवपुरम्; but वाडवकर्ष—वाडवकर्षीयः, निलीनक—नैलीनकः ; but औलूक—औलूकीयः ॥

भवतष्ठक्छसौ ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भवतः, ठक्-छसौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवच्छब्दाद् वृद्धात् ठक्छसौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः शैषिकौ ॥

115. The affix ठक् and छस् come after the Vriddha word भवत्, in the remaining senses.

The word भवत् is a Vṛiddha word because it belongs to tyadâdi class (I. 1. 74). This rule debars छ of the last aphorism. In the affix, छस्, the final स् is indicatory, showing that the word भवत् before this affix gets the designation of Pada पद (I. 4. 16). Thus भवत्+ठक्=भावत्कः; भवत्+छस्=भवदीयः ॥

But when the word भवत् is not treated as Vṛiddha, then it takes the general affix अण्; as भावतः ॥ This is the case when भवत् is derived by affixing शतृ to भू ॥

काश्यादिभ्यष्ठञ्ञिठौ ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ काश्यादिभ्यः-ठञ्-ञिठौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काशि इत्येवमादिभ्यष्ठञ् ञिठ् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः शैषिकौ ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आपदादिपूर्वपदात्कालान्तात् ॥

116. The affixes ठञ् and ञिठ् come, in the remaining senses, after the words काशि &c.

In the affixes ठञ् and ञिठ्, the ठ is replaced by इक, the other letters are anubandhas. The form in both cases will be the same, but there is a distinction in the feminine. Those formed by ठञ् will take ङीप् (IV. 1. 15), the others will take टाप् (IV. 1. 4). Thus काशिका or काशिकी, बैदिका or बैदिकी ॥

The word वृद्धात् is to be read in to this sûtra. Those words in the list which are not वृद्ध will take the affixes, by virtue of being so classified.

The word देवदत्तः occurs in the list of words. It gets the designation of वृद्ध by I. 1. 75. Thas दैवदत्तिकः ॥ But when it is the name of a Vâhîka village, it is not a Vṛiddha word The secondary derivative then will be दैवदत्तः ॥

Q. In the Mâhâbhâshya it is said that a Proper name is optionally

treated as a Vriddha, and it gives example of दैवदत्तीयाः or दैवदत्ताः ॥ So then दैवदत्तः is a Vriddha word and will take these affixes,

Ans. No. In that very passage of Mahâbhâshya it is further stated that the option in the case of Proper-Names is allowed only for the purposes of the application of the affix छ (IV. 2. 114) and not the affix ठञ् and ञिठ् ॥

Vârt:—This affix comes after compound words ending in काल and preceded by आपत्, ऊर्ध्व and तद्; as आपत्कालिकी or °का, और्ध्वकालिकी or °की, तात्कालिकी or °का ॥

1 काशि, 2 चेदि (वैदी) 3 सांयाति*, 4 संवाह, 5 अच्युत, 6 मोदमान (मोहमान) 7 शकुलाद, 8 हस्तिकर्षू, 9 कुनामन्, (कुशामन्, 10 हिरण्य, 11 करण, 12 गोवासन (गोधाशन) 13 भारङ्गी*, 14 अरिंदम. 15 अरित्र*, 16 देवदत्त, 17 दशग्राम (दासग्राम) 18 शौवावतान (सौधावतान) 19 युवराज, 20 उपराज, 21 देवराज, 22 मोदन*, 23 सिन्धुमित्र, 24 दासमित्र, 25 सुधामित्र*, 26 सोममित्र*, 27 छागमित्र*, 28 सधमित्र*, 29 आपदादिपूर्वपदात् (आपद्, ऊर्ध्व, तद्) कालान्तात्, 30 संज्ञा, 31 औरिकि, 32 भौलिङ्गि, 33 सर्वमित्र, 34 साधुमित्र ॥

वाहीकग्रामेभ्यश्च ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहीक-ग्रामेभ्यः च, (ठञ् ञिठौ)।

वृत्तिः ॥ वाहीकग्रामवाचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यष्ठञ् ञिठौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः शैषिकौ ॥

117. The affixes ठञ् and ञिठ् come, in the remaining senses, after the Vriddha words denoting the villages of Vâhîka.

The word वृद्धात् is to be read into this sûtra. This debars the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus शाकलिकी or शाकलिका, मान्थविकी or मान्थविका ॥

विभाषोशीनरेषु ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-उशीनरेषु (ठञ्-ञिठौ)।

वृत्तिः ॥ उशीनरेषु ये वाहीकग्रामास्तद्वाचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो विभाषा ठञ् ञिठौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

118. The affixes ठञ् and ञिठ् come optionally in the remaining senses, after Vriddha words denoting Vâhîka villages situated in Usînara.

Thus आह्वजालिकी, °लिका and °लीया; so also सौदर्शनिकी, सौदर्शनिका and सौदर्शनीया ॥

ओर्देशे ठञ् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, देशे, ठञ् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्ताद् देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकात् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

119. The affix ठञ्, comes in the remaining senses, after a Nominal-stem denoting a locality and ending in उ ॥

The phrase 'वृद्धात्' does not govern this sûtra. For had it been understood in this aphorism, there would have been no necessity of repeating it in the next.

Thus नैषादकर्षुकः, शावरजम्बुकः ॥ Why do we say देशे 'denoting a country'? Observe पाटवाः 'the pupils of पटु' formed by अण् ॥

In the previous sutras, the anuvritti of ठञ् and ञिट् both were current; hence the repetition of ठञ् in this sûtra, because we could not take the anuvritti of ठञ् from the last sûtra without drawing the anuvritti of ञिट् ॥

वृद्धात्प्राचाम् ॥ १२० पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्-प्राचाम्-(ठञ्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ ओर्देशे इत्येव । उवर्णान्ताद् वृद्धात्प्राग्देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाट्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

120. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after a vriddha word endding in उ and denoting a locality of the East-folks.

The phrase ओर्देशे is here understood. Thus आढकजम्बुकः, शाकजम्बुकः नापितवास्तुकः ॥

The affix ठञ् would have been valid by the last sûtra also, the present sûtra makes a नियम or restriction, showing that in the case of words denoting places of East, the rule applies to those words only, which are Vriddha. Therefore it does not apply to मल्लवास्तु, from which we have माल्लवास्तवः ॥

धन्वयोपधाद्वुञ् ॥ १२१ ॥ पादानि ॥ धन्व-य-उपधात्-वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धन्ववाचिनो यकारोपधाच्च देशाभिधायिनो वृद्धात्प्रातिपदिकाद् वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

121. The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a vriddha word denoting a locality, which has the letter य as its penultimate, and after a vriddha place-name denoting a waste or desert place.

The words वृद्धात् and देशे are understood here. The word धन्व means a waste or desert. Thus पारेधन्वकः, ऐरावतकः are examples of धन्व ॥ Similarly सांकाश्यकः and काम्पिल्यकः are examples of य penultimate.

प्रस्थपुरवहान्ताच्च ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्थ-पुर-वहान्तात्-च-(वुञ्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थपुर वह इत्येवमन्ताद्देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकात् वृद्धाद्वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

122. The affix वुञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after a Vriddha word denoting a locality and ending with प्रस्थ, पुर or वह.

This debars छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus मालाप्रस्थकः, नान्दीपुरकः, कान्तिपुरकः, पैलुवहकः, फाल्गुनीवहकः ॥

The words ending in पुर would have taken the affix वुञ् by the next sûtra also, but as that sûtra is restricted to the countries of the East, this sûtra is general in its scope.

रोपधेतोः प्राचाम् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ र-उपधा-ईतोः-प्राचाम् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ रोपधादीकारान्ताच्च प्राग्देशवाचिनो वृद्धाद्वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

123. The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a Vriddha word denoting a locality of the East-folk, the word having a penultimate र or ending in ई ॥

This debars छ ॥ Thus पाटलिपुत्रकाः, ऐकचक्रकाः ॥ So also with words ending in ई ॥ As, काकन्दी—काकन्दकः, माकन्दी—माकन्दकः (VI. 4. 148).

Why do we say प्राचाम् 'of the East-folk'? Observe दात्तामित्रीयः formed by छ. The त् in ईत् in the sûtra is for the sake of distinctness.

जनपदतदवध्योश्च ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपद-तदु-अवध्योः च-(वुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धाज्जनपदवाचिनस्तदवधिवाचिनश्च प्रातिपदिकाद्वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

124. The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a Vriddha word denoting an inhabited kingdom, or a limit of such kingdom.

The phrases वृद्धात् and देशे are understood here, being qualified by जनपद and तदवधि ॥ This debars the affix छ ॥ Thus आभिसारकः and आदर्शकः are examples of जनपद ॥ And औपुष्टकः and श्यामायनकः from औपुष्ट and श्यामायन two uninhabited countries, are illustrations of जनपदावधि ॥

The अवधि or limit of an inhabited country or जनपद must be a country and not a village. This is so, in order to prevent, by anticipation, the application of छ by IV. 2. 137 to words like त्रिगर्त्त which is an arid desert: as त्रैगर्त्तकः ॥ The word तदवधि means either "the boundary of that (जनपद)" or "that which itself is a boundary".

अवृद्धादपि बहुवचनविषयात् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवृद्धात्-अपि-बहुवचन-विषयात्-(वुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवृद्धाद् वृद्धाच्च जनपदात् तदवधिवाचिनश्च बहुवचनविषयात्प्रातिपदिकाद् वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

125. The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses, even after a word which is not a Vriddha, and which is always plural, when it denotes an inhabited country or a limit of such country, as well as after such Vriddha words.

The words जनपद and तदवधि are to be read into the aphorism. This debars छ and अण् ॥ Thus from अङ्गाः, वङ्गाः and कलिङ्गाः which are non-Vriddha Kingdom denoting words, always having a plural form, we have आङ्गकः, वाङ्गकः and कालिङ्गकः ॥ Similarly अजमीढाः and अजकन्दाः are non-Vriddha always plural words, denoting boundary of kingdom; we have from them आजमीढकः and आजकन्दकः ॥ The affix will apply, of course to Vriddha जनपद word by the last sûtra, though these be always plural in form. Thus दार्वकः and जाम्बकः from दार्वाः and

आम्बाः ॥ So also to Vriddha words denoting limit of a Kingdom: कालंजराः—कालंजरकः, वैकुलिशाः—वैकुलिशकः ॥

The word विषय is used in the sûtra to indicate that the word should be plural in essence, having no corresponding singular form. Therefore the rule will not apply to वर्त्तन्यः plural of वर्त्तनी ॥ The derivative from it will be वार्तनः ॥

The word अपि is used in the sûtra to indicate that Vriddha-words which would have taken वुञ् by the last sûtra are not debarred by this sûtra, when they are plural in form. This debarring would have taken place, by the rule of interpretation known as तक्रकौण्डिन्यन्याय ; but for the use of the word अपि ॥ This maxim or nyâya is thus explained in Padamanjari :—पूर्वसूत्रे हि जनपदसामान्ये वृद्धात् वुञ् विहितः, यथा ब्राह्मणसामान्ये दधिदानं; इह तु बहुवचनविषयविशेषेऽवृद्धाद् वुञ्, यथा कौण्डिन्ये तक्रदानं, ततश्च बहुवचनादपि वृद्धाद् वुञिप्राप्ते आरभ्यमाणोऽवृद्धाद् वुञ् वृद्धाद् वुञो-बाधकः स्यादित्यपि शब्देन समुच्चीयते इत्यर्थः ॥

कच्छाग्निवक्त्रगर्तोत्तरपदात् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कच्छ-आग्नि-वक्त्र-गर्त्त-उत्तरप-दात्-(वुञ्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ कच्छाद्युत्तरपदाद् देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाद्वाद् वृद्धादवृद्धाच्चवुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

126. The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses after a word, whether Vriddha or not, denoting a locality and having as its second term the words 'kachchha', 'agni', 'vaktra' and 'garta'.

This debars छ and अण् ॥ As दारुकच्छकः, पैप्पलीकच्छकः, काण्डाग्नकः, वैभुजाग्नकः ऐन्द्रवक्त्रकः, सैन्धुवक्त्रकः, बाहुगर्तकः and चाक्रगर्तकः ॥

The word उत्तरपद in the sûtra should be read with every one of the words कच्छ &c.

धूमादिभ्यश्च ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ धूमादिभ्यः-च-(वुञ्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ धूमादिभ्यो देशवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

127. The affix वुञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the words dhûma &c, denoting country.

This debars अण् &c. धैमकः, खाण्डकः &c. The word पाथेय occurs in the list. It would have taken वुञ् by IV. 2. 121 as it has य as penultimate. Its mention here shows that it need not denote a locality for the application of this affix. Similarly the words विदेह and आनर्त being names of जनपद would have taken वुञ् by 124 *ante*; here in this list, therefore, they do not denote country. Thus विदेहानां क्षत्रियाणां स्वं=वैदेहकम् "the property of Videha Kshatriyâs". So also आनर्तकम् ॥ The word समुद्र occurs in the list. It takes the affix when the

derivative word means a 'ship' or a 'sailor'. Thus सामुद्रिका नौः and सामुद्रको मनुष्यः ॥ Otherwise not: सामुद्रम् "Oceanic water".

1 धूम, 2 षडण्ड (खडण्ड and खण्ड) 3 शशादन, 4 अर्जुनाव (आर्जुनाद) 5 माहकस्थली, 6 आनकस्थली*, 7 माहिषस्थली*, 8 मानस्थली (माषस्थली) 9 अवृस्थली*, 10 मद्रुकस्थली*, 11 समुद्रस्थली, 12 दाण्डायनस्थली, 13 राजस्थली, 14 विदेह, 15 राजगृह, 16 सात्रासाह, 17 शष्प, 18 (शिष्य) 18 मित्रवर्ध (मित्रवर्ध; मित्र, वल) 19 भक्षाली*, 20 मद्रकूल, 21 आजीकूल (आञ्जीकूल) 22 द्व्याहाव, 23 त्र्याहाव, 24 संस्फीय (संहीय) 25 बर्बर, 26 वर्ज्य, 27 गर्त (वर्चगर्त) 28 आनर्त, 29 माठर, 30 पाथेय, 31 घोष, 32 पल्ली (वल्ली) 33 आराज्ञी, 34 धार्तराज्ञी, 35 आवय, 36 तीर्थ (अवयात तीर्थ) 37 कूलात्सौवीरेषु, 38 समुद्रान्नावि मनुष्ये च, 39 कुक्षि, 40 अन्तरीय (अन्तरीप) 41 द्वीप, 42 अरुण, 43 उज्जयनी, (उज्जयिनी) 44 पट्टार*, 45 दक्षिणापथ, 46 साकेत. 47 घोषस्थली, 48 भक्षास्थली, 49 गर्तकूल, 50 मानवल्ली, 51 सुराज्ञी ॥

नगरात्कुत्सनप्रावीण्ययोः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नगरात्-कुत्सन-प्रावीण्ययोः-(वुञ्)

वृत्तिः ॥ नगरशब्दाद्वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः कुत्सने प्रावीण्ये च गम्यमाने ॥

A. केनायं मुषितः पन्था गात्रे पक्ष्मालिधूसरः ? B. इह नगरे मनुष्येण ॥ A. संभाव्यतएतन्नागरकेण ॥ चौराहि नागरका भवन्ति ॥ A. केनेदं लिखितं चित्रं मनोनेत्रविकाशि यत् ? B. इह नगरे मनुष्येण ॥ A. संभाव्यतएतन्नागरकेणे ॥ प्रवीणा हि नागरका भवन्ति ॥

128. The affix वुञ् comes after the word 'nagara in the remaining senses, when censure or praise is implied.

The word कुत्सनं which is equivalent to निन्दनं or 'blame or censure'; and प्रावीण्यं which means नैपुण्य "dexterity", qualify the sense of the affix.

Thus नागरकः 'a knave, a cunning person, or a skillful person'. The word literally means 'a town-born, or town-bred', but by the usage of language, it always denotes a person having the vices or virtues of a town, such as a thief or an artist.

Why do we say "when censure or dexterity is implied"? Observe नागराः ब्राह्मणाः 'the Nagara Brâhmaṇas".

अरण्यान्मनुष्ये ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अरण्यात्-मनुष्ये-(वुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अरण्यशब्दाद्वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिको मनुष्येऽभिधेये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पथ्यध्यायन्यायविहारमनुष्य हस्तिष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

129. The affix वुञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word अरण्य, in the sense of a man.

This debars the affix ण. Thus आरण्यकः मनुष्यः 'a forester'.

Vârt:—It should be stated rather that the affix वुञ् is added to अरण्य in the sense of 'a way' 'a lesson, or doctrine (Upanishad)' 'a maxin. 'a play or game' 'a man' and 'an elephant'. Thus आरण्यकः पन्थाः. अध्यायः, न्यायः विहारः, मनुष्यः or हस्ती ॥

Vârt :—Optionally when the sense is that of a cow-dung as आरण्याः or आरण्यका गोमयाः ॥

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Otherwise the affix will be अण्. As आरण्याः पशवः 'wild beasts'.

विभाषा कुरुयुगन्धराभ्याम् ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-कुरु-युगन्धराभ्याम्-(वुञ्)

वृत्तिः ॥ कुरु युगन्धर इत्येताभ्यां विभाषा वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

130. The affix वुञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'Kuru', and 'Yugandhara

Thus कौरवकः or कौरवः, यौगन्धरकः or यौगन्धरः ॥ These words denote जनपद or inhabited countries, and therefore by sûtra IV. 2. 125 they would always have taken the affix वुञ्. The present sûtra makes the application of वुञ् optional and not obligatory. The word कुरु occurs in the list of कच्छादि class (IV. 2. 133). By virtue of its being so classified, it will take अण् also. And when it means man or something found in men, it will take necessarily, not optionally, the affix वुञ् by virtue of sûtra IV. 2. 134. As कौरवको मनुष्यः, कौरवकमस्य हसितम् ॥ This aphorism therefore, teaches option regarding कुरु with these restrictions, while it teaches option absolutely with regard to the word युगन्धरः ॥

मद्रवृज्योः कन् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मद्र-वृज्योः-कन् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ मद्रवृजिशब्दाभ्यां कन् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

131. The affix कन् comes in the remaining senses, after the words 'madra' and 'vriji'.

This debars वुञ्, though the words denote inhabited countries. Thus मद्रकः 'born in Madra', वृजिकः ॥

कोपधादण् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क-उपधात्-अण् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ ककारोपधात् प्रातिपदिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

132. The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses after a word denoting a place and having the letter क as its penultinate.

This debars वुञ् in the case of words which denote जनपद or inhabited countries. Of course the words which do not denote जनपद, will have taken अण् even without this rule. Thus आर्षिकः "born in ऋषिका:" So also माहिषिकः ॥

The affix अण् will apply even when the word ends in उ, and would have otherwise taken ठञ् by IV. 2. 119. Thus ऐक्ष्वाकः "born in इक्ष्वाकु" ॥ The word देशे is understood in this sûtra.

कच्छादिभ्यश्च ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कच्छादिभ्यः-च-(अण्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ कच्छ इत्येवमादिभ्यो देशवाचिभ्योऽण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. The affix अण् comes, in the remaining senses, after the words kachchha &c denoting places.

The word देशे is understood here. This debars वुञ् &c. Thus काच्छः, सैन्धवः, वार्णवः &c. The words कच्छ &c. are not invariable plural words, because by the next sûtra, it is shown that these words may signify men and their habits &c. The word विजापक occurs in this list. It would have taken अण् by the last sûtra also, because it has क as its penultimate. Its mention in the list is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra by which it takes वुञ् also under certain sonditions.

1 कच्छ, 2 सिन्धु, 3 वर्णु, 4 गन्धार, 5 मधुमत्, 6 कम्बोज, 7 कश्मीर, 8 साल्व, 9 कुरु, 10 अनुषण्ड (अणु, अण्ड, खण्ड) 11 द्वीप, 12 अनूप, 13 अजवाह, 14 विजापक, 15 कलूतर (कुलून) 16 रङ्कु॥

मनुष्यतत्स्थयोर्वुञ् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनुष्य-तत्स्थयोः वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनुष्ये मनुष्यस्थे च जातादौ प्रत्ययार्थे कच्छादिभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. The affix वुञ् comes after the words kachchha &c. in the senses of born &c. when the meanining is a 'man' or 'what exists in man'.

This debars अण्॥ Thus काच्छकः 'a man born in Kutch'. काच्छकमस्य हसितं जल्पितम्॥ 'His joke or talk is of Kutch or a Kutch-laughter'. काच्छिका चूडा॥ Similarly सैन्धवको मनुष्यः, सैन्धवकमस्य हसितं जल्पितम्, सैन्धविका चूडा॥

Why do we say "when meaning man or what exists in man?" Ob serve काच्छो गौः 'The cow of Kutch'. सैन्धवो वार्णवः॥

अपदातौ साल्वात् ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपदातौ-साल्वात्-(वुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपदातावेव मनुष्ये मनुष्यस्थे साल्वशब्दाद् वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135 The affix वुञ् comes after the word साल्व in the senses of being born &c when denoting a man or what exists in man, provided that it does not mean a foot-soldier.

The word साल्व which occurs in the कच्छादि class, would have taken वुञ् by the last sûtra, when the sense was that of a man or some human attribute. The present sûtra makes a restriction. Thus साल्वको मनुष्यः, साल्वकमस्य हसितं जल्पितं &c. But साल्वः पदाति र्व्रजति 'the Sâlva foot soldier goes.'

गोयवाग्वोश्च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो-यवाग्वोः-च-(वुञ्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गवि यवाग्वां च जातादौ प्रत्ययार्थे साल्वशब्दाद् वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

136. The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses of being born &c, after the words साल्व, when the word signifies 'a cow' or 'a barley gruel'.

This debars अण् of IV. 2. 133. Thus साल्वको गौः "the cows born in Salva". साल्विका यवागूः 'the barley gruel of Sâlva'. In other cases we have साल्वम् ।'

गर्त्तोत्तरपदाच्छः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्त्त-उत्तरपदाद् छः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गर्तोत्तरपदाद्देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

137. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after a Nominal-stem denoting a place and having the word गर्त as its second term:

This debars अण् ॥ The word देश is to be read into the sûtra. This rule being a subsequent one debars the affixes ठञ् and ञिठ् of sûtra 117 *ante*. Thus वृकगर्तीयं, शृगालगर्तीयम्, श्वाविद्गर्तीयम् 'born in porcupine's hole &c'. The word उत्तरपद is used in the sûtra, so as to prevent the application of the rule to a word which ends in गर्त, but is preceded by the affix बहु, as बाहुगर्तम् ॥ Here बहु is an affix (V. 3. 68) and not a pada

गहादिभ्यश्च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गहादिभ्यः-च-(छः) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गह इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

138. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the words gaha &c.

This debars अण् &c. Thus गहीयः ,belonging to a cave'. अन्तःस्थीयः &c. In the list of गहादि occurs the following "मध्यमध्यमं चाण् चरणे". It means "The word मध्य becomes changed into मध्यम when the affix छ is to be added. Thus मध्यमीयाः ॥ But when the sense is that of a Veda-school or Charaṇa, the affix अण् is added instead of छ as माध्यमाः" ॥ The word मध्यम here has the restricted sense of 'the middle of the earth', and not any middle generally. Thus मध्यमीयः means पृथिवीमध्ये भवो ॥ So also when the affix अण् is applied in the case of चरण, it has the sense of निवास of sûtra IV. 3 89 and not all the other senses. Thus त्रयः प्राच्याः, त्रय औदीच्याः, त्रयो माध्यमाः "three Charaṇas dwell in the East, three in the West, and three in the Middle". The words मुखतस् and पार्श्वतः occur in the list. They have the affix तस्, but before the affix छ the स् of तस् is elided. Thus मुखतीयम् and पार्श्वतीयम् ॥

The augment कुक् is added to जन and पर before the affix छ ॥ As जनकीयम्, परकीयम् ॥ The same augment is added to the word देव also as, देवकीयम् ॥

The affix छण् comes after the words वेणु &c. No list of such words is given. It is an आकृतिगणः ॥ Thus वैणकीयम्, वैत्रकीयम्, औत्तरपदकीयम्, प्रास्थकीयम् माध्यमकीयम् ॥ &c.

1 गह, 2 अन्तःस्थ, 3 सम, 4 विषम, 5 मध्य मध्यमं चाण् चरणे 6 उत्तम, 7 अङ्ग, 8 वङ्ग, 9 मगध, 10 पूर्वपक्ष, 11 अपरपक्ष, 12 अधम शाख 13 उत्तमशाख, 14 एकशाख, 15 समानशाख, 16 समानग्राम*, 17 एकग्राम, 18 एकवृक्ष, 19 एकपलाश, 20 इष्वग्र, 21 इष्वनीक (इष्वनी) 22 अवस्यन्दन (अवस्यन्दी and अवस्कन्द) 23 कामप्रस्थ, 24 खाडायन (शाडिकाडायणि; खाडायनि and खाण्डायनी) 25 काठेरणि (कावेरणि and कामवेरणि) 26 लावेरणि*, 27 सौमित्रि*, 28 शैशिरि, 29 आसुत्*, 30 दैवशर्मि (देवशर्मन्) 31 औत्ति, 32 आहिंसि, 33 आमित्रि, 34 व्याडि, 35 बैजि (वैदजि), 36 आध्वश्वि, 37 आनृशंसि, 38 शौङ्गि, 39 आग्निशर्मि, (अग्निशर्मन्) 40 भौजि, 41 वाराटकि (आराटकि), 42 वाल्मीकि, 43 क्षैमवृद्धि (क्षेमवृद्धिन्), 44 आश्वत्थि, 45 औद्गाहमानि*, 46 ऐक, 47 बिन्दवि*, 48 दन्ताग्र*, 49 हंस*, 50 तन्त्वग्र*, 51 उत्तर, 52 अनन्तर (अन्तर), 53 मुखपार्श्वतसोर्लोपः (also मुखतीय and पार्श्वतीय), 54 जनपरयोः कुक् च (also जनकीय and परकीय), 55 देवस्य च, 56 वेणुकादिभ्यश्छण्. 57 आसुरि, 58 सौति, 59 पारकि. It is an आकृतिगण ॥

प्राचां कटादेः ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्-कटादेः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्देशवाचिनः कटादेः प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

139. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses, after the words beginning with कट denoting the places of the East-folk.

The word देशे is understood here also. The word प्राक् of the sûtra qualifies देशे ॥ This debars अण् ॥ Thus कटनगरीयम्, कटघोषीयम्, कटपल्लीयम् ॥

राज्ञः क च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ राज्ञः-क-च-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राज्ञः ककारश्चान्तादेशो भवति छश्च प्रत्ययः ॥

140. The letter क is the substitute of the final of the word राजन्, when छ is added.

This sûtra only teaches substitution: for राजन् would have taken छ by IV. 2. 114. Thus राजकीयम् ॥ The word देशे does not govern this sûtra, not being appropriate.

वृद्धादकेकान्तखोपधात् ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्-अक-इक-अन्त-खोपधात्-(छः)

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धाद्देशवाचिनो ऽक इक इत्येवमन्तात् खकारोपधाच्च प्रातिपदिकाच् छ प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after a Vriddha word denoting a place and ending with अक or इक, or having ख as its penultimate.

The word देशे must be read into the sûtra. This debars the अण् of Sûtra 132 *ante*: as well as the affixes ordained by Sûtras 117 and 123.

Thus अकः—आरोहणकीयम्, द्रौघणकीयम् ॥ इकः—आश्वपथिकीयम्, शाल्मलिकीयम् ॥ खोपधात्:—कौटिशिखीयम्, आयोमुखीयम् ॥

Vârt:---The words सौसुक &c. are also governed by this rule though they end in उक ॥ Thus सौसुकीयम्, मौसुकीयम्, ऐन्द्रवेणुकीयम् ॥

कन्थापलदनगरग्रामह्रदोत्तरपदात् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्था-पलद्-नगर-ग्राम-ह्रद-उत्तरपदात्-(छ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्थाद्युत्तरपदाद्देशवाचिनो वृद्धात्प्रातिपदिकाच्छ् छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

142. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the Vriddha words, having the words kanthâ, palada, nagara, grâma and hrada, as second terms.

This debars the other affixes such as ठञ् and ञिठ् of 117 *ante* Thus दाक्षिकन्थीयम्, माहिकिकन्थीयम्, दाक्षिपलदीयम्, माहिकिपलदीयम्, दाक्षिनगरीयं, माहिकिनगरीयम्, दाक्षिग्रामीयम्, माहिकिग्रामीयम्, दाक्षिह्रदीयम्, माहिकिह्रदीयम् ॥

पर्वताच्च ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्वतात्-च-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्वतशब्दाच्छ् छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

143. The affix छ comes after the word पर्वत in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पर्वतीयो राजा "the hill-king". पर्वतीयः पुरुषः 'the hill man'.

विभाषा ऽमनुष्ये ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-अमनुष्ये-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्वतशब्दाच्छ् छः प्रत्ययो भवति वाऽमनुष्ये वाच्ये ॥

144. The affix छ optionally comes in the remaining senses after the word पवर्त when it does not denote a man.

Thus पर्वतीयानि or पार्वतानि फलानि 'hill fruits', पर्वतीयमुदकम् or पार्वतमुदकम् 'hill water'.

Why do we say अमनुष्ये 'not-human'? Observe पर्वतीयो मनुष्यः where there is no option allowed.

कृकणपर्णाद्भारद्वाजे ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृकण-पर्णात्-भारद्वाजे-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृकणपर्णशब्दाभ्यां भारद्वाजदेशवाचिभ्यां छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

145. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after कृकण and पर्ण when denoting the country of Bharadvâja.

The word देशे is understood here also. The word भारद्वाज does not here mean Gotra, but country. Thus कृकणीयम् and पर्णीयम् ॥

Why do we say "denoting country of Bharadvâjas?" Observe कार्कणम्, पार्णम् &c.

ओ३म् ।

अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER THIRD.

युष्मदस्मदोरन्यतरस्यां खञ्च ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद्-अस्मदोः-अन्य-तरस्याम्-खञ् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोः खञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः चकाराच्छश्च ॥

1. The affix खञ् also comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'yushmad' and 'asmad.'

The regulating power of the word शेषे ceases. The word च indicates that the affix may be छ as well. The word "optionally" shows that the general affix अण् may also be employed. Thus there are three affixes, खञ्, छ and अण्, and hence there being no equal enumeration, the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) does not apply.

The words युष्मद् and अस्मद् are Vṛiddha, as they belong to Tyadâdi class (I. 1. 74), and would have taken छ by IV. 2. 114; the present sûtra enjoins three affixes for each. Thus युष्मद्+अण्=युष्माक+अण् (IV. 3. 2)=यौष्माकः युष्मद्+छ=युष्मद्+ईय=युष्मदीयः (VII. 1. 2). युष्मद्+खञ्=युष्माक+ईन (IV. 3. 2.)=यौष्माकीणः (VII. 1. 2, and VIII. 4. 2). So also आस्माकः, अस्मदीय; and आस्माकीनः ॥

तस्मिन्नणि च युष्माकास्माकौ ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मिन् अणि-च-युष्माक-आस्माकौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मिन्निति साक्षाद्विहितः खञ् निर्दिश्यते न चकारानुकृष्टश्छः । तस्मिन्खञि अणि च युष्मदस्मदोर्यथासंख्यं युष्माक अस्माक इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

2. When this affix खञ् is added and when अण् is added, then युष्माक and अस्माक are the substitutes of युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

The pronoun तस्मिन् refers to the visible affix खञ्, and not to the understood affix छ which was drawn into the last sûtra by the word च ॥

Why does the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) not apply here, there being two affixes, two words, and two substitutes? This, however, is not

done, because the sûtra can be divided into two separate aphorisms : as (1) तस्मिन् खञि युष्मदस्मदोर्युष्माकास्माकौ भवतः (ऽ) ततोऽणि च ॥ i. e. (1) when खञ् is added, युष्माक and अस्माक are the substitutes of युष्मद् and अस्मद् respectively (2). So also when अण् follows.

As for illustrations, see the preceding Sûtra, e. g. यौष्माकीणः, आस्माकीनः with खञ्, and यौष्माकः and आस्माकः with अण् ॥ This substitution does not take place when छ is added, as युष्मदीयः and अस्मदीयः ॥

तवकममकावेकवचने ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तवक-ममकौ-एकवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनपरयोर्युष्मदस्मदोस्तवक ममक इत्येतावादेशौ भवतो यथासंख्यं तस्मिन्खञि अणि च परतः ॥

3. In expressing one individual, तवक and ममक are the substitutes of 'yushmad' and 'asmad' respectively, when खञ् and अण् follow.

As तावकीनः 'belonging to thee', मामकीनः "belonging to me." तावकः and मामकः ॥ But when the affix is छ, the form will त्वदीयः, मदीयः.

The word एकवचने should not be construed as meaning the affix of the singular number, as the affix सु ॥ Because the affix of the singular is always elided (लुक्) after these words, and by rule I. 1. 63, there will not be the application of this rule. This difficulty is, however, got over by explaining the word एकवचने as equal to एकार्थे ॥

अर्धाद्यत् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्धात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्धशब्दाद् यत् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

4. The affix यत् comes after the word अर्द्ध in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus अर्द्ध्यम् 'belonging to half.'

Vârt:—When it has a prior term the affix ठञ् is used. As बालेयार्द्धिकम्, (बल्यर्थवस्तु = बालेयं) ॥ गौतमार्द्धिकम् ॥

परावराधमोत्तमपूर्वाच्च ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर-अवर-अधम-उत्तम-पूर्वात्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर अवर अधम उत्तम इत्येवंपूर्वादर्धाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

5. The affix यत् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word 'ardha', when preceded by 'para', avara', 'adhama', and 'uttama'.

Thus परार्द्ध्यम्, अवरार्द्ध्यम्, अधमार्द्ध्यम्, उत्तमार्द्ध्यम् ॥

Q. Why do we say पूर्वात् 'preceded by'? Its use seems to be superfluous. If the sûtra stood as परावराधमोत्तमेभ्यः, it would have given the same sense. For the अर्धात् being supplied from the last sûtra, the whole sûtra

would have been परावराधमोत्तमेभ्योऽर्धाद् यत् which must mean 'preceded by para &c."

A. The words पर and अवर have meanings other than that of दिक् or direction. As परं सुखं 'highest pleasure.' अवरं सुखं 'lowest pleasure.' Therefore, when these words पर and अवर denote direction, then by the subsequent rule, the affix would have been always ठञ् and यत् ॥ The employment of the term पूर्व in the sûtra, prevents the application of the affix ठञ् even when the words denote direction.

According to the Vârtika सपूर्वपदाद् ठञ् given under the last sûtra, the word अर्ध preceded by any word would have taken ठञ्, hence the necessity of this sûtra ordainig यत्, when the first terms are पर &c.

दिक्पूर्वपदाट्ठञ्च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-पूर्व-पदात्-ठञ्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपदादर्धान्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यच्च शैषिकः ॥

6. And the affix ठञ् also (as well as यत्) comes in the remaining senses after the word 'ardha,' when the prior term denotes a direction.

By च, the affix यत् is also used. This debars अण् ॥ Thus पूर्वार्ध्यम् पौर्वार्धिकम्, दक्षिणार्ध्यम् or दाक्षिणार्धिकम् ॥

The word पद is used in the sûtra in order to prevent ambiguity. Had the sûtra stood merely as दिक्पूर्वाद् ठञ्च, it might have meant (I.1.68), 'Ardha preceded by the word दिक् takes ठञ् also', for then स्वरूपविधि would have applied, and दिगर्धजातः would have taken the affix.

ग्रामजनपदैकदेशादञ्ठञौ ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्राम-जनपद-एकदेशात्-अञ्-ठञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपदादित्येव । ग्रामैकदेशवाचिनो जनपदैकदेशवाचिनश्च प्रातिपदिकाद्दिक्पूर्वपदादर्धान्तादञ् ठञौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः शैषिकौ यतोपवादौ ॥

7. The affixes अञ् and ठञ् come in the remaining senses after the word 'ardha', preceded by a word denoting direction, when a particular portion of a village or an inhabited country is meant.

The phrase दिक्पूर्वपदात् is to be read into the sûtra. This debars यत् ॥ Thus इमे खल्वस्माकं ग्रामस्य जनपदस्य वा पौर्वार्धाः or पौर्वार्धिकाः "Those verily belong to the eastern half of our village or country". So also दाक्षिणार्धाः or दाक्षिणार्धिकाः ॥ The word पौर्वार्द्धाः = ग्रामस्य पूर्वस्मिन्नर्द्धे भवाः and is a Taddhitârtha compound.

मध्यान्मः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्यात्-मः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मध्यशब्दान्मः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आदिश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अवोधसोर्लोपश्च ॥

8. After the word मध्य there is the affix म in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ As मध्यमः "middlemost".

Vârt:—So also after the word आदि ॥ As आदिमः "Adam, or born in the beginning".

Vârt:—So also after the words अवस् and अधस्, the final स् being elided. As अवमम्, अधमम् ॥

अ सांप्रतिके ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-साम्प्रतिके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारः प्रत्ययो भवति मध्यशब्दात्सांप्रतिके जातादौ प्रत्ययार्थे ।

9. The affix अ comes in the remaining senses after the word 'madhya', the meaning being 'fit' or 'proper.'

The word सांप्रतिक means 'equity, propriety, right, fit'. As नातिदीर्घं नाति ह्रस्वं मध्यं काष्ठम् "the proper piece of wood--neither too long nor too short". मध्यो वैयाकरणः "the fit Grammarian, neither too refined nor too dull". मध्या स्त्री "a proper wife".

द्वीपादनुसमुद्रं यञ् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वीपात्-अनुसमुद्रम्-यञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुद्रसमीपे यो द्वीपस्तस्मात् यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

10. The affix यञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word द्वीप, which is near the sea.

The word द्वीप occurs in the list of Kachchhâdi (IV. 2. 133), and would have taken अण्; and by sûtra IV. 2. 134, it would have taken वुञ् also. The present sûtra debars both those affixes, when the word द्वीप means अनुसमुद्र or 'near the sea'.

Thus द्वैप्यम् 'living on or relating to an island'. As द्वैप्यं भवन्तोऽनुचरन्ति चक्रम् ॥

Why do we say अनुसमुद्रं? Observe द्वैपकम् or द्वैपम् (IV. 2. 133 and 134). The word 'anu-samudra' is an Avyayîbhâva compound (II. 1. 15).

कालाट्ठञ् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालात्-ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालविशेषवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकात् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

11. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the words denoting time.

This debars अण् ॥ The affix छ which comes after Vriddha words is prohibited by this sûtra. Thus मासिकः 'monthly' आर्द्धमासिकः, 'bi-monthly', सांवत्सरिकः 'annual'.

The words which denote time even indirectly, also take this affix. As कादम्बपुष्पिकं, व्रैहिपलालिकम् ॥ The word काल governs all the subsequent sûtras upto 25. (तत्र जातः).

श्राद्धे शरदः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्राद्धे-शरदः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरच्छब्दात् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति श्राद्धे ऽभिधेये शैषिकः ॥

12. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the word शरद्, when expressing श्राद्ध ॥

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). The word श्राद्धे means the 'funeral oblation'; and not श्रद्धावान् पुरुषः 'a faithful or believing person'. Thus शारदिकं श्राद्धं 'the autumnal Śrâddha'. When not meaning 'Śrâddha', it will be शारदम् ॥

विभाषा रोगातपयोः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-रोग-आतपयोः (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोगे आतपे चाभिधेये शरच्छब्दाद्ठञ् प्रत्ययो वा भवति शैषिकः ॥

13. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word शरद् when expressing illness or heat.

Thus शारदिको रोगः 'the autumnal disease', शारदिक आतपः 'the autumnal heat or sunshine'.

Why do we say "when denoting sickness or heat"? Observe, शारदं दधि 'the autumnal curd'. This ठञ् debars the ऋतु अण् (IV. 3. 16).

निशाप्रदोषाभ्यां च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निशा-प्रदोषाभ्याम्-च (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निशाप्रदोषशब्दाभ्यां विभाषा ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

14. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the words 'nisâ', and 'pradosha'.

This makes optional, where by sûtra IV. 3. 11 *ante*, the ठञ् would have been obligatory. Thus नैशम् or नैशिकम् 'nocturnal'. प्रादोषम् or प्रादोषिकम् ॥

श्वसस्तुट् च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वसः-तुट्-च-(ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वः शब्दाद्विभाषा ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य च तुडागमो भवति ॥

15. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word श्वस् and it takes the augment तुट् ॥

The word श्वस् takes the affix त्यप् by sûtra IV. 2. 105. This sûtra ordains ठञ् ॥ When free from the scope of these rules, it takes tyu and tyul affixes also by IV. 3. 23. Thus श्वस्+तुट्+ठञ् = शौवस्+त्+इक (VII. 3. 3) = शौवस्तिकः "belonging to to-morrow or ephemeral". Otherwise श्वस्त्यः and श्वस्तनः ॥

संधिवेलाद्यृतुनक्षत्रेभ्योऽण् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्धि-वेलादि, ऋतु-नक्षत्रेभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सन्धिवेलादिभ्य ऋतुभ्यो नक्षत्रेभ्यश्च कालवृत्तिभ्योऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

16. The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses,

after the words 'sandhi-velâ' &c, and the words expressing 'season' and 'asterism.'

The word कालात् is to be read into the sûtra. All the words must be expressive of time. This debars ठञ् ॥ The repetition of अण् debars छ also in the case of those words, which are Vṛiddha in this list (IV. 2. 114). Thus (1) सान्धिवेलम्, सान्ध्यम् (2) ग्रैष्मम्, शैशिरम् (3) तैषम्, पौषम् are examples of sandhivelâ season and asterisms respectively.

The affix अण् is added to संवत्सर when denoting 'fruit' and 'festival, as सांवत्सरं फलं or पर्व ॥

1 संधिवेला, 2 संध्या, 3 अमावास्या, 4 त्रयोदशी, 5 चतुर्दशी, 6 पञ्चदशी, 7 पौर्णमासी, 8 प्रतिपद्, 9 संवत्सरात्फलपर्वणोः ॥

प्रावृष एण्यः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रावृषः-एण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृषशब्दादेण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

17. The affix एण्य comes in the remaining senses after the word प्रावृष् ॥

This debars the अण् of the last sûtra, though 'prâvṛish' is a season-denoting word. Thus प्रावृषेण्यो बलाहकः "the cloud belonging to the rainy season."

वर्षाभ्यष्ठक् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्षाभ्यः-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्षाशब्दाट्ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

18. The affix ठक् comes in the remaining senses after the word वर्षा ॥

This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. Thus वार्षिकमनुलेपनम्। The ठक् has the force of साधु &c of IV. 3. 43 here.

छन्दसि ठञ् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि-(ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्षाशब्दाच्च छन्दसि विषये ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

19. In the Chhandas, the word 'varshâ' takes the affix ठञ् in the remaining senses.

This debars ठक्. The form will be the same, but there will be difference in accent. As नभश्च नभस्यश्च वार्षिकावृतू ॥ The word ऋतु here means "month." i. e. Nabha and Navasya are two rainy months.

वसन्ताच्च ॥ २० ॥ वसन्तात्-च-(ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसन्तशब्दाच्च छन्दसि विषये ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

20. In the Chhandas, the affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the word 'vasanta.'

This debars अण (IV. 3. 16). Thus मधुश्च माधवश्च वासन्तिकावृतू ॥

हेमन्ताच्च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेमन्तात्-च-(ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तशब्दाच्च छन्दसि विषये ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

21. In the Chhandas, the affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses, after the word 'hemanta.'

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). Thus सहश्च सहस्यश्च हैमन्तिकावृतू ॥ The making of two separate Sûtras of 20 and 21, is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra, in which the anuvritti of word हेमन्त only is taken.

सर्वत्राण् च तलोपश्च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र-अण्-च-तलोपः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तशब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्सन्नियोगेन चास्य तकारलोपः ॥

22. The affix अण् comes always after the word 'hemanta,' and (before this affix) the letter त of 'hemanta' is elided.

Thus हैमनम् वासः 'wintery residence.' हैमनमुपलेपनम् ॥

The word सर्वत्र is used to show that the sûtra applies in the Chhandas as well as in the secular literature.

The word हेमन्त will take अण् by sûtra IV. 3. 16 as हैमन्ती पङ्क्तिः but there is no elision of त there. Thus there are three forms हैमन्तः (IV. 3. 16), हैमान्तिकं (IV. 3. 21) and हैमनम् ॥

सायंचिरंप्राह्णेप्रगेऽव्ययेभ्यष्ट्युट्युलौ तुट् च ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सायम्-चिरम्-प्राह्णे-प्रगे-अव्ययेभ्यः-ट्यु-ट्युलौ-तुट्-च- ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सायमित्यादिभ्यश्चतुर्भ्योऽव्ययेभ्यश्च कालवाचिभ्यष्ट्यु ट्युलौस्तस्तयोस्तुट्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चिरपरुत्परारिभ्यस्त्नो वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रगस्य छन्दसि गलोपश्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम ॥ अग्रपश्चाड्डिमच् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अन्ताच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

23. After the words सायं 'at eve', चिरं 'for a long time', प्राह्णे 'in the fore-noon', प्रगे 'at dawn', and after Indeclinables expressing time, there are the affixes ट्यु and ट्युल् and their augment is तुट् ॥

The word कालात् is understood here also. Thus सायं+ट्यु = सायं+तुट्+ट्यु = सायंतनम् (VII. 1. 1) 'belonging to the evening'. चिरंतनम्, 'lasting', प्राह्णेतनम् 'what is of the forenoon', प्रगेतनम् "what is of the early morn".

The word सायं is a word ending in म् and is an Indeclinable. These

affixes would also come by virtue of its being an Indeclinable, after that सायं ॥ The present सायं is derived from the root से by adding the affix घञ् ॥ It always ends in म् when these affixes are added. The word चिरं always ends in म् ॥ प्राह्णे and प्रगे always end in ए ॥

As regards Indeclinables, the examples are दोषातनम् 'belonging to the night दिवातनम् 'belonging to the day'.

Vârt :—The affix त्न comes after the words चिर, परुत् and परारि ॥ As चिरत्नम्, परुत्नम्, and परारित्नम् ॥

Vârt :—The ग of प्रग in elided in the Chhandas before this affix त्न. as. प्रत्नम् ॥

Vârt :—The affix डिमच् comes after अग्र, आदि and पश्चात्; as, अग्रिमम्, आदिमम् and पश्चिमम् ॥

Vârt :—So also after अन्त, as, अन्तिमम् ॥

The defference between ṭyu and ṭyul is in accent, Thus सायन्तॅन and सायॅन्तन, चिरन्तॅन and चिरॅन्तन, प्राह्णेतॅन and प्राह्णॅतन, प्रगेतॅन, प्रगॅतन, दिवातॅन and दिवॅतन, दोषातॅन and दोषॅतन ॥

विभाषापूर्वाह्णापराह्णाभ्याम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-पूर्वाह्ण-अपराह्णाभ्याम् (ट्यु-ट्युलौ-तुट्-च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वाह्णापराह्णशब्दाभ्यां विभाषा ट्युट्युलौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः, तुट् च तयोरागमः ॥

24. Optionally after the words **पूर्वाह्ण** and **अपराह्ण**, there are the affixes **ट्यु** and **ट्युल्** and their augment is **तुट्** ॥

In the alternative ठञ् of IV. 3. 11 also occurs. As पूर्वाह्णेतनम्, अपराह्णेतनम् with ṭyu, or पौर्वाह्णिकम् आपराह्णिकम् with ṭhañ. With ṭyul. we have पूर्वाह्णेतनं and अपराह्णेतनं ॥ The sign of the locative is not elided by rule VI. 3. 17. When the word is taken as incapable of having the case-affix, we have, पूर्वाह्णतनं or पूर्वाह्णतनः ॥

तत्रजातः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-जातः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणादयो घादयश्च प्रत्ययाः प्रकृतास्तेषामतः प्रभृत्यर्थाः समर्थविभक्तयश्च निर्दिश्यन्ते ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थाज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. The affixes ordained above or here after, come after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'born or grown or originated there or then'.

The affixes अण् &c. घ &c. have been taught, but no particular sense was assigned to them. See IV. 2. 92. This sûtra gives one of the senses, and also declares the particular case in which the stem must be, to which the affix is to be added. Thus स्रुघ्नेजातः = स्रुघ्न + अण् = स्रौघ्नः 'born in Srughna'. So also माथुरः 'born in Mathura', औत्सः 'born in Utsa', औदपानः 'born in Udapâna'.

शाह्नियः (IV. 2. 93), अवारपारीणः (IV. 2. 93) शाकलिकः (IV. 2. 117), माम्यः (IV. 2. 94), ग्रामीणः (IV. 2. 94), कात्रेयकः (IV. 2. 95) औम्भेयकः (IV. 2. 95).

प्रावृषष्ठप् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रावृषः-ठप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृट्शब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थाज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. After the word **प्रावृट्** being in the 7th case-affix, there is the affix **ठप्** in the sense of produced therein.

This debars एण्य of sûtra IV. 3. 17. The प् of ठप् is for the sake of accent. प्रावृषि जातः=प्रावृषिकः 'produced in the rainy season'.

संज्ञायां शरदो वुञ् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां-शरदः-वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरच्छब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थाज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix **वुञ्** comes after the word **शरद्** in the 7th case-affix, in the sense of 'born therein,' the whole word being a name.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus शारदका दर्भाः 'the grass called Śâradaka'. शारदका मुद्गाः 'the pulse called Sâradaka.'

Why do we say संज्ञायां? Observe शारदं सस्यम् 'the autumnal crop.'

According to some, the word संज्ञायां governs all the succeeding sûtras up to IV. 3. 38.

पूर्वाह्णापराह्णार्द्रामूलप्रदोषावस्करादु वुन् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वाह्ण-अपराह्ण-आर्द्रा-मूल-प्रदोष-अवस्करात्-वुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वाह्णादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये संज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

28. The affix **वुन्** comes in the sense of 'born therein' after the words **पूर्वाह्ण, अपराह्ण, आर्द्रा, मूला, प्रदोष,** and **अवस्कर,** the whole being a Name.

Thus पूर्वाह्णकः, अपराह्णकः This debars IV. 3. 24. आर्द्रकः, मूलकः ॥ This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. प्रदोषकः This debars ठञ् of IV. 3. 14. अवस्करकः This debars the general अण् affix.

When it is not a Name, the other affixes are employed.

पथः पन्थ च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथः-पन्थ-च (वुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिशब्दाद्वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति वा तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

29. The affix **वुन्** comes after the word **पथ,** in the sense of 'produced therein', and thereby in the room of **पथ,** the substitute is **पन्थ** ॥

Thus पथि जातः=पन्थकः 'produced in the way.'

This debars the अण् ॥

अमावास्याया वा ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अमावास्यायाः-वा-(वुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमावास्याशब्दाद्वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति वा तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

30. The affix वुन् comes optionally after the word amâvâsyâ, in the sense of 'born therein'.

This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. Thus अमावास्यकः or आमावास्यः ॥ This affix वुन् is applied to the word अमावस्य also, on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् "That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place". Thus अमावस्यकः or आमावस्यः ॥

अ च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमावास्याशब्दादकारः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

31. And the affix अ also is added to the word amâvâsyâ, in the sense of 'born therein'.

This adds a third affix to the वुन् and अण् already given. Thus अमावास्यः, अमावास्यकः, आमावास्यः ॥ So also after the word अमावस्य, as अमावस्यः, अमावस्यकः and आमावस्यः ॥

सिन्ध्वपकराभ्यां कन् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिन्धु-अपकराभ्याम्-कन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिन्धुशब्दादपकरशब्दाच्च कन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

32. After the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', there is the affix कन् in the sense of 'born therein'.

The word सिन्धु occurs in the Kachchhâdi class and takes अण् and वुञ् (IV. 2. 133); and अपकर would have also taken अण् under the general rule. This sûtra debars these affixes. Thus सिन्धुकः, अपकरकः ॥

अणञौ च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्-अञौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिन्ध्वपकरशब्दाभ्यां यथासंख्यमणञौ प्रत्ययौ भवतस्तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

33. And the affixes अण् and अञ् come respectively after the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', in the sense of 'produced therein'.

Thus सैन्धवः and आपकरः ॥

श्रविष्ठाफल्गुन्यनुराधास्वातितिष्यपुनर्वसुहस्तविशाखाषाढाबहुलाल्लुक् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रविष्ठा-फल्गुनी-अनुराधा-स्वाति-तिष्य-पुनर्वसु-हस्त-विशाखा-अषाढा-बहुलात्-लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रविष्ठादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो नक्षत्रेभ्य आगतस्य जातार्थे लुग् भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लुक्प्रकरणे चित्रारेवतीरोहिणीभ्यः स्त्रियामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ फल्गुन्यषाढाभ्यां टानौ वक्तव्यौ ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ श्रविष्ठाषाढाभ्यां छणपि वक्तव्यः ॥

34. The affix denoting 'born therein' is elided by luk, after the words '*s*ravish*th*â', 'phalgunî', 'anurâdhâ', 'svâti', 'tishya', 'punarvasu', 'hasta', 'visâkhâ', 'ashâ*d*hâ', and 'bahula' all denoting asterisms.

The feminine affixes are also elided after these words by I. 2. 49. Thus श्रविष्ठासु जातः = श्रविष्ठः 'produced under Śravishṭhâ'. So also फल्गुनः, अनुराधः, स्वातिः, तिष्यः, पुनर्वसुः, हस्तः, विशाखः, अषाढः, बहुलः ॥ The 'Bahula' is another Name of the asterism कृत्तिका ॥

Vârt:—So also the affix is elided after the asterisms चित्रा, रेवती and रोहिणी when the word is feminine. Thus चित्रायां जाता 'a woman produced under Chitra' will be called चित्रा ॥ So also रेवती, रोहिणी ॥ The feminine affix which would have been elided after the two words Revatî and Rohiṇî, by I. 2. 49. is reordained by IV. 1. 41, because these words belong to गौरादि class.

Vârt:—The affixes ट and अन् come respectively after फल्गुनी and अषाढा in forming the Feminine derivatives. As फल्गुनी (IV. 1. 15) and अषाढा ॥ The difference is in accent and meaning.

Vârt:—The affix छण् also comes after 'Śravishṭhâ' and 'ashâḍhâ' As श्राविष्ठीयः and आषाढीयः ॥

स्थानान्तगोशालखरशालाच्च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थानान्त-गोशाल-खरशालात्-च-(लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थानान्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद् गोशालशब्दात्खरशालशब्दाज्जातार्थे प्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति ॥

35. There is luk-elision of the affix denoting born therein after a word ending in 'sthâna', and after the words 'gosâla' and 'kharasâla'.

Thus गोस्थाने जातः = गोस्थानः, अश्वस्थानः, गोशालः, खरशालः ॥

वत्सशालाभिजिदश्वयुक्छतभिषजो वा ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वत्स-शाला, अभिजित्-अश्वयुक्-शतभिषजो-वा (लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वत्सशालादिभ्यः परस्य जातार्थे प्रत्ययस्य लुग्वा भवति ॥

36. There is optionally luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein' after the words 'vatsa*s*âla', 'abhijit', 'a*s*vayuk', and '*s*atabhik'.

As वत्सशालायां जातः = वत्सशालः or वात्सशालः, अभिजित् or आभिजितः, अश्वयुक् or आश्वयुजः, शतभिक् or शातभिषजः ॥ The two words वत्सशाल and वत्सशाला are both to be taken. These are all diversities of बहुल as used in the next sûtra.

नक्षत्रेभ्यो बहुलम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रेभ्यः-बहुलम् (लुक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रेभ्य उत्तरस्य जातार्थे प्रत्ययस्य बहुलं लुग्भवति ॥

37. There is diversely luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein.', after an asterism.

Thus रोहिणः or रौहिणः (IV. 3. 16) मृगशिरा or मार्गशीर्षः (IV. 3. 16).

कृतलब्धक्रीतकुशलाः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत-लब्ध-क्रीत-कुशलाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थात्कृतादिष्वर्थेषु यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

38. An affix (one of those already taught) comes after a word in the seventh case-affix, in the sense of 'done there', 'obtained there' 'bought there' 'dexterous therein'.

Thus स्रौघ्नः may mean "done in, or bought in, or obtained in, or skillful in Srughna". So also the words माथुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥

प्रायभवः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राय-भवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थान् ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात्प्रायभव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. After a word being in construction in the 7th case, an affix (one of those ordained already) comes in the sense of 'generally found therein'.

The word प्रायः means something less than all i. e. abundant. Thus स्रौघ्नः 'what is abundant or mostly to be found in Srughna', = स्रुघ्ने प्रायेण बाहुल्येन भवति. So also माथुरः, राष्ट्रियः &c.

This sûtra may appear to be superfluous as being covered by the more comprehensive sûtra तत्रभवः (IV. 3. 53). If प्रायभवः be explained as अनित्यभवः i. e. what sometimes is to be found and sometimes not, still it will make little difference.

उपजानूपकर्णोपनीवेष्ठक् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपजानु-उपकर्ण-उपनीवेः-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपजान्वादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः सप्तमीसमर्थेभ्यः प्रायभव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'mostly to be found there,' after the words 'upajânu,' 'upakar*na*,' and upanîvi,' being in the 7th case in construction.

This debars अण् &c. Thus औपजानुकः, औपकर्णिकः औपनीविकः ।

संभूते ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्भूते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थान् ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात् संभूतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

41. After a nominal-stem or a word ending in the feminine affix ङी and आप्, being in the 7th case in construc-

tion, an affix comes in the sense of 'adapted therein.'

Except the word 'adapted' which is the meaning of the word संभूत, all the other words of the sûtra have been supplied from the previous aphorisms. The word संभूत does not mean in this sûtra 'origin' or 'existence', for the word जात and भव already express that notion. It here means 'suitableness' 'adequacy' i. e. अवक्लृप्तिः and प्रमाणातिरेकः ॥

Thus स्रुघ्ने संभवति = स्रौघ्नः 'what is suited to the country of Srughna.' So also माथुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥ The word तत्र is understood here also.

कोशाड्ढञ् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कोशात्-ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कोशशब्दाद् ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र संभूतइत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

42. The affix ढञ् comes after the words कोश in the sense of 'adapted to that.'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus कोशे संभूतं = कौशेयं वस्त्रम् 'silken clothes.'

The word कोश means 'cocoon.' कौशेयः may literally therefore mean 'anything suited to the cocoon,' and may apply to the caterpillar as well as to the silk made out of cocoon. The word कौशेय is however रूढि and means 'silken.' Nor does it mean 'suited to the sheath,' as a sword, though kośa means 'sheath' also. This sûtra would have been more properly placed after IV. 3. 134, under the heading of विकार rather than of संभूतः ॥

In fact after the sûtra एण्या-ढञ् (IV. 3. 159), the addition of कोशाच्च would have been more appropriate.

कालात्साधुपुष्प्यत्पच्यमानेषु ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालात्-साधु-पुष्प्यत्-पच्यमानेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालविशेषवाचिभ्यः सप्तमीसमर्थेभ्यः साध्वादिष्वर्थेषु यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'being good.' 'flowering' or 'ripening therein'.

Thus हेमन्ते साधुः = हैमन्तः 'what is good or pleasant in autumn' as हैमन्तः प्राकारः शैशिरमनुलेपम् ॥ So also वसन्ते पुष्प्यन्ति = वासन्त्यः कुन्दलताः 'vernal creepers i. e. which flower in spring', ग्रैष्म्यः पाटलाः ॥ So also शरदि पच्यन्ते = शारदाः शालयः "the grains that ripen in autumn'. ग्रैष्मा यवाः 'the barley that ripens in summer'.

This sûtra teaches the base and the sense of the affix. It does not directly teach the affix. The above illustrations are examples of the affix अण् &c.

उप्ते च ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप्ते, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालादिति च । सप्तमीसमर्थात्कालवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादुप्ते यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44. An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, meaning 'sown therein'.

Thus हेमन्ते उप्यन्ते = हैमन्ता यवाः 'the barley sown in autumn.' ग्रैष्मा व्रीहयः ॥

The separation of this sûtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra in which the anuvṛitti of उप्त only goes, which could not have been the case had this word been included in the last sûtra.

आश्वयुज्या वुञ् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आश्वयुज्याः, वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आश्वयुजीशब्दाद् वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति उप्तेर्थे ॥

45. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'sown' after the word आश्वयुजी ॥

This debars ठञ् ॥ Thus आश्वयुज्यां उप्ताः = आश्वयुजका माषाः 'the pulse sown in Âśvayujî.' It is the name of the full-moon in the Asterism of Aśvini. Âśvayuj and Aśvini are the same. Some texts read अश्वनी instead of अश्विनी ॥

ग्रीष्मवसन्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रीष्म-वसन्तात्-अन्यतरस्याम्-(वुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रीष्मवसन्तशब्दाभ्यामन्यतरस्यां वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति उप्तेर्थे ॥ ऋत्वणोपवादः ॥

46. The affix वुञ् comes optionally after the words 'grîshma' and 'vasanta', in the sense of 'sown'.

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). Thus ग्रैष्मम् or ग्रैष्मकम् सस्यम् 'the crop sown in summer'. वासन्तम् or वासन्तकम् ॥

देयमृणे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ देयम्-ऋणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थात्कालवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाद्देयमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यद् देयमृणं चेत् तद् भवति ॥

47. After a nominal stem being in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, an affix comes in the sense of 'being then due'; provided that the thing due be 'debt'.

Thus मासे देयमृणं = मासिकं "a debt due in a month'. आर्द्धमासिकम्, सांवत्सरिकम् ॥ Why do we say ऋणे 'it being a debt'. Observe मासेदेया भिक्षा where no affix is added.

कलाप्यश्वत्थयवबुसाद्वुन् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलापि, अश्वत्थ, यव, बुसात्, वुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलापि अश्वत्थ यवबुस इत्येतेभ्यः कालवाचिभ्यः सप्तमीसमर्थेभ्यो देयमृणमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix वुन् comes in the sense of 'debt then due,' after the words कलापिन्, अश्वत्थ, and यवबुस denoting time

and being in the 7th case in construction.

The words कलापी &c are words which indirectly denote time. Thus the time in which the peacocks mate and make noise is called कलापी ॥ The time in which the asvatha tree fructifies is called अश्वत्थः ॥ The time in which barley is thrashed out is called यवबुस 'barley-chaff? Thus कलापिनिकाले देयमृणं = कलापकम् 'a debt to be paid when the peacocks make noise (i. e. mating or rainy season) tails.' अश्वत्थकम् and यवबुसकम् ॥

ग्रीष्मावरसमाद्वुञ् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रीष्म-अवर-समात्, वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रीष्मावरसमशब्दाभ्यां वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति देयमृणइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

49. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'debt-due' after the words 'grîshma' and 'avarasama'.

This debars the अण् and ठञ् ॥ Thus ग्रीष्मेदेयमृणं = ग्रैष्मकम् ॥ So also आवरसमकम् ॥ This affix causes Vṛiddhi, while वुन् would not have done it. Hence the separate affix. The word समा is synonymous with वर्ष 'a year'. The word आवरसमकम् means either आगामिनां संवत्सराणामाद्यवत्सरे देयम् or अतीते वत्सरे देयं यद्यपि न दत्तम् ॥

संवत्सराग्रहायणीभ्यां ठञ्च ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ संवत्सर-आग्रहायणीभ्यां-ठञ् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संवत्सराग्रहायणीशब्दाभ्यां ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद् वुञ्चदेयमृणमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संवत्सरात्फलपर्वणोरिति पठ्यते ॥

50. The affix ठञ् also (as well as वुञ्) comes after the words 'saṁvatsara' and 'agrâhâyaṇî' in the sense of 'debt due.'

Thus संवत्सरे देयमृणं = सांवत्सरिकं, and सांवत्सरकं ॥ आग्रहायणिकं or आग्रहायणकं ॥

The word संवत्सर occurs in Sandhiveladi Class (IV. 3. 16) and takes अण् when 'fruit' or 'festivity' is meant. The present sûtra enjoins ठञ् when 'debt' is indicated.

व्याहरति मृगः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्याहरति मृगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालवाचिनः सप्तमीसमर्थात्प्रातिपदिकाद् व्याहरति मृगः इत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. An affix comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, in the sense of 'who then wanders', and the word so formed refers to a wild beast.

Thus निशायां व्याहरति मृगः = नैशः "an animal that wanders at night." So also प्रादोषः or प्रादोषिकः (IV. 3. 14) 'a brute that yells in the morning.'

Why do we say मृग: 'a beast'? Observe निशायां व्याहरति उलूकः ॥ Here there is no affixing. The word व्याहरति also means 'to make noise.' The Sûtra may, therefore, also be translated as: "After a word denoting time, an affix (IV. 1. 83) comes in expressing a wild beast who makes noise at that time".

तदस्य सोढम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अस्य-सोढम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थात्कालवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्प्रथमासमर्थं सोढञ्चेत्तद्भवति ॥

52. An affix comes after a word in the 1st case in construction denoting time, in the sense of 'this is his habit or endurance'.

The word कालात् is understood here also. तद्=that: सोढम्=जितम् or अभ्यस्तं "endured or habituated". Thus निशा सहचरितमध्ययनं=निशा "reading by night". तत् सोढमस्य छात्रस्य=नैशः or नैशिकः 'a student who is habituated or enured to reading by night'. So प्रादोषिकः or प्रादोषः ॥

तत्र भवः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, भवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थान् ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकाद्भव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

53. An affix comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

The anuvṛitti of कालात् ceases. The sense of भव here is 'existence', and not that of 'birth': because the sense of 'birth' is taught in sûtra तत्र जातः (IV. 3. 25). Thus, स्रुघ्ने भवः=स्रौघ्नः "who stays in Srughna". माथुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥

The repetition of तत्र in the sûtra though its annuvṛitti could have been drawn from the previous sûtras, is for the sake of stopping the annuvṛitti of तदस्य ॥

दिगादिभ्यो यत् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिगादिभ्यः-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिश् इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उदकात्संज्ञायाम् ॥

54. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the Nominal stems दिक् &c.

This debars अण् and छ ॥ As दिशि भवं=दिश्यम् 'lying in a particular quarter', वर्ग्यम् ॥

The words मुख and जघन which ordinarily mean 'mouth' and 'hip' respectively, have not this meaning when this affix is to be added. They must refer to non-corporeal or abstract objects. As सेनामुख्यं 'who stays in the van of the army'. सेनाजघन्यम् 'who stays in the rear of the army'. In

fact, the words 'mukha' and 'jaghana' here mean the 'van' and the 'rear' of an army. The word उदक् takes this affix, when the word so formed is a Name. As उदक्या = रजस्वला, otherwise we have औदको मत्स्यः ॥

[1] दिश्, 2 वर्ग, 3 पूग, 4 गण, 5 पक्ष, 6 धाय्य (धाय्या) 7 मित्र, 8 मेधा, 9 अन्तर, 10 पथिन्, 11 रहस्, 12 अलीक, 13 उखा, 14 साक्षिन्, 15 देश*, 16 आदि, 17 अन्त, 18 मुख, 19 जघन, 20 मेघ, 21 यूथ, 22 उदकात्संज्ञायाम्, 23 न्याय, 24 वंश, 25 वेश (विश) 26 काल, 27 आकाश, 28 अनुवंश ॥

शरीरावयवाच्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शरीर-अवयवात्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरीरावयववाचिनः प्रातिपदिकात् यत्प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

55. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what stays there' after a word denoting a part of the body.

This debars अण् ॥ As दन्तेषु भवं = दन्त्यम् 'dental i. e. what stays there, कण्ठ्यम्, ओष्ठ्यम् ॥ So also पादे भवं = पद्यं (VI. 3. 53), नासिकायां भवं = नस्यम् ॥

दृतिकुक्षिकलशिवस्त्यस्त्यहेर्ढञ् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृति-कुक्षि-कलशि-वस्ति-अस्ति-अहेः ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृत्यादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

56. The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of 'what stays there', after the words 'dṛiti'. 'kukshi', 'kalaśi', vasti' 'asti' and 'ahi'.

Thus दार्तेयम् 'what stays in a leathern bag', कौक्षेयम्, कालशेयम्, वास्तेयम्, आस्तेयम् and आहेयम् ॥ आहेयम् is the name of a poison. The word अस्ति is a noun and not a verb here. Its use as a Noun is to be seen in phrases like अस्तिक्षीरा गौः, अस्तिमान् = धनवान् ॥

ग्रीवाभ्योऽण् च ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रीवाभ्यः-अण्- च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रीवाशब्दादण्प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराड्ढञ्च, तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

57. The affix अण् also (as well as ढञ्) comes after the word 'grîvâ' in the sense of 'what stays there'.

This debars यत् (IV. 3. 55) ग्रीवासु भवं = ग्रैवेयम् or ग्रैवम् ॥ The word ग्रीवा means blood-vessels, and as they are many, the word is used in the plural in the sûtra.

गम्भीराञ्ञ्यः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गम्भीरात्- ञ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गम्भीरशब्दाद् ञ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये अणोपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहिर्देवपञ्चजनेभ्यश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चतुर्मासाद् यज्ञे ञ्यो वक्तव्यः ॥

58. The affix ञ्य comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the word 'gambhîra'.

This debars अण् ॥ गम्भीरे भवं = गाम्भीर्यम् 'gravity'.

Vârt:—So also after बहिः, देव and पंचजन. As बाह्यम्, दैव्यम् and पांचजन्यम् ॥ The final of बहिस् is elided by the vârtika under IV. 1. 85. The word 'daivya' could be also formed under another Vârtika of the same.

Vârt:—The affix ñya comes after chaturmása in the sense of a sacrifice; as, चातुर्मास्यानि व्रतानि, चातुर्मास्यो यज्ञः, otherwise चातुर्मासः ॥

अव्ययीभावाच्च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावात्-च (ञ्यः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावसंज्ञकात् प्रातिपदिकाच्च ञ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

59. After an Avyayîbhâva Compound, the affix ञ्य is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there.'

This debars अण् ॥ The affix ञ्य however, does not come after every Avyayîbhâva Compound, but only after the words included in the list of परिमुखादि as given in the Gaṇapâtha.

Thus परिमुखं भवं = पारिमुख्यम्, So also पारिहनव्यम् ॥ Not so औपकुलम्, the word उपकुल not belonging to the class परिमुख ॥

1 परिमुख, 2 परिहनु, 3 पर्योष्ठ, 4 पर्युलूल, 5 औपमूल, 6 खल, 7 परिसीर, 8 अनुसीर, 9 उपसीर, 10 उपस्थल, 11 उपकलाप, 12 अनुपथ, 13 अनुखड्ग, 14 अनुतिल, 15 अनुशीत, 16 अनुमाष, 17 अनुयव, 18 अनुयूप, 19 अनुवंश, 20 अनुगङ्ग, 21 प्रतिशाख, 22 अनुसाय ॥

अन्तःपूर्वपदाट्ठञ् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः-पूर्व-पदात्- ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावादित्येव । अन्तःशब्दो विभक्त्यर्थे समस्यते, । तत्पूर्वपदादव्ययीभावाट्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ समानशब्दाट्ठञ् वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तदादेश्च ॥

वा० ॥ अध्यात्मादिभ्यश्च ॥ वा० ॥ ऊर्ध्वंदमाच्च ठञ् वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ ऊर्ध्वदेहाच्च ॥ वा० ॥ लोकोत्तरपदाच्च ॥

वा० ॥ मुखपार्श्वशब्दाभ्यां तसन्ताभ्यामीयः प्रत्ययो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ जनपरयोः कुक्च ॥ वा० ॥ मध्यशब्दादीयः ॥

वा० ॥ मण्मीयौ च प्रत्ययौ वक्तव्यौ ॥ वा० ॥ मध्यो मध्यं दिनण् चास्मात् ॥

वा० ॥ स्थाम्नो लुग्वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ अजिनान्ताच्च ॥

Kârikâ

समानस्य तदादेश्च अध्यात्मादिषु चेष्यते ।
ऊर्ध्वंदमाच्च देहाच्च लोकोत्तरपदस्य च ॥
मुखपार्श्वतसोरीयः कुग्जनस्य परस्य च ॥
ईयः कार्योथ मध्यस्य मण्मीयौ प्रत्ययौ तथा ॥
मध्यो मध्यं दिनण् चास्मात्स्थाम्नो लुगजिनात्तथा ॥

60. After an Avyayîbhâva compound, having the word अन्तर् as prior term, the affix ठञ् is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there.'

This debars अण्॥ Thus आन्तर्वेश्मिकम्, आन्तर्गेहिकम्॥

Vârt:—The affix ठञ् comes after समान, as समाने भवं = सामानिकम्॥

Vârt:—So also after a word beginning with समान, as, सामानग्रामिकम्, सामानदेशिकं.

Vârt:—So also after the words अध्यात्मन्, &c as, आध्यात्मिकम्, आधिदैविकम्, आधिभौतिकम्॥ The class अध्यात्मादि is Ákritigaṇa.

Vârt:—So also after ऊर्ध्वन्दमः as, और्ध्वन्दमिकः॥ The word 'ûrdhva' is a synonym of ऊर्ध्वम्॥

Vârt:—So also ऊर्ध्वदेह, as और्ध्वदेहिकम्॥

Vârt:—So also after a compound having the word लोक as second term; as, ऐहलौकिकम्, पारलौकिकम्॥

Vârt:—The words मुख and पार्श्व ending in तस्, take the affix ईय; as, मुखतीयम्, पार्श्वतीयम्॥

Vârt:—The affix ईय comes after जन and पर with the augment कुक्, as जनकीयम्, परकीयम्॥

Vârt:—Tne affix ईय comes after मध्य, as, मध्यीयः॥

Vârt:—So also the affix मण् and मीय come after मध्य; As. माध्यमम्, माध्यमीयम्॥

Vârt:—So also the affix दिनण् (दिनञ् in Padamanjari) comes after मध्य, whereby it be comes मध्यम् as माध्यन्दिनम् in माध्यन्दिन उपगायति॥

Vârt:—There is luk-elision of the affix after the word स्थामन्, as, अश्वत्थामा॥

Vârt:—So also there is elision after the words ending in अजिन, as वृकाजिनः, सिंहाजिनः

ग्रामात्पर्यनुपूर्वात्॥ ६१॥ पदानि॥ ग्रामात्-परि-अनु- पूर्वात्॥

वृत्तिः॥ ग्रामशब्दान्तादव्ययीभावात्परि अनु इत्येवंपूर्वाट्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये॥

61. After the word 'grâma', preceded by 'pari' or 'anu', (the whole being an Avyayîbhâva), there is the affix ठञ् in the sense of 'who stays there'.

This debars अण्॥ Thus पारिग्रामिकः, आनुग्रामिकः॥

जिह्वामूलाङ्गुलेश्छः॥ ६२॥ पदानि॥ जिह्वामूल-अङ्गुलेः- छः॥

वृत्तिः॥ जिह्वामूलशब्दादङ्गुलिशब्दाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये॥

62. After the words 'jihvâmûla', and 'aṅguli' there is the affix छ in the sense of 'what stays there'.

This debars यत् (IV. 3. 55). Thus जिह्वामूलीयम्, अंगुलीयम् ॥

वर्गान्ताच्च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्गान्तात्-च (छ)

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्गशब्दान्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये अणोपवादः ॥

63. After a word ending with 'varga', the affix छ is employed in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

This debars अण् ॥ As कवर्गीयम्, चवर्गीयम् ॥

अशब्दे यत्खावन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अशब्दे-यत्-खौ-अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्गान्तादित्येव । शब्दादन्यस्मिन्प्रत्ययार्थे वर्गान्तात्प्रातिपदिकादन्यतरस्यां यत्खौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

64. After a word ending in 'varga', but not meaning a 'letter or word', the affixes यत् and ख are optionally employed, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

As वासुदेववर्ग्यः (by यत्), वासुदेववर्गीणः, (by ख), and वासुदेववर्गीयः (by छ) ॥ युधिष्ठिरवर्ग्यः °वर्गीणः or °वर्गीयः ॥

Of course, when the word means 'शब्द' it takes one affix only i. e. छ; as कवर्गीय वर्णः 'a letter belonging to क class'.

कर्णललाटात्कनलंकारे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्ण-ललाटात्-कन् अलङ्कारे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्णललाटशब्दाभ्यां कन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषयेऽलङ्कारेऽभिधेये ॥

65. The affix कन् comes in the sense of 'what occurs there', after 'karṇa' and 'lalâṭ', the word denoting an ornament.

This debars यत् (IV. 3. 55). Thus कर्णिका 'an ear-ring', ललाटिका ॥

Why do we say 'denoting an ornament,? Observe कर्ण्यम् 'what is in the ear', ललाट्यम् ॥

तस्य व्याख्यान इति च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-व्याख्याने-इति-च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाद् व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः प्रातिपदिकाद्व्याख्याने ऽभिधेये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भवे च ॥

66. After the name of a subject of commentary, an affix comes in the sense of 'its commentary', as well as, in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

That by which a thing is explained is called व्याख्यान 'commentary'. The name of a thing explainable is called व्याख्यातव्यनाम ॥ After such a name, being in the 6th case in construction, the affix is added. The affix means तस्यव्याख्यानं as well as तत्रभव, the latter being read into the sûtra by virtue of च ॥

Thus सुपां व्याख्यानः = सौपो ग्रन्थः 'Saupa, a book on the explanation of case-affixes'. So also तैङः 'Taiṅga--a Commentary on Verbal affixes' कार्तः 'Kárta--a Commentary on kṛit affixes'. सौप &c. may also mean सुप्सु भवं &c.

Why do we say व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः 'after the name of the thing explainable'? The thing to be explained must be a Book, therefore, the affix will not apply to the name of a city &c. For example, if a model be made to describe the city of Pâṭaliputra, such a model will not be named after Pâṭaliputra by the addition of affix. Thus सुकोशला is a modal giving a description of Pâṭaliputra. This will not be called Pâṭaliputram.

The anuvṛitti of भव and व्याख्यान runs simultaneosly in all the subsequent apavâda sûtras, and hence we have read the anuvṛitti of भव into this sûtra also.

बह्वचोन्तोदात्ताट्ठञ् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ बह्वचः-अन्तोदात्तात्, ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बह्वचो व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः प्रातिपदिकादन्तोदात्ताद्भवव्याख्यानयोष्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix ठञ् comes in the senses of 'staying' and 'a commentary', after a polysyllabic word having udâtta on the final, (the word being the name of a thing to be explained).

This debars अण् ॥ Thus षात्वणात्विकम् 'a commentary of the rules of changes of स and न into ष and ण' ॥ नातानतिकम् 'a commentary on (अनत) udâtta and anudâtta (नत)' ॥ The radicals षत्वणत्व and नतानत are acutely accented on the final by the rule of a compound having accent on the final (VI. 1. 169)

Why do we say बह्वचः 'polysyllabic'? Observe सौपम्, तैङम् &c. A word of two syllables will take ठक् (IV. 3. 72). So the counter example must be of words of one syllable.

Why do we say 'having acute accent on the final'? Observe सांहितम् from संहिता ॥ This word has acute accent on the initial by the rule of Gati-accent (VI. 2. 49)

क्रतुयज्ञेभ्यश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रतु-यज्ञेभ्यः, च (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रतुभ्यो यज्ञेभ्यश्च व्याख्यातव्यनामभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोष्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix ठञ् comes, in the senses of 'occurring', and 'a commentary', after the name of a work to be explained, provided that such work relates to a kratu or a yajna.

This debars अण् ॥ Kratu :—अग्निष्टोमिकः 'a commentary on a work on Aginshṭoma sacrifices? वाजपेयिकः, राजसूयिकः ॥ yajña:—पाकयज्ञिकः, नावयज्ञिकः ॥

This sûtra refers to words which are not antodâtta. The words 'vâjapeya' and 'râjasûya' are acute in the middle.

The words क्रतु and यज्ञ mean generally the same thing i. e. 'a sacrifice', but the separate mention of यज्ञ implies that the rule applies to yajñas other than Soma-yajñas because the word 'kratu' is technically applied to Soma-sacrifices only. Thus पाञ्चौदनिकः, दाशौदनिकः ॥

The sûtra is in the plural to prevent the application of the affix to the word-forms 'kratu' and 'yajña' (I. 1. 68).

अध्यायेष्वेवर्षेः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्यायेषु-एव-ऋषेः, (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋषिशब्दाः प्रवरनामधेयानि तेभ्य ऋषिशब्देभ्यो भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोष्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix ठञ् comes after the name of an explainable work called after a *R*ishi, in the senses of 'occurring therein' or 'a commantary thereon', when it refers to an Adhyaya only.

The word ऋषि is the name of प्रवर and those Rishis are only meant whose names are in the Pravara list. The word so formed means always an Adhyâya or Chapter of the work. The phrase व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः is understood in this sûtra, hence the word ऋषि means "a work the author of which is a Ṛishi".

Thus वसिष्ठस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो वा = वासिष्ठिकोऽध्यायः "Vâsishṭhika—a chapter containing commentary on Vashishṭha". वैश्वामित्रिकः 'a chapter of commentary on Viśvâmitra'.

Why do we say meaning 'chapter'? Observe वासिष्ठी ऋक् ॥

पौरोडाशपुरोडाशात् ष्ठन् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ पौरोडाश-पुरोडाशात्-ष्ठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पौरोडाशशब्दात्पुरोडाशशब्दाच्च भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोः ष्ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

70. The affix ष्ठन् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after the words 'pauro*d*âsa' and 'puro*d*a*s*a'.

The verses on the purification &c of Puroḍâśa 'a sacred cake', are called पौरोडाश, the commentary on such pauroḍâsa mantras will be called पौरोडाशिकः. Its feminine will be पौरोडाशिकी (IV. 1. 41). A book on Puroḍâśa cake is called पुरोडाश; a commentary there on will be पुरोडाशिकः f. पुरोडाशिकी (IV. 1. 41). The ष of the affix indicates that the feminine is formed by ङीष् (IV. 1. 41). The commentary here refers to the 'mantras' or verses relating to Puroḍâśa, and not to the sacrifice.

छन्दसो यदणौ ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसः-यत्-अणौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दः शब्दाद्भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोर्यदणौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

71. The affixes यत् and अण् come in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after the word Chhandas.

This debars ठक् of the following sûtra. As छन्दस्यः or छान्दसः ॥

द्व्यजृद्ब्राह्मणर्क्प्रथमाध्वरपुरश्चरणनामाख्याताट्ठक् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्व्यच्-ऋत्-ब्राह्मण-ऋक्-प्रथम-अध्वर-पुरश्चरण-नाम-आख्यातात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्व्यजादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो व्याख्यातव्यनामभ्यो भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोष्ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix ठक् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after a word of two syllables, and a word ending in short ऋ, and the words 'brahmana', 'rik', 'prathama', 'adhvara', 'purascharana', 'nama', 'akhyata' and 'namakhyata', being the names of explainable works.

This debars अण् and इञ् ॥ 1. Dissyllabic :—ऐष्टिकः, पाशुकः ॥ 2. Ending in ऋ :—चातुर्होतृकः, पांचहोतृकः ॥ So also ब्राह्मणिकः, आर्चिकः, प्राथमिकः, आध्वरिकः, पौरश्चरणिकः, नामिकः, आख्यातिकः, नामाख्यातिकः ॥

अणृगयनादिभ्यः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्-ऋगयनादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋगयनादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोरण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix अण् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon' after the words 'rigayana' &c.

This debars इञ्, ठक् and छ ॥ आर्गयनः, पादव्याख्यानः ॥

The repetition of अण् in the sûtra, though the annuvritti of this affix was coming from before, is for the sake of preventing the application of any ubsequent apavâda rule to the words in this list. Thus वास्तुविद्यः ॥

1 ऋगयन, 2 पदव्याख्यान, 3 छन्दोमान, 4 छन्दोभाषा, 5 छन्दोविचिति, 6 न्याय, 7 पुनरुक्त, 8 निरुक्त, 9 व्याकरण, 10 निगम, 11 वास्तुविद्या, 12 क्षत्रविद्या, 13 अङ्गविद्या, 14 विद्या, 15 उत्पात, 16 उत्पाद, 17 उद्याव, 18 संवत्सर, 19 मुहूर्त, 20 उपनिषद्, 21 निमित्त, 22 शिक्षा, 23 भिक्षा, 24 छन्दोविजिनी 25 व्याय. ॥

तत आगतः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ततः, आगतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत इति पञ्चमीसमर्थादागत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहित प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

74. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word being in 5th case in construction, in the sense of 'what has come thence'.

Thus स्रुघ्नादागतः = स्रौघ्नः 'what has come from Srughna'. माथुरः, राष्ट्रियः ।

ठगायस्थानेभ्यः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ठक्-आयस्थानेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आय इति स्वामिग्राह्यो भाग उच्यते स यस्मिन्नुत्पद्यते तदायस्थानम् । आयस्थानवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यष्ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

75. After a word denoting sources of revenue, there is the affix ठक् in the sense of 'come thence'.

The word आय means what is the share appropriated by the lord. The source of आय is called आयस्थान ॥

This debars अण् and छ ॥ Thus शौल्कशालिकः 'what is derived from custom house'. आकरिकम् 'revenue derived from mines'.

The plural in the sûtra prevents Svarupavidhi (I. 1. 68).

शुण्डिकादिभ्यो ऽण् ॥ ७६ ॥ शुण्डिकादिभ्यः-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुण्डिक इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

76. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'thence come', after the words शुण्डिक &c.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus शौण्डिकः 'excise-revenue'. कार्कणः ॥

The repetition of अण् serves the same purpose as in IV. 3. 73, बाधकबाधनार्थम् ॥ As औदपानः ॥

1 शुण्डिक, 2 कृकण, 3 स्थण्डिल, 4 उदपान, 5 उपल. 6 तीर्थ, 7 भूमि, 8 तृण, 9 पर्ण. ॥

विद्यायोनिसंबन्धेभ्यो वुञ् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विद्या-योनि-संबन्धेभ्यः-वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद्यायोनिकृतः संबन्धो येषां ते विद्यायोनिसंबन्धाः॥ तद्वाचिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

77. The affix वुञ् comes, in the sense of 'thence come,' after a word denoting a person connected through the relationship of learning or family origin.

Persons related (sambandha) through learning (such as teacher and pupil), or through blood (yoni, e. g. father and son) are called विद्यायोनिसम्बन्धाः ॥ Words denoting such persons take the affix वुञ्. This debars अण् and छ. Thus उपाध्यायादागतम्=औपाध्यायकम् 'knowledge derived from a spiritual teacher.' शैष्यकम् आचार्यकम् ॥ So also योनिसंबन्धः as मातामहकः 'wealth derived from a maternal grand-father.' पितामहकः, मातुलकः ॥

ऋतष्ठञ् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः-ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद्यायोनिसंबन्धेभ्य इत्येव । ऋकारान्तेभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो विद्यायोनिसंबन्धवाचिभ्यष्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

78. The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'come thence,' after a word ending in short ऋ, and denoting a person related through learning or blood.

This debars वुञ् ॥ Thus होतुरागतम्=हौतृकम 'derived from Hotṛi.' पैतृकम् ॥ So also of 'blood,' as :—भ्रातृकम्, स्वासृकम्, मातृकम् ॥

The त् in ऋत् is for the sake of facility of pronunciation, there being no such word ending in long ॠ ॥

When the words do not denote relationship through learning or blood, this affix is not employed. As, सावित्रम् ॥

पितुर्यच्च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितुः-यत्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृशब्दाद् यत् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्ठञ्च तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

79. The affix यत् as well as ठञ् comes, in the sense of 'come thence,' after the word 'pitri.'

Thus पितुरागतं = पैतृकं or पित्र्यम् (VII. 4. 27. and VI. 4. 148) 'paternal—i.e. wealth inherited from father.'

गोत्रादङ्कवत् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रात्-अङ्कवत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रप्रत्ययान्तात्प्रातिपदिकादङ्कवत्प्रत्ययविधिर्भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

80. After a word ending with a patronymic affix, the rule of affix in the sense of 'thence come,' is like that relating to the affix denoting 'its mark.'

The word गोत्र in the sûtra does not mean the technical Gotra of Grammar, but a descendant-denoting affix in general. The affixes denoting अङ्क are taught in IV. 3. 126 and 127. The affix वुञ् of IV. 3. 126 which comes after Gotra words, in the sense of 'this is his,' is refered to in this sûtra, not merely the affix अण् of IV. 3. 127, denoting, 'this is his mark.'

Thus औपगवानामङ्कः = औपगवकः 'the mark belonging to the descendants of Upagu.' So also कापटवकः, नाडायनकः, चारायणकः ॥ The same words will also denote 'come there from' as औपगवेभ्य आगतम् = औपगवकम्, कापटवकम्, नाडायनकम्, चारायणकम् (formed by वुञ् IV. 3. 126).

Similarly बैदः, गार्गः, दाक्षः formed by अण् of IV. 3. 127 mean not only 'the mark belonging to the Vaidas, the Gârgyas, the Dâkshis,' but also that which comes from the Vaidas &c. The word वत् has the force of 'complete similarity,' as in कालेभ्यो भववत् (IV. 2. 34), चरणेभ्यो धर्मवत् IV. 2. 46).

हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां रूप्यः ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतु-मनुष्येभ्यः,अन्यतरस्याम्-रूप्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुभ्यो मनुष्येभ्यश्चान्यतरस्यां रूप्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

81. The affix रूप्य denotes that which from something has originated, when it is added to a word denoting 'cause,' or to the name of a man viewed as a cause.

The word मनुष्य is used meaning 'men as causes.' हेतु means cause or instrument. Thus समादागतं = समरूप्यम् or समीयम् by छ of IV. 2. 138 meaning 'what proceeds from a like cause.' So also विषमरूप्यम् or विषमीयम् ॥ So of men

also देवदत्तरूप्यम् or दैवदत्तम् (IV. 1. 83) 'what originates with देवदत्तः', यज्ञदत्तरूप्यम् or याज्ञदत्तम् ॥

The word हेतुमनुष्येभ्यः is in the plural in the sûtra, indicating that svarupavidhi (I. 1. 68) does not apply here.

In denoting हेतु, there is employed the Instrumental case as taught in II. 3. 23: and according to the jñâpaka in the present sûtra, the Ablative case may also be employed in denoting a हेतु. ॥ Or the use of the ablative case in the sense of हेतु. may be explained by II. 3. 25.

मयट् च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयट्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुभ्यो मनुष्येभ्यश्च मयट् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

82. After a word denoting a cause or a man viewed as a cause, there is the affix 'maya*t*' in the sense of 'come thence'.

Thus समनयम्, विषममयम्, देवदत्तमयम्, यज्ञदत्तमयम् ॥

The ट् of मयट् indicates that the feminine of these words are formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 15), as, सममयी ॥ The separation of this sûtra from the last is for the sake of preventing the application of the rule of mutual correspondencc (I.3. 10) which would have been the case had the rule stood as हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां रूप्यमयटौ ॥

प्रभवति ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रभवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत इत्येव। पञ्चमीसमर्थान् ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात्प्रभवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति॥

83. After a Nominal-stem which is in the 5th. case in construction, an affix (one of those already taught) comes in the sense of 'what appears for the first time'.

The word ततः is undersood in the sûtra. The word प्रभवति means what manifests itself, or appears for the first time. Thus हिमवतः प्रभवति = हैमवती "The Haimavatî", a name of the Ganges, meaning 'which manifests itself for the first time or appears in the Snowy Range, its source being unknown'. So also दारदी "The Dâradî" i. e. the Indus appearing for the first time in Dardistan. The word प्रभवति has not the sense of उत्पत्ति, because that is included in तत्र जातः; it therefore means प्रकाशते, प्रथमतः उपलभ्यते, the source or origin being unknown.

विदूराञ्ञ्यः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदूरात्-ञ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदूरशब्दात् ञ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ततः प्रभवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

Karika वालवायो विदूरं च प्रकृत्यन्तरमेव वा ।
न वै तत्रेति चेद्ब्रूयाज्जित्वरीवदुपाचरेत् ॥

84. The affix य comes, in the sense of 'what manifests itself there', after the words 'vidûra'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus विदूरात् प्रभवति = वैदूर्यः 'a kind of gem found at Vidûra'. The gem as a matter of fact is not found at Vidûra, but in a mountain called वालवाय ॥ Vidûra is the city where the rough stone is worked upon. In other words, it may be said that the affix is really added to वालवाय, when the latter word is replaced by विदूर; such substitute being only shown in the sûtra, the appropriate sthâni (vâlavâya) being left to inference. Or the word Vidûra may denote both the city as well as a mountain. If it be said that there is no mountain known as Vidûra, then we say that the Grammarians call Vâlavâya by the name of Vidûra, as the merchants call Benares by the name of Jitvarî.

तदुगच्छति पथिदूतयोः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-गच्छति-पथि-दूतयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद्गच्छतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति योऽसौ गच्छति पन्थाश्चेत् स भवति दूतो वा ॥

85. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word, being in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'what goes thereto', provided that, that which goes, is a road or a messenger.

Thus स्रुघ्नंगच्छति = स्रौघ्नः "a road or a messenger that goes to Srughna." So also माथुरः ॥ The road may either lead to Srughna, or being in Srughna, be used for going.

Why do we say पथिदूतयोः "meaning a road or a messenger". Observe स्रुघ्नं गच्छति सार्थः 'he goes to Srughna for his own sake'.

अभिनिष्क्रामति द्वारम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-निष्क्रामति-द्वारम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयासमर्थादभिनिष्क्रामतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत् तदभिनिष्क्रामति द्वारं चेद् भवति ॥

86. An affix comes, after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'a door which looks towards that'.

Thus स्रौघ्नः 'a gate which looks towards Srughna',—as a gate of Kânyakubja. So also माथुरम्, राष्ट्रियम् ॥

Objection. The sûtra would have stood better as अभिनिष्क्रमणं द्वारं, for by using अभिनिष्क्रामति, you make the word द्वारं as if it was a being endowed with sense.

Ans. This objection may be answerd by saying that the gate is the well-known instrument (करण) to the action of अभिनिष्क्रमण; and an instrument may be used as an agent to a verb: as साध्वसिश्छिनत्ति 'the sword cuts nicely.'

Why do we say द्वारम् "when it is a gate"? Observe स्रुघ्नमभिनिष्क्रामति पुरुषः 'a person faces towards Srughna'.

अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकृत्य-कृते-ग्रन्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थादधिकृत्य कृतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्कृतं ग्रन्थश्चेत्स भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लुबाख्यायिकार्थस्य प्रत्ययस्य बहुलम् ॥

87. An affix comes after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'made in relation to any subject,' when the thing made is a 'book.'

The word अधिकृत्य means 'aiming at' 'alluding to, referring to.' Thus सुभद्रामधिकृत्य कृतोग्रन्थः = सौभद्रः 'Saubhadra or a book relating to the history of Subhadrâ.' So also गौरिमित्रः, यायातः, किरातार्जुनीयम् ॥

Why do we say ग्रन्थे 'when meaning a book'? Observe, सुभद्रामधिकृत्यकृतः प्रासादः 'a palace built in memory of Subhadrâ'; where there is no affix.

Vârt:—The affix is elided diversely when the book is a story. Thus वासवदत्तामधि कृत्य कृता ऽऽ ख्यायिका = वासवदत्ता "Vâsavadattâ, a story relating to Vâsavadattâ." सुमनोत्तरा, उर्वशी ॥ Sometimes the elision does not take place, as भैमरथी ॥

शिशुक्रन्दयमसभद्वन्द्वेन्द्रजननादिभ्यश्छः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिशु-क्रन्द-यमस-भ-द्वन्द्व-इन्द्र-जननादिभ्यः-छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शिशुक्रन्दादिभ्यो द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे ॥ अणोपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्वन्द्वे देवासुरादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधः ॥

88. The affix छ comes in the sense of 'a book made relating to a subject', after the following words in the 2nd case in construction, viz 'sisukranda,' 'yamasabha,' the Dvandva-compounds, and the words 'indra-janana' &c.

The word तद् (IV. 3. 85) and अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे should be read into the sûtra. This debars अण् ॥ Thus शिशुक्रन्दीयः 'a book treating of the crying of infants.' यमसभः 'a book relating to the court of Yama'. A Dvandva-Compound: as, अग्निकाश्यपीयः, श्येनकपोतीयः, शब्दार्थसंबन्धीयम् प्रकरणं, वाक्यपदीयम् ॥

There is no list of इन्द्रजननादि words. They are âkritigaṇa, and must be determined by usage. Thus इन्द्रजननीयम्, प्रद्युम्नागमनीयम् &c.

Vart:—Prohibition should be stated in the case of the Dvanda-Compounds देवासुर &c. As दैवासुरम् 'the book of the wars of the Gods and Demons.' राक्षोसुरम् गौणमुख्यम् ॥

The words शिघुकन्द and ब्रमसभ might have been included in the inchoate class इन्द्रजननादि ॥ The separate enumeration of these words in the sûtra, is merely for the sake of amplification.

सोऽस्य निवासः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः-अस्य-निवासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स इति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्प्रथमासमर्थं निवासश्चेत्स भवति ॥

89. After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his dwelling place'

The word स shows that the word to which the affix is to be added is in the nominative case. अस्य 'his' shows that the meaning of the affix is that of a genitive case. निवासः, shows that the first word in construction must signify a dwelling place. निवास means "a country i. e. where a person lives (nivasanti asmin)".

स्रुघ्नो निवासोऽस्य = स्रौघ्नः 'a present dweller of Srughna', माथुरः, राष्ट्रियः &c.

अभिजनश्च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिजनः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोऽस्येत्येव । स इति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्प्रथमासमर्थमभिजनश्चेत्स भवति ॥

90. After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his mother-land'.

The difference between निवासः and अभिजनः is this. Where a person lives himself for the present, that is his निवास or dwelling-place. Where his ancestors (अभिजनाः) have lived, that is his अभिजन 'native country, home or ancestral abode'. Thus स्रौघ्नः 'a person whose ancestral home is in Srughna'. माथुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥ The separation of this sûtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra, in which the anuvṛitti of 'abhijana' only runs.

आयुधजीविभ्यश्छः पर्वते ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आयुधजीविभ्यः-छः-पर्वते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोऽस्याभिजन इति वर्तते । आयुधजीविभ्य इति तादर्थ्ये चतुर्थी, पर्वतइति प्रकृतिविशेषणम् । पर्वतवाचिनः प्रथमासमर्थादभिजनादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे छः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix छ comes after a word denoting mountain, in the sense of 'this is his mother-land', when it is a person who lives by arms.

The word आयुधजीवी means a person who earns his livelihood by arms. The phrase सोऽस्याभिजनः is to be read into the sûtra. Thus हृद्गोलः पर्वतोऽभिजन एषामायुधजीविनां = हृद्गोलीयाः 'the mercenary soldiers whose ancestral abode is the Hṛidgola mountain'. So also अन्धकवर्त्तीयाः, रोहितगिरीयाः ॥

Why do we say आयुधजीविभ्यः? Observe आर्क्षोदा ब्राह्मणाः "the Brahmanas whose native place is Rikshoda mountains". Why do we say 'mountains'? Observe. सांकाश्यका आयुधजीविनः ॥

शण्डिकादिभ्यो ञ्यः ॥ ९२ ॥ शण्डिकादिभ्यः, ञ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शण्डिक इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ञ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्याभिजन इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोऽपवादः ॥

92. The affix ञ्य comes in the sense of 'this is his native-land', after the words शण्डिक &c.

This debars अण् &c. Thus शाण्डिक्यः, सार्वसेन्यः &c.

1 शण्डिक, 2 सर्वसेन 3 सर्वकेश, 4 शक, 5 शट, (सट), 6 रक, 7 शङ्ख, 8 बोध.

सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्योऽणञौ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिन्धु-तक्षशिलादिभ्यः, अण्-अञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिशब्दः प्रत्येकमभिसंबध्यते । सिन्ध्वादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यस्तक्षशिलादिभ्यश्च यथासंख्यमणञौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः सोऽस्याभिजन इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

93. The affixes अण् and अञ् come respectively, after the words 'Sindhu' &c and 'Takshasila' &c in the sense of 'this is his native-land'.

Thus सैन्धवः, वार्णवः ॥

Many of the words occurring in Sindhu-class, are found in Kachchh-âdi class (IV. 2. 133) also. Those words would have taken अण् by sûtra IV. 2. 133. The present sûtra prevents the affixing of वुञ् (IV. 2. 134) to those words under circumstances mentioned in sûtra IV. 2. 134, when the further significance of अभिजनः is added to them.

So also ताक्षशिलः, वात्सोद्धरणः &c.

1 सिन्धु, 2 वर्णु, 3 मधुमत्, 4 कम्बोज, 5 साल्व, 6 कश्मीर, 7 गन्धार, 8 किष्किन्धा, 9 उरसा (उरस), 10 दरद् (दरद), 11 गान्दिका (गब्दिका), 12 कुलून, 13 दिरसा. ॥

1 तक्षशिला, 2 वत्सोद्धरण, 3 कैमेंदुर (कौमेदुर), 4 ग्रामणी, 5 छगल*, 6 क्रोष्टुकर्ण (कर्णकोष्ठ), 7 सिंहकर्ण (सिंहकोष्ठ), 8 संकुचित, 9 किंनर, 10 काण्डधार (काण्डवारण), 11 पर्वत*, 12 अवसान, 13 बर्बर, 14 कंस, 15 सरालक.

तूदीशलातुरवर्मतीकूचवाराड्ढक्छण्ढञ्यकः ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तूदी-शलातुर-वर्मती-कूचवारात्, ढक्-छण्-ढञ्-यकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तूद्यादिभ्यश्चतुर्भ्यः शब्देभ्यो यथासंख्यं चत्वार एव ढक् छण् ढञ् यक् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति सोऽस्याभिजन इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोऽपवादः ॥

94. After the words तूदी, शलातुर, वर्मती, and कूचवार, come respectively the affixes ढक्, छण्, ढञ्, and यक् in the sense of 'this is his native land'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus तौदेयः, शालातुरीयः, वार्मतेयः and कौचवार्यः ॥

भक्तिः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्तिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समर्थविभक्तिः प्रत्ययार्थश्चानुवर्तते । अभिजन इति निवृत्तम् । स इति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थं भक्तिश्चेत्तद्भवति ॥

95. An affix (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration or love'.

The word भक्ति in the sûtra means 'serving', 'worshipping' or 'loving'. Thus स्रुघ्नो भक्तिरस्य = स्रौघ्नः 'a person who is loyal to Srughna'. So also माथुरः, राष्ट्रियः &c.

The anuvṛitti of the word अभिजनः ceases. The word सः and अस्य should be read into the sûtra.

अचित्ताददेशकालाट्ठक् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचित्तात्, अदेश-कालात्, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देशकालव्यतिरिक्तादचित्तवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाट्ठक्प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्विषये; अणोपवादः ॥

96. After a word denoting a thing not having consciousness, but not being the name of a country or time, the affix ठक् is employed, in the sense of 'this is his object of devotion or love'.

This debars अण्; and छ also. Thus अपूपाभक्तिरस्य = आपूपिकः 'a person who loves cakes'. शाष्कुलिकः, पायसिकः ॥

Why do we say 'not having consciousness'? Observe दैवदत्तः ॥ Why do we say 'not being the name of a country'? Observe स्रौघ्नः ॥ Why do we say 'not denoting time'? Observe ग्रैष्मः 'who loves Summer'.

महाराजाट्ठञ् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ महाराजात्, ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ महाराजशब्दाद् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन् विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

97. The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after the word महाराज ॥

This debars अण् ॥ As माहाराजिकः 'who loves or serves the Mahârâja'. The difference between this ठञ् and the ठक् of the last aphorism, is in accent only.

वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वासुदेव-अर्जुनाभ्याम्, वुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वासुदेवार्जुनशब्दाभ्यां वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । छाणोरपवादः ॥

98. The affix वुन् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration,' after the words 'Vâsudeva' and Arjuna.

This debars छ and अण् ॥ Thus वासुदेवकः, अर्जुनकः ॥

Q. The word वासुदेव being the name of a Kshatriya would have taken वुञ् by the next sûtra, and there is no difference here between वुन् and वुञ्, why then include the word वासुदेव in this sûtra?

A. The word वासुदेव here is the name of God (in which all dwell वसति अस्मिन्) and not the designation of a Kshatriya.

By the general rule of compounds (II. 2. 34) a word of fewer vowels is placed first, and so Arjuna ought to have been placed first. The not doing so in this sûtra indicates (jñâpaka) the existence of this rule 'that a word denoting an object of reverence is placed first.'

गोत्रक्षत्रियाख्येभ्यो बहुलं वुञ् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र-क्षत्रियाख्येभ्यः-बहुलम्-वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्राख्येभ्यः क्षत्रियाख्येभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो बहुलं वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति सोस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

99 The affix वुञ् comes diversely, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration,' after a word denoting Gotra or a Kshatriya.

This debars अण् and छ. Thus: ग्लौचुकायनक 'who loves or serves &c Gluchukâyani.' So also औपगवकः, कापटवकः ॥ Kshatriyas :——नाकुलकः, नाम्रदेवकः, साम्बकः ॥

The word आख्या in the sûtra indicates that the words should be the names of *well-known* or *famous* Kshatriyas, and not of any body who is a Kshatriya by profession.

The word बहुल shows the non-universality of this rule. Thus पाणिनो भक्तिरस्य = पाणिनीयः, पौरवीयः ॥

The word गोत्र does not mean here the Grammatical Gotra, but a word formed by a patronymic affix in general.

जनपदिनां जनपदवत्सर्वं जनपदेन समानशब्दानां बहुवचने ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपदिनाम्, जनपदवत्, सर्वम्, जनपदेन, समान, शब्दानाम्, बहुवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदिनो ये बहुवचने जनपदेन समानशब्दास्तेषां जनपदवत्सर्वं भवति प्रत्ययः प्रकृतिश्च सोस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

100. Of words denoting Princes (lit. who are lords of janapada) the base and affix meaning 'this is his object of veneration' are the same, in every respect, like those of a word denoting kingdom, provided that, the Prince-denoting words have, in the plural, the same form, as the kingdom-denoting words.

The words of this sûtra require a detailed analysis. जनपदिनाम् gen. plural of जनपदिन् meaning 'lord of an inhabited country' i. e. Khsatriyâ-Princes, बहुवचने 'in the plural', जनपदेन समान शब्दानां 'the same form as the jana-pada denoting word', जनपदवत् सर्वम् 'every thing is like jana-pada'. In other words, 'after those bases denoting Kshatriya Princes which in the plural have

the same forms as the names of the countries, the affix in the sense of veneration will be the same as will come after a janapada word.' Now the affixes denoting भक्ति as regards जनपद words are given in Sûtras IV. 2. 124 &c. and those affixes will apply here. Thus अङ्गा जनपदो भक्तिरस्य = आङ्गकः formed by वुञ् of Sûtra IV. 2. 125, meaning 'who loves the country of Angâs' Similarly वाङ्गकः, सौह्मकः पौण्ड्रकः ॥

Similarly अङ्गाः क्षत्रिया, भक्तिरस्य = आङ्गकः formed by the same affix वुञ्, with this difference of meaning 'who loves the Kshatriyas called Angâs'. So वाङ्गकः, सौह्मकः &c.

Why do we say 'of Kshatriyâ Princes'; (janapadinâm). Observe. पंचाला ब्राह्मणा भक्तिरस्य = पांचालाः ॥ Here the general affix अण् is employed.

The word सर्व is used in the sûtra to show that not only the affixes are the same, but the bases to which the affixes are added will be the same. In the plural, the Kshatriya and the Janapada bases have the same form, but in the singular and dual, the forms of Kshatrya-bases are different. Thus मद्रस्यापत्यं = sing. माद्रः (IV. 1. 170) dual, माद्रौ pl. मद्राः The form मद्राः denotes both 'the Kings or Kshatriyas of Madrâs' as well as 'the country called Madrâs'. Thus मद्रो भक्तिरस्य = मद्रकः ॥ So also in the singular and dual, मद्राः will be the base to which the affix will be added. Thus माद्रो भक्तिरस्य माद्रौ वा भक्तिरस्य = मद्रकः ॥ Similarly वार्ज्य (from वृजि IV. 1. 171), as, वार्ज्यो वा भक्तिरस्य वार्ज्यौ वा भक्तिरस्य = वृजिकः ॥

Why do we say जनपदेन समान शब्दानाम् 'the word having the same sound as the janapada word'? Thus अनुषण्डो जनपदः, पौरवो राजा स भक्तिरस्य = पौरवीयः ॥ Here Paurava and Anushanda have not the same sound.

The word बहुवचने is used in the sûtra, to indicate, that, though the समान शब्दता or 'the similarity of word-form', occurs in the plural number only, yet this atideśa rule applies to the same words in the singular and dual also. For in the plural, the form will be same, because there the Tadrâja affix is elided; but in the singular and dual, the Tadrâja affix is not elided, and therefore, the word denoting a principality and the word denoting a prince will not have the same form; but this rule applies there also. As वाङ्गः or वाङ्गौ भक्तिरस्य वाङ्गकः ॥

तेन प्रोक्तम् ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन, प्रोक्तम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थात्प्रोक्तमित्यस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

101. After a word in the 3rd case in construction, an affix (IV. 1. 83 &c). comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him'.

The word प्रोक्तं means प्रकर्षेणोक्तं 'preeminently spoken'. It should be distinguished from the word कृत meaning 'done or made'. For the sense of कृतं

has been already taught in the sûtra कृते ग्रन्थे (IV. 3. 16). Thus अन्येन कृता माथुरेण प्रोक्ता = माथुरी वृत्तिः ॥ पाणिनीयम् 'the system of grammar enounced by Panini' आपिशलम्, काशकृत्स्नम् ॥

Works like Chhandas which were made (कृतं) by nobody, but which were promulgated (प्रोक्तं) from time of time by inspired commentators, may be quoted as examples of the application of this sûtra. Or it may apply to the case of a book whose *author* is another, but whose promulgator or expounder is another. In short, speaking roughly, प्रोक्त is a 'revelation', and कृतः is a 'composition', one a revealer or prophet, the other an author.

According to some, this sûtra is almost a superfluity. They argue thus: The word प्रोक्त is formed by adding प्र to वच and means 'to lecture' 'to teach', and also the 'means of such teaching &c'. In the first sense of 'lecturing or teaching', the affix is not found. For in every village there are persons who teach or lecture upon Katha, Kalâpa &c. For example सुशर्मन् may be such a lecturer, but we do not say सुशर्मणा प्रोक्तं काठकं = सौशर्मणम् ॥ Moreover, where we find this affix employed, it is with regard to Books, for which the rule कृते ग्रन्थे is sufficient. If it be said that it should be taught for the Chhandas: that is also unnecessary, as the Vedas are not कृत but eternal, the agent only remembers them. If it be said, it refers to the sense of the Vedas, the same objection applies as to the first. But the letter of the Veda is not eternal, it is the sense that is eternal. Therefore the Rishis who revealed, for the first time, at the beginning of a Kalpa, the sense of the Veda, in appropriate language will be called its promulgators, and the works so revealed will be named after such Rishis, as काठकम्, कालापकम् and मौदकम् ॥ This sûtra, however, is confined to those cases where the author of the book is one person and its promulgator is another: as माथुरी वृत्तिः ॥

तित्तिरिवरतन्तुखण्डिकोखाच्छण् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तित्तिरि-वरतन्तु-खण्डिक-उखात्-छण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तित्तिर्यादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यश्छण् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शौनकादिभ्यश्छन्दसीत्यत्रास्यानुवृत्तेश्छन्दोधिकारविहितानां च तद्विषयत्वेष्यते ॥

102. The affix छण् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words 'tittiri', 'varatantu', 'khan*d*ika', and 'ukha'.

Thus तैत्तिरीयाः 'those who learn (IV. 2. 64) the Veda enounced by Tittiri'. वारतन्तवीयाः, खाण्डिकीयाः, औखीयाः ॥

According to Kâśikâ this is confined to the Chhandas only. Therefore it will not apply to secular ślokas, as तित्तिरिणा प्रोक्तं श्लोकः ॥ The word Chhandas is drawn from sûtra IV. 3. 106. and तद्विषयता from IV 2 66.

काश्यपकौशिकाभ्यामृषिभ्यां णिनि ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काश्यप-कौशिकाभ्याम्, ऋषिभ्याम्,णिनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काश्यपकौशिकशब्दाभ्यामृषिवाचिभ्यां णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । छस्यापवादः ॥

103. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words 'Kâ*s*yapa' and 'Kau*s*ika' when denoting Vedic Seers.

This debars छ. The ण of णिनि is for the sake of Vṛiddhi (useful in the subsequent sûtra). This is confined, like the last, to the Vedic works. Thus काश्यपिनः 'those who study (IV. 2. 64) the Kalpa enounced by Kâśyapa', कौशिकिनः ॥ Why do we say "Vedic Sages"? Observe इदानीन्तनेन गोत्रकाश्यपेन प्रोक्त = काश्यपीयम् "a work enounced by a modern Kâsyapa,—one belonging to the Gotra Kâśyapa: not a Rishi'.

कलापिवैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्यश्च ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलापि-वैशम्पायन-अन्तेवासिभ्यः,च (णिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलाप्यन्तेवासिनां वैशम्पायनान्तेवासिनां च ये वाचकाः शब्दास्तेभ्यो णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

Kârika हरिद्रुरेषां प्रथमस्ततश्छगलितुम्बुरू ।
उलपेन चतुर्थेन कालापकमिहोच्यते ॥
आलम्बिश्चरकः प्राच्यां पलङ्गकमलावुभौ ।
ऋचाभारुणिताण्ड्यश्च मद्यमीयास्त्रयो ऽपरे ॥
श्यामायनं उदीच्येषु उक्तः कठकलापिनोः ।

104. After words denoting the pupils of 'Kalâpî, and 'Vaisampâyana,' the affiix णिनि is employed in the sense of 'enounced by him.'

This debars अण् and छ ॥ There are four words which express pupils of Kalâpâ: as, हरिद्रु, छगली, तुम्बुरुः, उलपः ॥ There are nine words expressing pupils of Vaisampâyaṇa: as, आलम्बि, पलङ्ग, कमल, ऋचाभ, आरुणि; ताण्डय, श्यामायन, कठ, कलापी ॥

Thus हारिद्रविणः 'those who study (IV. 2. 64) the works enounced by Haridru.' तम्बुरविणः, औलपिनः and छगली takes ḍhinuk IV. 3. 109 ॥ आलम्बिनः, पालङ्गिनः, आरुणिनः, आर्च्चाभिनः, कामलिनः, ताण्डिनः, श्यामायनिनः ॥ The affix is elided after कठ (IV. 3. 107), and is replaced by अण् (IV. 3. 108) after कलापी ॥

The pupils must be direct ones, and not pupil of pupils. For had that been the meaning, Kalâpî being a pupil of Vaisampâyana, the words 'pupils of Vaisampâyana' would have included the 'pupils of Kalâpî.' But that is not so, the word Kalâpî being separately mentioned in the sûtra. So

also Kaṭha is a pupil of Vaiśampâyana, and Khâḍâyana is a pupil of Kaṭha and had the sûtra applied to pupil's pupil also, then the affix णिनि would have applied to खाडायन also. But that is not the case, Khâḍâyana being mentioned in Śaunakâdi class. (IV. 3. 106).

The word चरकः means वैशम्पायनः, hence चरकाः means pupils of वैशम्पायनः ॥

पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुराण-प्रोक्तेषु-ब्राह्मण-कल्पेषु (णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणमेतत् । तृतीयासमर्थात्प्रोक्ते णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति यत्प्रोक्तं पुराणप्रोक्ताश्चेद्ब्राह्मणकल्पास्ते भवन्ति ॥

105. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him,' after a word in the 3rd case in construction, when it denotes a Brâhmana or a Kalpa-work enounced by ancient sages.

This sûtra further gives the sense of the affix. पुराण means 'Ancient Sages.' equivalent to पुरातन. Of Brâhmaṇa literature, the examples are, शाट्यायनिनः, ऐतरेयिणः ॥ Kalpa work: as पैङ्गीकल्पः, आरुणपराजी ॥

Why do we say पुराणप्रोक्तेषु 'announced by ancient sages.'? Observe याज्ञवल्कानि ब्राह्मणानि, आश्मरथः कल्पः ॥ (VI. 4. 151) Yajñavalkya &c being sages of modern times. The तद् विषय affix (IV. 2. 66) will not also apply to these, because the word ब्राह्मण in IV. 2. 66 is restricted to पुराणप्रोक्त of the present sûtra.

शौनकादिभ्यश्छन्दसि ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शौनकादिभ्यः-छन्दसि-(णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शौनक इत्येवमादिभ्यो णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये छन्दस्यभिधेये । छाणोरपवादः ॥

106. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words शौनक &c, in denoting Chhandas.

This debars छ and अण् ॥ Thus शौनकेन प्रोक्तमधीयते = शौनकिनः 'who study (IV. 2. 64) the Chhandas enounced by Śaunaka.' वाजसनेयिनः &c.

Why do we say 'in denoting Chhandas'? Observe शौनकीया शिक्षा 'the orthography of Saunaka.'

The word कठशाठ occurs in this list. This must always be taken as a compound for affixing this affix. After the single word कठ the affix is elided (IV. 3. 107). Thus कठशाठाभ्यां प्रोक्तमधीयते = काठशाठिनः ॥

1 शौनक, 2 वाजसनेय, 3 शार्ङ्गरव, 4 शापेय (सांपेय), 5 शाष्पेय (शाखेय), 6 खाडायन, 7 स्तम्भ (स्कम्भ), 8 स्कन्ध, 9 देवदर्शन, 10 रज्जुभार, 11 रज्जुकण्ठ, 12 कठशाठ, 13 कषाय (कशाय) 14 तल*, 15 दण्ड*, 16 पुरुषांसक (पुरुषासक), 17 अश्वपेज (अश्वपेय), 18 शाङ्गरव, 19 स्कन्द, 20 देवदत्तशठ, 21 तलवकार.

कठचरकाल्लुक् ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कठ-चरकात्-लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कठचरकशब्दाभ्यां परस्य प्रोक्तप्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति । कठशब्दाद्वैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्य इति णिने-श्चरकशब्दादण्‌णः ॥

107. The affix denoting 'enounced by him' is elided, by luk-substitution, after the words Katha and Charaka.

The word कठ would have taken णिनि as it is a वैशम्पायनान्तेवासी word: and चरक would have taken the affix अण् ॥ Both are elided. Thus कठाः 'who study the Chhandas enounced by Katha'. चरकाः &c.

The word 'Chhandas' qualifies this sûtra. Observe काठाः चारकाः श्लोकाः ॥

कलापिनोऽण् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलापिनः-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलापि शब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । वैशम्पायनान्तेवासित्वाण्णिनेरपवादः वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नान्तस्य टिलोपे सब्रह्मचारिपीठसर्पिकलापिकुथुमितैतलिजाजलिजाङ्गलिलाङ्गलिशिलालिशिखण्डिसूकरसद्मसुपर्वणामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

108. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word Kalâpî.

This debars णिनि of IV. 3. 104. Thus कलापाः 'who study the work enounced by Kalapî'.

The word कलापाः is thus formed :—कलापिन् + अण् ॥ Here comes in force Sûtra VI. 4. 144 which declares that इन् of कलापिन् should be elided before the taddhita affix. This elision is, however, debarred by sûtra VI. 4. 164 which declares that words ending in the affix इन् retain their form when अण् not denoting a progeny follows. Therefore कलापिन् would have retained its इन् but for this Vârtika.

Vâârt:—The टि portion of the following words is elided when a Taddhita follows :—सब्रह्मचारिन्, पीठसर्पिन्, कलापिन्, कुथुमिन्, तैतिलिन्, जाजलिन्, जाङ्गलिन्, लाङ्गलिन्, शिलालिन्, शिखण्डिन्, सूकरसद्मन्, सुपर्वण् ॥ Thus इन् being elided, we have कलापाः ॥

छगलिनो ढिनुक् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छगलिनः-ढिनुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छगलिन्शब्दाद् ढिनुक् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन् विषये । कलाप्यन्तेवासित्वाण्णिनेरपवादः ॥

109. The affix ढिनुक् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word 'Chhagalin'.

The word छगलिन् being a word denoting the pupil of कलापी would have taken णिनि (IV. 3. 104). This debars that. Thus छागलेयिनः 'who study the Chhandas enounced by Chhagalî'.

पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ पाराशर्य-शिलालिभ्याम्-भिक्षु-नट-सूत्रयोः (णिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णिनिरिहानुवर्तते, न ढिनुक् । पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

110. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words Pârâsarya and Silalin, the works enounced being Bhikshu-Sûtra and Nata-Sûtra respectively.

The affix णिनि is to be read into the sûtra and not ढिनुक् ॥ The भिक्षुसूत्र and नटसूत्र are works treating of the duties of भिक्षुक 'religious mendicants' and नटः 'jugglers, dancers'.

Thus पाराशर्य + णिनि = पाराशर + णिनि (VI. 4. 152) = पाराशरिन्, 'the treatise of Pârâsarya on the duties of Bhikshus'. Similarly शैलालिन् ॥ These words, of course, have the additional sense of 'he who studies the works so enounced by Pârâsarya and Sailâlin'. See IV. 2. 66. As पाराशरिणो भिक्षवः, शैलालिनो नटाः ॥ According to some, it always expresses this relation (तद्विषयता IV. 2. 66) and never a प्रोक्त alone. These are treated metaphorically as Chhandas.

Why do we say 'denoting Bhikshu and Naṭa Sûtras'? Observe पाराशरम्, शैलालम् ॥

कर्मन्दकृशाश्वादिनिः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मन्द-कृशाश्वात्-इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोरित्येव । कर्मन्दकृशाश्वशब्दाभ्यामिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति । अणोपवादः ॥

111. The affix इनि comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him', the thing enounced being Bhikshu Sûtra and Nata-Sûtra, after the words 'Karmanda' and 'Krisâsva'.

Thus कर्मन्दिनो भिक्षवः, 'the mendicants who study the Bhikshu-sûtra of Karmandin'. कृशाश्विनो नटाः 'the actors who study the Naṭa Sûtra of Kṛiśâśvin.' Otherwise कार्मन्दकम् and काशाश्वम् ॥ See IV. 2. 66.

तेनैकदिक् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन-एकदिक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थादेकदिगित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. An affiix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'in the same direction with that.'

The word एक दिक means तुल्य दिक i. e. a common direction. Thus सुदाम्ना एकादिक् = सौदामनी विद्युत् "a lightening, literally that which is in the same direction as the hill called the Sudâman." So हैमवती, त्रैककुदी, पैलुमूली ॥

The repetition of तेन, though it could have been supplied by anuvṛitti from IV. 3. 101, is for the sake of indicating that the anuvṛitti of the छन्दस्

which regulated all the preceding ten sûtras, does not extend to this aphorism, and therefore the तद्विषयता of IV. 2. 66 which was applied in those sûtras does not apply here.

तसिश्च ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तसिः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तसिश्च प्रत्ययो भवति तेनैकदिगित्येतस्मिन्विषये । पूर्वेण घादिषु अणादिषु च प्राप्तेष्वयमपरः प्रत्ययो विधीयते ॥

113. The affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that.'

This ordains another affix in addition to the previously taught अण् &c घ &c. The words formed by this affix are Indeclinables (I. 1. 37). Thus हिमवतः 'in the same direction as Himavat.' पीलुमूलतः, सुदामतः ॥

उरसो यच्च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उरसो-यत्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उरः शब्दाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात्तसिश्च, तेनैकदिगित्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

114. The affix यत् as well as the affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that,' after the word उरस् ।

Thus उरसा एकदिग् = उरस्य or उरस्तः ॥ The तसि is read into the sûtra by force of the word च ॥

उपज्ञाते ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपज्ञाते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । तृतीयासमर्थादुपज्ञातइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

115. After a word in 3rd case in construction, an affix is employed in the sense of 'discovered by him'.

Knowledge acquired by oneself without being taught is called उपज्ञातं, i. e. an intuition or self taught knowledge. Thus पाणिनिनोपज्ञातं = पाणिनीयम् अकालकं व्याकरणं 'the law of Grammar discovered by Pâṇini'. So also काशकृत्स्नम् गुरुलाघवम्, आपिशलम्, दुष्करणम् ॥ Compare II. 4. 21. The Pâṇini's Grammar is called अकालकं as it does not define काल or tenses; गुरुलाघव is the name of the sciences of wealth (अर्थोपायानां गौरवं लाघवं चिन्त्यते) ॥ The word Duskaraṇa is the name of a Grammar, so-called because of the technical term दुष् occurring in it. Some say it means कामशास्त्रः ॥

कृते ग्रन्थे ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृते-ग्रन्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव तृतीयासमर्थात्कृतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्तत्कृतं ग्रन्थश्चेत्स भवति ॥

116. An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made', the thing made being 'a book',

Thus वररुचिना कृताः=वाररुचाः श्लोकाः 'the verses composed by Vararuchi'. So also हैकुपादो ग्रन्थः, भैकुराटो ग्रन्थः, जालूकः ॥

Why do we say 'a book'? Observe तक्षकृतः प्रासादः 'the palace made by Taksha'.

That which one originates is called कृतः and is therefore an 'art', while knowledge of laws &c. that already exist, but are discovered for the first time by some one, is called उपज्ञातं ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयासमर्थात्कृतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहित प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेत्संज्ञाज्ञायते ॥

117. An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made by him', when the whole word is a Name.

Thus मक्षिकाभिः कृतम्=माक्षिकम्, कार्मुकम्, सारघम्, पौत्तिकम् ॥ All these are names of 'honey', literally 'made by a bee', मक्षिका, सरघा and पुत्तिका meaning 'a bee'. मक्षिका+अण्=माक्षिक (VI. 4. 148). The anuvṛitti of "ग्रन्थ" does not, of course, apply here.

कुलालादिभ्यो वुञ् ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुला-लादिभ्यः, वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेन कृते संज्ञायामिति चैतत्सर्वमनुवर्तते । कुलालादिभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे संज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

118. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'made by him', after the words Kulâla &c. the whole word so formed being a Name.

Thus कौलालकम् 'a porcelain' lit. 'made by a potter'. So also वारुडकम् ॥

1 कुलाल, 2 वरुड, 3 चण्डाल, 4 निषाद, 5 कर्मार, 6 सेना, 7 सिरिध्र (सिरिन्ध्र), 8 सैरिन्ध्र (सेन्द्रिय), 9 देवराज, 10 परिषद् (पर्षद्), 11 वधू, 12 मधु*, 13 रुरु, 14 रुद्र, 15 अनडुह्, 16 ब्रह्मन्, 17 कुम्भकार, 18 श्वपाक, 19 ध्रुव. ॥

क्षुद्राभ्रमरवटरपादपादञ् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुद्रा-भ्रमर-वटर-पादपात्,अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेन कृते संज्ञायामिति सर्वमनुवर्तते । क्षुद्रादिभ्यो ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन कृतइत्येतस्मिन्विषये संज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् । अणोपवादः ॥

119. The affix अञ् comes after the words 'kshudrâ', 'bhramara', 'vaṭara', and 'pâdapa' in the sense of 'made by him', the whole word being a Name.

This debars अण्, there being difference in accent between अण् and अञ् ॥ Thus क्षुद्राभिः कृतम्=क्षौद्रम् 'honey' lit 'made' by a *small* bee'. So also भ्रामरम्, वाटरम् and पादपम ॥

तस्येदम् ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-इदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थादिदमित्येतस्मिन् विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवत्याणादयः पञ्च महोत्सर्गाः । घादयश्च प्रत्यया यथाविहितं विधीयन्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वहेस्तुरणिट् च ॥ वा० अग्नीधः शरणे रण् भं च ॥ वा० ॥ समिधामाधाने षेण्यण् ॥

120. After a word in the 6th case in construetion, an affix (IV. 1. 13 &c) comes, in the sense of 'this is his'.

The five universals अण् &c. (IV, 1. 83) and the affixes घ &c. (IV. 2. 93) come in this sense. Thus उपगोरिदम्=औपगवम्, 'of Upagu'. कापटवम्, राष्ट्रियम्, अवारपारीणं ॥ The affixes, however, do not come, when the word governed by the possessive case, is अनन्तर &c. Thus देवदत्तस्यानन्तरम् ॥ In short the thing possessed must be property, village, kingdom or men.

Vârt:—The verb वह takes तृ (तृण् and तृच्) and अण् preceded by an इट्. As, संवोढुः स्वं=सांवहित्रम् ॥

Vârt:—The affix रञ् comes after अग्नीधः, in the sense of 'house', and the base gets the designation of भ ॥ As अग्नीध्रम् ॥ The word अग्नीध being treated as a Bha and not as a Pada, the ध is not changed to द (VIII. 2. 39).

Vârt:—The affix 'shenyan' comes after समिधा, in the sense of placing. Thus सामिधेन्यो मन्त्रः 'the verses (recited while) placing the fuel on fire', सामिधेनी (IV. 1. 41) ऋक् ॥

रथाद्यत् ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रथात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रथशब्दाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ रथसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधाविति तदन्तविधिरुपसंख्यायते ॥

121. The affix यत् comes after रथ, in the sense of 'this is his.'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus रथस्येदं=रथ्यम् 'belonging to the chariot—i. e. wheel or the axle.' The word रथ्य is confined to describe the parts of chariot. This rule applies also to compounds ending with रथ, as, परमरथ्यम्, उत्तमरथ्यम् because of the Vârtika रथसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधौ, after रथ, सीता and हल in applying the affix यत् there is tadanta-vidhi.

पत्रपूर्वादञ् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्रपूर्वात्-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पत्रपूर्वाद्रथशब्दादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

122. When preceded by a word denoting 'a draught animal', रथ takes the affix अञ् in the sense of 'this is his.'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus आश्वरथं चक्रं 'the wheel of a horse-cart.' औष्ट्ररथम् ॥ गार्दभ रथं ॥

The word पत्र means 'that by which any one goes' or a draught-animal, like camel. It is formed by the affix ष्ट्रन् (III. 2. 182).

पत्राध्वर्युपरिषदश्च ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्र-अध्वर्यु-परिषदः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पत्रं वाहनं तद्वाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादध्वर्युपरिषच्छब्दाभ्यां चाञ्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये, ऽणोपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पत्राद्वाह्ये ॥

123. After a word denoting a draught-animal, and after the words 'adhvaryu' and 'parishad,' the affix अञ् is added.

This debars अण् ॥ The पत्रं means वाहन ॥ When the sense is that of a thing to be carried, then is अञ् added to a word denoting 'a draught-animal.' Thus अश्वस्येदम् वहनीयम् = आश्वम् 'a load to be or suited for being, carried by horse.' So also औष्ट्रम्, गार्दभम् ॥ So also आध्वर्यवम् and पारिषदम् ॥

हलसीराट्ठक् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल-सीरात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलसीरशब्दाभ्यां ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्यस्मिन्विषयेऽणोपवादः ॥

124. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is his,' after the words 'hala' and 'sîra.'

Thus हलस्येदम् = हालिकम्, सैरिकम् ॥

द्वन्द्वाद्वुन् वैरमैथुनिकयोः ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वात्-वुन्-वैर-मैथुनिकयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वसंज्ञकाद् वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये, वैरमैथुनिकयोः प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणयोः । अणोपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वैरे देवासुरादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

125. The affix वुन् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after Dvandva compounds of words denoting 'mutual enmity', or 'matrimonial relationship'

This debars अण् and छ ॥ Thus of 'enmity' बाभ्रव्यशालङ्कायनिका, काकोलूकिका ॥ Similarly of married couples as, अत्रिभरद्वाजिका, कुत्सकुशिकिका ॥

The Dvandva compounds of words denoting natural enemies will be singular neuter by II. 4. 9. Their secondary derivatives, however, are feminine.

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated of the word देवासुर &c. As देवासुरम् ॥ राक्षोऽसुरम् वैरम् ॥

गोत्रचरणाद्वुञ् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र-चरणात्-वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रवाचिभ्यश्चरणवाचिभ्य प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो वुञ्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये, ऽणोपवादः॥

126. The affix वुञ् comes, in the sense of 'this is his', after the words denoting Family-names or names of Vedic Schools.

This debas अण् as well छ ॥ Thus gotra:—ग्लौचुकायनकम्, औपगवकम् ॥ According to Patanjali, the word चरण which ordinarly means Vedic School,

means here duties or doctrines (dharma), and traditions (âmnaya). Thus कठानां धर्म आम्नायो वा = काठकम् 'the dharma-Sutras or the tradition belonging to the school of Kaṭhas'. So also कालापकम्, मौदकम्, पैप्पलादकम् ॥

संघाङ्कलक्षणेष्वञ्यञिञामण् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघ-अङ्क-लक्षणेषु-अञ्-यञ्-इञां, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संघादिषु प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणेष्वञन्तात् यञन्तात् इञन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येद मित्येतस्मिन् विषये । पूर्वस्य वुञो ऽपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ घोषग्रहणमत्र कर्तव्यम् ॥

127. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after a Patronymic word ending with the affix अञ्, यञ् or इञ्, the words so formed expressing a multitude, a mark or a sign.

The word संघ means 'congregation'. The word लक्षण and अङ्क should be distinguished. लक्षण means a mark which is the property of that person and forms a *distinguishing* feature of that person, as विद्या 'learning' is a लक्षण of the clan of Bidas, the Bidas being famous for learning. The word अङ्क is a mark which shows that the thing so marked is the property of another: as a mark on a cow showing to what person or clan that cow belongs. The अङ्क though occurring in a person or thing does not *belong* to that person or thing, as the mark of a cow does not belong to the cow, but the लक्षण is a mark which belongs to the person or thing wherein it is found.

This sûtra debars वुञ् of the last aphorism.

Vârt :—The word घोष 'a cow-pen', should also be read along with संघ &c. Thus the words so formed denote *four* things (1) congregation, (2) mark (3) sign (4) a hamlet or cowpen. This being so, the rule of mutual correspondence according to order of enumeration (I. 3. 10) does not apply.

Thus अञन्तात् (IV. 1. 104)—बैदः 'a congregation, or mark or sign or a hamlet of the Bidas'. यञन्तात् (IV. 1 105)—गार्ग्य + अण् = गार्गः (VI. 4. 148, 151) "a congregation, or a mark, or a sign or a hamlet belonging to the Gârgyâs? इञन्तात् (IV. 1. 95),—दाक्षि + अण् = दाक्षः (VI. 4. 148) 'a congregation &c of the Dâkshis'.

The ण् of अण् could not serve the purpose of Vṛiddhi here, for all the words to which this affix is added, have Vriddhi by virtue of the affixes अञ्, यञ् or इञ् in which they end. The अ would have served the purpose as well, so far as Vriddhi is concerned, but अण् is used to show that the feminine is formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 15), Thus बैदी ॥ It further prevents पुंवद्भाव in compounds (VI. 3. 39), as, बैदी विद्याऽस्य = बैदीविद्यः i. e. बिदानामसाधारणी या विद्या सा यस्यास्ति स ॥

शाकलाद्वा ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शाकलात्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाकलशब्दात्संघादिषु प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणेषु वाऽण्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । वुञोऽपवादः ॥

128. The affix अण् optionally comes, in the sense of 'this is his congregation, mark, sign or hamlet,' after the word शाकल ॥

This debars वुञ् ॥ Thus शाकलेन प्रोक्तमधीयते = शाकलाः (IV. 3. 101 and IV. 2. 64), शाकलानाम् संघः = शाकलः or शाकलकः (IV. 3. 126) meaning 'a congregation, &c of the students of the science revealed by Śâkala.'

छन्दोगौक्थिकयाज्ञिकबह्वृचनटाञ्ञ्यः ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दोग-औक्थिक-याज्ञिक-बह्वृच-नटात्, ञ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संघादयो निवृत्ताः, सामान्येन विधानम् । छन्दोगादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योञ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । वुञणोरपवादः ॥

129. The affix ञ्य comes in the sense of 'this is his Law or Tradition,' after the words 'chhândoga,' 'aukthika,' 'yâjnika,' 'bahvricha' and 'nata.'

The anuvṛitti of संघ &c ceases. The ञ्य debars अण् and वुञ् ॥ The phrase चरणाद्धर्माम्नाययोः from sûtra IV. 3. 126 is understood here and applies even to the word नटः ॥

Thus छन्दोगानां धर्मो वा ऽऽम्नायो वा छान्दोग्यम् 'the Law or Tradition peculiar to the Chhandoga.' So also औक्थिक्यम्, याज्ञिक्यम्, बाह्वृच्यम् and नाट्यम् ॥

Not having this sense we have: छान्दोगं कुलम् 'the family of Chhandoga.'

न दण्डमाणवान्तेवासिषु ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दण्ड-माणव, अन्तेवासिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दण्डप्रधाना माणवा दण्डमाणवाः, अन्तेवासिनः शिष्याः, स्तेष्वभिधेयेषु वुञ् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

130. The affix वुञ् is not used after a Family-name when it denotes a 'beginner pupil', and 'a boarder pupil.'

The word दण्डमाणवाः means a little naughty boy (माणव), the only means of instilling knowledge in whom is the rod (दण्ड), or whose principal sign of studentship is the 'daṇḍa' and nothing intrnisic. i. e. a mere beginner. The न is changed to ण in माणव by IV. 1. 161 kârikâ. अन्तेवासिनः are pupils or boarders who live in their teacher's house. The word 'gotra' is understood here. Thus दाक्षाः "the junior or the senior pupils of Dâkshi.' माहकाः ॥ So also गौकक्षाः दण्डमाणवा अन्तेवासिनोवा ॥

रैवतिकादिभ्यश्छः ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रैवतिकादिभ्यः, छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रैवतिकादिभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

131. The affix छ comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words रैवातिक &c.

All these words end with Gotra affixes, and require वुञ् (IV. 3. 126), this ordains छ instead. Thus रैवतिकीयः, स्वापिशीयः &c.

1 रैवतिक, 2 स्वापिशि, 3 क्षेमवृद्धि, 4 गौरग्रीवि (गौरग्रीव), 5 औदमेघि (औदमेधि), 6 औदवापि (औदवाहि), 7 बैजवापि.

कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदादण् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कौपिञ्जल-हास्तिपदात्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदशब्दाभ्यामण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । गोत्रवुञोपवादः ॥

132. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words 'kaupinjala' and 'hâstipada'.

This debars वुञ् (IV. 3. 126). Thus कौपिञ्जलः, हास्तिपदः ॥ This sûtra is really a Vârtika.

आथर्वणिकस्येकलोपश्च ॥ १३३ ॥ आथर्वणिकस्य, इकलोपः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणित्येव । आथर्वणिकशब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्सन्नियोगेन चेकलोपः, तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । चरणवुञोपवादः ॥

133. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'this is his', after the word 'âtharva*n*ika', and the penultimate 'ika' is elided.

This debars वुञ् (IV. 3: 126). Thus आथर्वणिकस्यायम् = आथर्वणो धर्म आम्नायो वा "the Atharvana i. e. the Law or the Tradition of the Atharvanikas". The phrase चरणाद् धर्माम्नाययोः is understood here. This sûtra is also a vârtika.

तस्य विकारः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, विकारः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाद्विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'a modification thereof'.

The word विकार means the change of condition of the original. The word तस्य, though its aunivṛitti could have been supplied from the previous sûtras, has been repeated here, in order to show that the governing force of शेषे (IV. 2. 92) does not extend further. The affixes taught, therefore, under शेषे (IV. 2. 92 &c). such as घ, ख &c. have not the sense of तस्य विकार ॥

No affix has been tanght here in this sûtra: the general affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) therefore will come in this sense, as well as the affixes to be taught hereafter. To give an example under this sûtra, we must take such a word which is not governed or provided for, by the subsequent sûtras. That is the

word must not denote a living animal for to it अञ् (IV. 3. 154) applies; it must have udâtta on the first syllable, for an anudâttâdi will have अञ् (IV. 3. 140); it must not have a Vṛiddhi vowel आ, ऐ, or औ in the first syllable, to which मयट् (IV. 3. 144) applies; and it must not be a word specifically mentioned in any one of the following aphorisms. Thus it applies to the words अश्मन् and भस्मन् formed by मनिन् (Uṇ IV. 146, 145) and to मृत्तिका formed by तिकन् (V. 4. 39) which are âdyudâtta owing to नित् accent. Thus अश्मनो विकारः = आश्मनः ॥ The टि is sometimes elided. (VI. 4. 144 Vârt) As आश्मः ॥ So also भास्मनः and मार्त्तिकः ॥

अवयवे च प्राण्योषधिवृक्षेभ्यः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवयवे, च, प्राणी-ओषधि-वृक्षेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राण्योषधिवृक्षवाचिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यो ऽवयवे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्विकारे च ॥

135. An affix comes after a word denoting an animal, a herb and a tree, in sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'this is its part', (as well as 'this is its modification').

By the word च in the sûtra, the phrase तस्य विकारः is also read into the sûtra.

Thus कपोतस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = कापोतः (IV.3.154) ॥ So also मायूरः, तैत्तिरः 'a modification, product or part of a peacock &c—viz a fan &c.' So also ओषधिः as, मौर्वम् 'product of Murva i. e. ashes or the stalk of Murva'. So also वृक्ष, as, कारीरं meaning "the stalk or the ashes of Kârîra tree".

In the subsequent sûtras, both the words विकार and अवयव have governing force. But after words which denote non-animals, non-plants or non-trees, the affixes have only the sense of विकार ॥ This is a rather unique case of double anuvṛitti, not co-extensive in every respect.

बिल्वादिभ्यो ऽण् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बिल्वादिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बिल्व इत्येवमादिभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । यथायोगमञ्मयटोरपवादः ।

136. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its modification or its part,' after the words बिल्व &c.

This debars अञ् and मयट् ॥ Thus बैल्वः 'the modification or part of Bilwa.' The word गवेधुका: occurs in this list. It would have taken 'aṇ' by the next sûtra also; its inclusion in the class of Bilwâdi is for the sake of preventing the application of मयट् to this word.

1 बिल्व, 2 व्रीहि, 3 काण्ड, 4 मुद्ग, 5 मसूर, 6 गोधूम, 7 इक्षु, 8 वेणु, 9 गवेधुका, 10 कर्पासी 11 पाटली; 12 कर्कन्धू, 13 कुटीर.

कोपधाच्च ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क, उपधात्-च (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ककारोपधात्प्रातिपदिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति यथायोगं विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः। अञोऽपवादः ॥

137. After a word having क् as penultimate, the affix अण् comes, in the sense of modification or a part, or both, as appropriate.

This debars अञ्. Thus तर्कु तार्क्कवम्, तित्तिडीक, तैत्तिडीकं; माण्डूकम्, दार्दुरूकम्, माधूकम् ॥ The word तित्तिडीक &c have acute on the middle (Phiṭ Su. II. 16).

त्रपुजतुनोः षुक् ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रपु-जतुनोः-षुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रपुजतुशब्दाभ्यामण् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारे,तत्सन्नियोगेन तयोःषुगागमो भवति।ओरञोऽपवादः ॥

138. The affix अण् with the augment षुक् comes in the sense of 'its modification,' after the words 'trapun' and 'jatun'.

This debars अञ् (IV. 3. 139). As, त्रपुणो विकारः = त्रापुषम् ; जातुषम् "modification of tin and lac.' In these words denoting non-organic beings, the sense of अवयव is not denoted by the affix.

ओरञ् ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्तात्प्रातिपदिकादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः, रणोऽपवादः ॥

139. The affix अञ् comes after a word ending in short उ, in the sense of 'modification or part,' (provided that the word has not grave accent on the first syllable).

Thus दैवदारवम्, भाद्रदारवम् ॥ The words देवदारु and भद्रदारु are ȃdy-udȃtta owing to Phiṭ Su. II. 14 (पीतद्र्वर्थानाम्—the trees denoting soft timber trees have acute on the first).

अनुदात्तादेश्च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तादेः, च (अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तादेः प्रातिपदिकादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयो, रणोपवादः ॥

140. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'modification or part', after a word having anudȃtta accent on the first syllable.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus दाधित्थम्, कापित्थम्, माहित्थम् ॥ The word दधित्थम् is an upapada-samȃsa of दधि + स्थ, the स being changed to त ; and it is finally acute by कृदुत्तरपद प्रकृतिस्वर ॥

पलाशादिभ्यो वा ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पलाशादिभ्यः-वा (अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पलाशादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो वा ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

141. The affix अञ् comes optionally in the sense of 'modification or part', after the words पलाश &c.

Thus पालाशम् or पालाशम् so also खादिरम् or खादिरम्, यावासम् or यावासम् ॥

This sûtra is an example of prâpta and aprâpta vibhâshâ. The words पलाश, खदिर, शिंशपा and स्यन्दन being gravely accented on the first syllable, the affix अञ् was obligatory by the last aphorism. This makes it optional, and is prâpta-vibhâshâ. In the case of others it is aprâpta- vibhâshâ.

1 पलाश, 2 खदिर, 3 शिंशपा, 4 स्यन्दन (स्पन्दन), 5 पूलाक*, 6 करीर, 7 शिरीष, 8 यवास, 9 विकङ्कत.

शम्याष्ट्लञ् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शम्याः-ट्लञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शमीशब्दाद् ट्लञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । अञोपवादः ॥

142. The affix ट्लञ् comes in the sense of 'its modification or part', after the word शमी.

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus शामीलं भस्म, शामीली स्रुक् (IV. 1. 60).

मयड्वैतयोर्भाषायामभक्ष्याच्छादनयोः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयट्-वा-एतयोः, भाषायाम्, अभक्ष्य-आच्छादनयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृतिमात्राद्वा मयट् प्रत्ययो भवति भक्ष्याच्छादनवर्जितयोर्विकारावयवयोरर्थयोर्भाषायां विषये यथायथं प्रत्ययेषु प्राप्तेषु ॥

143. The affix मयट् comes optionally after any base, in those two meanings of product and part, in secular language, when neither food nor clothing is spoken of.

Thus अश्ममयम् or आश्मनम् '(IV. 3. 134)' मूर्वामयं or मौर्वम् (IV. 3. 135).

Why do we say भाषायाम् 'in secular language'? Witness बैल्वः खादिरो वा यूपः स्यात् ॥

Why do we say 'when neither food nor clothing is spoken of'? Observe मौद्गः सूपः 'a soup made of kidney beans'. कार्पासम् आच्छादनम् ॥

Why the word एतयोः 'in those two meanings' is used in the sûtra, when by context, the words विकार and अवयव were to be read into the sûtra? Its use indicates that the special affixes, such as taught in IV. 3. 135, 136 &c are replaced also by मयट् ॥ Thus कपोतमयम् or कापोतम् (IV. 3. 135), लोहमयम् or लौहम् ॥

नित्यं वृद्धशरादिभ्यः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, वृद्ध-शरादिभ्यः (मयट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाषायामभक्ष्याच्छादनयोरित्येव । वृद्धेभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः शरादिभ्यश्चाभक्ष्याच्छादनयोर्विकारावयवयोर्भाषायां विषये नित्यं मयट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

144. The affix मयट् comes in the sense of its product or part, when neither food nor clothing is spoken of, invariably after Vriddha words, and after शर &c.

Thus after Vṛiddha—आम्रमयम्, शालमयम्, शाकमयम् ॥ After शरादि words :— शरमयम्, दर्भमयम्, मृन्मयम् ॥

Why do we use the word नित्यः 'invariably' in the sûtra, when by the mere fact of making a separate sûtra, the affix would be obligatory.? The affix मयट्, according to Patanjali comes invariably after words of one syllable. That is done by using the word नित्य in the sûtra. Thus, त्वङ् मयम्, वाङ् मयम्, वाङ् मयम् ॥

1 शर, 2 दर्भ, 3 मृद्, 4 कुटी. 5 तृण, 6 सोम, 7 बल्वज (वल्वज).

गोश्च पुरीषे ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोः, च-पुरीषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोशब्दात्पुरीषे ऽभिधेये मयट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

145. affix मयट् comes after the word गो in the sense of 'its dung.'

Thus गोमयम् 'cow dung'. Dung' is neither a modification nor a part of cow. Therefore this separate sûtra for गो ॥ Why do we say meaning 'its dung'? Observe गव्यं = milk. The affix यत् here comes in the sense of product or part. (IV. 3. 160), though strictly speaking 'milk' also is not an 'avayava' or a 'vikâra' of गो ॥

पिष्टाच्च ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पिष्टात्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पिष्टशब्दान्नित्यं मयट् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषये, ऽणोपवादः ॥

146. The affix मयट् invariably comes in the sense of its product or part, after the word पिष्ट ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पिष्टमयं भस्म ॥ Otherwise अण्, as पैष्टी सुरा in the sense of तस्येदम् ॥

संज्ञायां कन् ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां-कन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पिष्टशब्दात्कन् प्रत्ययो भवति विकार संज्ञायां विषये। मयटोपवादः ॥

147. The affix कन् comes in the sense of product, after the word पिष्ट, the whole word being a Name.

This debars मयट् ॥ As पिष्टकः ॥

व्रीहेः पुरोडाशे ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्रीहेः-पुरोडाशे (मयट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्रीहिशब्दान्मयट् प्रत्ययो भवति पुरोडाशे विकारे। बिल्वाद्यणोपवादः ॥

148. The affix मयट् comes after the word व्रीहि in the sense of a 'Purodâsa.'

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 136). Thus व्रीहिमयः पुरोडाशः 'a sacred cake made of barley.' Otherwise व्रैहम् ॥

असंज्ञायां तिलयवाभ्याम् ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ असंज्ञायाम्, तिल-यवाभ्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिलयवशब्दाभ्यामसंज्ञाविषये मयट् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

149. The affix मयट् comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the words 'tila' and 'yava'—the whole not being a name.

Thus तिलमयम्, यवमयम्, ॥ Why do we say असंज्ञायाम् "it not being a Name?" Observe तैलम् 'oil,' यावकः formed with कन्. (यावादिभ्यः कन् V. 4. 29)

द्व्यचश्छन्दसि ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्व्यचः-छन्दसि (मयट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्व्यचः प्रातिपदिकाच् छन्दसि विषये मयट् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

150. In the Chhandas, after a dissyllabic word, the affix मयट् comes in the sense of 'its product or part.'

This ordains मयट् in the sacred literature also, secular literature being dealt with in IV. 3 143. Thus पर्णमयः, दर्भमयः, शरमयः in the following यस्य पर्णमयी जुहूर्भवति, दर्भमयम् वासो भवति, शरमयम् बर्हि र्भवति ॥

नोत्वद्वर्ध्रबिल्वात् ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-उत्वत्-वर्ध्र-बिल्वात् (मयट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्वतः प्रातिपदिकाद्वर्ध्रबिल्वशब्दाभ्यां च मयट् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

151. The affix मयट् does not come in the Chhandas after the dissyllabic words, having a short vowel उ in them, nor after the words 'vardhra' and 'bilwa.'

Thus मौञ्जं शिक्यम् from मुञ्ज by अण् ॥ गार्मुतं चरुम्, वार्ध्री बालप्रथिता भवति; बैल्वो ब्रह्मवर्चसकामेन कार्यः ॥

The word उत्वत् means 'having उत् or short u (I. 1. 70)' The rule does not apply to words containing long ऊ, as सूममयान्यक्षाणि ॥ The वत् in उत्वत् shows that the rule applies not only to words *ending* in उ, but also to words *having* उ. Had वत् not been used, the tadanta-vidhi would require the application of the rule to words *ending* in उ, but not to those which had उ in any other part of their form. So that the prohibition applies to वेणु also, as वैणवी यष्टिः (IV. 3. 136).

The word मुञ्ज is âdy-udâtta by तृणधान्यानां (Phiṭ II. 4): and therefore it takes the universal अण् (IV. 3. 134). The word गर्मुत् is formed by the affix उत् plus the augment मुट् (मृग्रोरुतिः, ग्रो मुट् च Uṇ I. 94 and 95), and is finally acute, and therefore it takes अञ् by IV. 3. 140, and forms गार्मुत ॥ This word has

acute on the final also, as तस्या एतं गार्मुतं चरुं निर्वपेत् ॥ The word वर्ध्र is âdyudâtta by Phit II. 19. and therefore takes अण्, the feminine being formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 15).

तालादिभ्योण् ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तालादिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तालादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । मयडादीनामपवादः ॥

152. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the words 'tâla &c'.

This debars मयट् &c. Thus तालं धनुः, बार्हिणम्, ऐन्द्रालिशम् ॥

1 तालाद्धनुषि, 2 बार्हिण, 3 इन्द्रालिश, 4 इन्द्रादृश, 5 इन्द्रायुध, 6 चय (चाप, चर्म), 7 श्यामाक, 8 पीयूक्षा.

जातरूपेभ्यः परिमाणे ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातरूपेभ्यः-परिमाणे (अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातरूपं सुवर्णम् । बहुवचननिर्देशात्तद्वाचिनः सर्वे गृह्यन्ते । जातरूपवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति परिमाणे विकारे । मयडादीनामपवादः ॥

153. The affix अण् comes after a word denoting 'gold', when the sense is a weight or measure.

The word जातरूप means 'gold'. It is used in the plural in the sûtra, indicating that all words synonymous with gold are to be taken.

This debars मयट् &c. Thus हाटको निष्कः, हाटकं कार्षापणम्, जातरूपम्, तापनीयम् ॥

Why do we say 'meaning a measure'. Observe यष्टिरियं हाटकमयी ॥

प्राणिरजतादिभ्यो ऽञ् ॥ १५४ ॥ प्राणि-रजतादिभ्यः-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राणिवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो रजतादिभ्यश्चाञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । अणादीनामपवादः ॥

154. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after words expressing living beings, and after रजत &c.

This debars अण् &c. The affix अञ् has been ordained to come after those words that have anudâtta in the beginning. This sûtra applies to words other than those having anudâtta in the beginning.

Thus:—कापोतम्, मायूरम्, तैत्तिरम्; राजतम्, सैसम्; लौहम्, &c. In the class रजतादि those words like रजत, कण्टकार &c, which have anudâtta on the beginning and would have taken अञ् by IV. 3. 140, have been enumerated to prevent the application of मयट् to them.

1 रजत, 2 सीस, 3 लोह, 4 उदुम्बर, 5 नीप (नीच, नील), 6 दारु, 7 रोहीतक (रोहितक), 8 वि- [illegible]

ञितश्च तत्प्रत्ययात् ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ञितः-च-तत्-प्रत्ययात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञित्येव । तदिति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः प्रत्ययमर्शः । ञितोविकारावयवप्रत्ययस्तदन्तात्आतिप-दिकादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरेव । मयटोपवादः ॥

155. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after a word which ends with an affix having an indicatory ञ् such affix denoting 'its product or part'.

The affixes having indicatory ञ denoting product or part, are अञ् (IV. 3. 139), टलञ् (IV. 3. 142), अञ् (IV. 3. 154) वुञ् (IV. 3. 157), ढञ् (IV. 3. 159), अञ्, यञ् (IV. 5. 168). When a tertiary derivative of a word ending with these affixes is to be made, the affix अञ् is used. Thus दैवदारवस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = दैवदारवम्; so also दाधित्थम्, पालाशम्, शामीलम्, कापोतम् औष्ट्रकम्. ऐणेयम्, कांस्यम्, पारशवम् ॥

Why do we say ञितः? Witness बैल्वमयं. Here मयट् is used after बैल्व and the derivative is formed by अण् of IV. 3. 136. So also बैदमयम् ॥

क्रीतवत्परिमाणात् ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रीतवत्-परिमाणात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्वतेष्ठञित्यत आरभ्य क्रीतार्थे ये प्रत्ययाः परिमाणाद्विहितास्ते विकारेऽतिदिश्यन्ते । परिमाणात् क्रीत इव प्रत्यया भवन्ति तस्य विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणादीनामपवादः ॥

156. After a word denoting 'a measure', the affix expressing 'its product or part' is the same as the affix having the sense of purchased.

The affixes taught in V. 1. 18 &c are the affixes that have the force of क्रीत (V. 1. 37). These affixes come also after words denoting measure (V. 1. 19). The same affixes are employed to denote विकार, after words denoting परिमाण ॥ This debars अण् &c. Thus निष्केन क्रीतम् = नैष्किकम् (V. 1. 20); It will denote vikâra also, निष्कस्य विकारः = नैष्किकः formed by ठक् (V. 1. 20). As शतेनक्रीतं = शत्यं or शातिकम् (V. 1. 21), so शतस्य विकारः = शत्यः or शतिकः by यन् and ठन् (V. 1. 21), सहस्रेणक्रीतं = साहस्रम् (V. 1. 27) so सहस्रस्य विकारः = साहस्रः (V. 1. 27 by अण्) ॥

The word वत् in क्रीतवत् indicates that the similarity is complete throughout. Thus Sûtra V. 1. 28 also applies, by which the affix is elided. As द्विसहस्रः or द्विसाहस्रः (V. 1. 29), द्विनिष्कः or द्विनैष्किकः ॥ The word परिमाण in this sûtra includes संख्या 'the numerals' also; while the technical word परिमाण does not include sankhyâ. See IV. 1. 22 and V. 1. 19 &c. The similarity extends even to the elision of affix (V. 1. 28) as, द्विसहस्रः, द्विसाहस्रः &c.

उष्ट्राद्वुञ् ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उष्ट्रात्, वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष्ट्रशब्दाद्वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । प्राण्यञोपवादः ॥

157. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the word 'ush*t*ra.

This debars अञ् (IV. 3. 154). उष्ट्रस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = औष्ट्रकः ॥

उमोर्णयोर्वा ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उमा-ऊर्णयोः-वा (वुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उमाशब्दादूर्णाशब्दाच्च वा वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ।

158. The affix वुञ् comes optionally in the sense of 'its product or part, after the words उमा and ऊर्णा.

Thus औमम् or औमकम्, और्णम् or और्णकम् ॥

एण्या ढञ् ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एण्याः, ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एणीशब्दाद् ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । प्राग्वञोऽपवादः ॥

159. The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the feminine word एणी ॥

Thus ऐणेयं मांसम् 'the flesh of a female black deer.' But एणस्य मांसम् = ऐणम् 'the flesh of a male deer', formed by अञ् ॥

गोपयसोर्यत् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ गो-पयसोः, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोपयः शब्दाभ्यां यत् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

160. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the words गो and पयस् ॥

Thus गव्यम् (VI. 1. 79), पयस्यम् ॥

द्रोश्च ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्रुशब्दाद्यत्प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । ओरञोपवादः ॥

161. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'its product or part' after the word 'dru.'

This debars अञ् (IV. 3. 139). Thus द्रु + यत् = द्रव्यम् (VI. 1. 79).

माने वयः ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ माने-वयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्रुशब्दान्माने विकारविशेषे वयः प्रत्ययो भवति । यतोपवादः ॥

162. The affix वय comes in the sense of 'its product,' after the word 'dru,' the word meaning 'a measure.

This debars यत् ॥ As द्रुवयम् 'a measure.'

फले लुक् ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ फले, लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकारावयवयोरुत्पन्नस्य फले तद्विशेषे विवक्षिते लुग् भवति ॥

163. The affix denoting 'product or part' is elided by *luk*, when such product or part is 'a fruit.

Thus आमलक्याः फलं = आमलकी + मयट् लुक् = आमलकं 'the fruit of Myrobolans.' So also बदरम् ॥ The fruit is a "product" as well as a "part" of a fruit-bearing tree.

प्लक्षादिभ्योऽण् ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्लक्षादिभ्यः-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलइत्येव । प्लक्षादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः फले विकारावयवत्वेन विवक्षिते ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । अञोपवादः ॥

164. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its product or part, it being a fruit,' after the word 'plaksha &c.'

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus प्लाक्षम्, नैयग्रोधम् ॥

1 प्लक्ष, 2 न्यग्रोध, 3 अश्वत्थ, 4 इङ्गुदी, 5 शिग्रु, 6 रुरु, 7 कक्षतु (कर्कन्धु, कर्कन्तु बृहतु) 8 बृहती. ॥

जम्ब्वा वा ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जम्ब्वाः-वा (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलइत्येव । जम्बूशब्दात्फले ऽभिधेये वाऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । अञोपवादः ॥

165. The affix अण् comes optionally in denoting a fruit, after the word 'jambû'.

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus जम्बु + अण् = जाम्बवं as जाम्बवानि फलानि ॥ But when the general affix अञ् is added, it is elided by IV. 3. 163. As जम्बू + अञ् (IV. 3. 139) = जम्बु, as जम्बूनि फलानि (VI. 4. 8) ॥

लुप् च ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुप्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेत्येव । जम्ब्वाः फलेभिधेये प्रत्ययस्य वा लुप् भवति । लुक्लुपोर्भावे विशेषः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लुप्प्रकरणे फलपाकशुषामुपसंख्यानम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुष्पमूलेषु बहुलम् ॥

166. The affix denoting fruit is optionally elided by lup after the word 'jambû'.

The word वा is understood here. The difference between 'luk' and 'lup' elision is that in the case of 'lup', there is concordance of gender and number. See sûtra I. 2. 51. Thus जम्बू + अञ्लुप् = जम्बूः, as, जम्बूः फलं ॥ Optionally जम्ब्वाः फलं = जम्बु फलं, or जाम्बवं ॥

Vârt :—There is lup-elision of the affix denoting fruit, after the words expressing deciduous plants which wither away as soon as the fruit ripens: Thus व्रीहिः—व्रीहयः, यवाः, माषाः, मुद्गाः, तिलाः ॥

Vârt :—Diversely so when the affix denotes flowers and roots: as, मल्लिकायां पुष्पं = मल्लिका, नवमल्लिका जातिः; so also विदार्या मूलं = विदारी ॥ अंशुमती बृहती ॥

In the above example there is concordance. By using 'diversely', this concordance does not sometime take place. As पाटलानि पुष्पाणि, शाल्वानि मूलानि ॥ So कदम्बं पुष्पं, अशोकम्, करवीरम्, बैल्वानि फलानि &c.

हरीतक्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरीतक्यादिभ्यः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरीतकी इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः फले प्रत्ययस्य लुप् भवति । लुकिप्राप्ते लुपो विधाने युक्तवद्भावे लिङ्गवचनार्थं प्रत्ययश्रवणे च विशेषः ॥

167. The affix denoting 'fruit' is elided by लुप, after the words 'Harîtakî' &c.

Here also there is concordance (1. 2. 51), As हरीतक्याः फलं = हरीतकी instead of हरीतकं ॥ So also कोशातकी, नखरजनी ॥ According to Patanjali, the concordance is with regard to gender only, the number will be governed by the sense, as हरीतकी फलं, हरीतक्यः फलानि ॥

1 हरीतकी, 2 कोशातकी, 3 नखरजनी (नखररजनी) 4 शष्कण्डी (शाकण्डी) 5 दाडी, 6 दोडी, 7 श्वेतपाकी, 8 अर्जुनपाकी, 9 द्राक्षा, 10 काला, 11 ध्वाक्षा (ध्वाङ्क्षा) 12 गर्भीका (गर्गरिका) 13 कण्टकारिका, 14 पिप्पली*, 15 चिञ्चा* (चिम्पा), 16 शेफालिका, 17 दडी. ॥

कंसीयपरशव्ययोर्यञञौ लुक् च ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कंसीय-परशव्ययोः, यञ्-अञौ, लुक्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राक्क्रीताच्छेन कंसीयः । उगवादिभ्यो यत् । परशव्यः । कंसीयपरशव्यशब्दाभ्यां यथासंख्यं यञञौ प्रत्ययौ भवतस्तस्य विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषये, तत्संनियोगेन च कंसीयपरशव्ययोर्लुग् भवति ॥

168. The affixes यञ्, and अञ् come respectively in the sense of 'its product', after the words 'kansîya' and 'parasavyâ', and there is luk-elision (of the छ and यत् affixes of those words).

The word कंसीयः is formed by छ (V. 1. 1), and परशव्य is formed by adding यत् (V. 1. 2). These affixes छ and यत् are elided when the affiixes यञ् and अञ् are added. Thus कंसीय + यञ् = कंस + यञ = कांस्यः so also पारशव from परशव्य thus परशव्य + अञ् = परशु + अञ् = पारशवः ॥

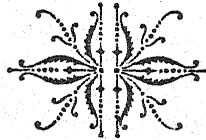
The words लुक् च mean 'there shall be elision'. Of what? Certainly not of the primitive, for लुक् is never applied to the elision of a base, but of an affix only (I. 1. 61). It follows therefore that the elision is of the affixes of कंसीय and परशव्य ॥ Now these words have two affixes, thus. To the root कम् is added first the Uṇâdi affix स (Uṇ III. 62)and we get कंस ; next to कंस is added छ. So also to पर + शॄ is added the affix उ (Uṇ I. 33) and we have परशु, to which is then added यत् and we have परशव्य ॥ The question arises, should these affixes स and उ be also elided. The answer is 'no'. The word प्रातिपदिकात् of IV. 1. 1 is understood is this sûtra ; so the elision will take place of those affixes only

which follow a prâtipadika. But स and ञ are added to a Dhâtu and not a prâtipadika, hence those affixes are saved from the operation of लुक् ॥

The word परशव्यं being gravely accented on the first (VI. 1. 185) would have taken अञ् by IV. 3. 140. The present sûtra teaches the elision only of its affix यत्, अञ् being already obtained.

Q. The final अ of कंसीय and परशव्य will be elided by VI. 4. 148 before these taddhita affixes, and after such elision, the final य् will be elided by VI. 4. 150, where is then the necessity of this sûtra?

A. The final य् will not be elided, because VI. 4. 150 will apply only then, when an affix beginning with long ई follows, which is not the case here.



ओ३म् ।

अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

प्राग्वहतेष्ठक् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्-वहतेः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गमिति वक्ष्यति । प्रागेतस्माद्वहति संशब्दनाद्यानर्थाननुक्रमिष्यामः, ठक् प्रत्ययस्तेष्वधिकृतो वेदितव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ठक्प्रकरणे तदाहेति माशब्दादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ आहौप्रभूतादिभ्यः ॥ वा० ॥ पृच्छतौ सुस्नातादिभ्यः ॥ वा० ॥ गच्छतौ परदारादिभ्यः ॥

1. The affix ठक् comes as a governing affix, in the senses enumerated hereafter up to sûtra IV. 4. 76.

This is an adhikâra sûtra. The affix ठक् bears rule from this one forward to the sûtra तद्वहति &c. Thus in the next sûtra it is said; "After a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of "who plays, digs, conquers, or is conquered:" Now this sûtra is incomplete. We must read the word ठक् into it. Thus अक्षै र्दीव्यति = आक्षिकः "who plays with aksha—a dicer.' अक्ष + ठक् = आक्षिकः (VII. 3. 50).

Vârt:—After the words माशब्द &c, the affix 'ṭhak' comes in the sense 'he said that.' Thus माशब्द इत्याह = माशब्दिकः who says 'don't make noise,' कार्यशब्दिकः ॥ This is the case of an affix added to a sentence.

Vârt:—So also after प्रभूत &c in the sense 'he said': as प्रभूतमाह = प्राभूतिकः, पार्याप्तिकः ॥ These are examples of affixes added to an adverb.

Vârt:—So also after सुस्नात &c in the sense 'he asks,' as, सुस्नातं पृच्छति = सौस्नातिकः "Who asks, have you bathed well". साखरात्रिकः, सौखशायनिकः ॥

Vârt:—So also after परदार &c in the sense of 'he goes to, or commits adultery with': as परदारान् गच्छति = पारदारिकः, गौरुतल्पिक ॥ The word तल्प here refers to "wife".

तेन दीव्यति खनति जयति जितम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन-दीव्यति-खनति-जयति-जितम् ॥

भाष्यः ॥ तनति तृतीयासमर्थाद् दीव्यति खनति जयति जितमित्येतेष्वर्थेषु ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

2. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of, 'he plays', 'he digs', 'he conquers' or 'he is conquered'.

Thus अक्षैर्दीव्यति = आक्षिकः 'who plays with dice—a dicer'. शालाकिकः ॥ अभ्र्या खनति = आभ्रिकः, कौद्दालिकः, अक्षैर्जयति = आक्षिकः, अक्षैर्जितं = आक्षिकम् ॥ शालाकिकम् ॥

Though the rule is couched in universal terms, yet the affix does not come after every instrumental case. Thus देवदत्तेन जितम् will not give rise to any affix, for the word दैवदत्तिकः is not found in usage having this sense. So also अंगुल्या खनति gives rise to no affix. Though the verbs 'dîvyati' &c, are in the 3rd Person Present Tense, Singular number, the derivative is not limited by these conditions. Thus आक्षिकौ and आक्षिकाः are also valid, and so also अक्षैरदीव्यत् will give also आक्षिकः; so also आक्षिकस्त्वम् आक्षकोऽहम् ॥ Though in a sentence the verb is generally the principal word (क्रियाप्रधान), here owing to the Taddhita affix, the instrument is taken as the principal.

संस्कृतम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संस्कृतम् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थात्संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

3. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'refined thereby'.

The word संस्कृतम् means 'refining or enhancing the quality of a thing'. Thus दध्ना संस्कृतं = दाधिकम् 'refined or made tasteful by curd'. So also शार्ङ्गवेरिकम्, मारीचिकम् ॥

The separation of this sûtra from the last. is for sake of the next sûtra, in which the anuvṛitti of संस्कृतं only runs,

कुलत्थकोपधादण् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुलत्थ-कोपधात्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुलत्थशब्दात्ककारोपधाच्छब्दाच्च प्रातिपदिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

4. Ofter the word 'kulattha', and after words having a penultimate क्, the affix अण् is added in the sense of 'refined or prepared therewith'.

This debars ठक " Thus कौलत्थम्. तैत्तिडीकम्, दार्दभकम्, the two latter being examples of words ending in क ॥

तरति ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तरति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थात् तरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

5. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'he crosses there by over the waters'.

Thus काण्डप्लवेनतरति = काण्डप्लविकः, औडुपिकः 'who crosses with a raft'.

गोपुच्छाट्ठञ् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोपुच्छात्-ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोपुच्छशब्दाद् ठञ्प्रत्ययो भवति तरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठकोपवादः ॥

6. The affix ठञ् comes after the word 'gopuchchha', in the sense of 'he crosses thereby'.

The difference between ठक् and ठञ् is in the accent. Thus गौपुच्छिकः ॥

नौद्व्यचष्ठन् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ-द्व्यचः-ठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नौशब्दाद् द्व्यचश्च प्रातिपदिकाद् ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति तरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थेः । ठकोपवादः ॥

Kârika आकर्षात्पर्पादेर्भस्त्रादिभ्यः कुसीदसूत्राच्च ।
आवसथात्किशरादेः षितः षडेते ठगधिकारे ॥

7. The affix ठन् comes after the word नौ and after bases having two syllables, in the sense of 'he crosses there with'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus नावा तरति = नाविकः 'a sailor'. So also after dissyllabic words: as, घटिकः, प्लविकः, बाहुकः ॥

The ष in ष्ठन् in the sûtra is not part of the affix, but comes through sandhi rules. The feminine of बाहुकः being बाहुका ॥ In fact the indicatory ष् occurs in these sûtras only IV. 4. 9, 10, 18, ८२ and 74, in this book.

चरति ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थाच्चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. After a word in the third case in construction, comes the affix ठक् in the sense of 'he goes on by means thereof'.

The word चरति means both to go on and to eat. Thus दध्ना चरति = दाधिकः 'who gets on, with being fed on curd, हास्तिकः 'who travels by an eliphant'. शाकटिकः ॥

आकर्षात्ष्ठल् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आकर्षात्-ष्ठल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकर्षशब्दात् ष्ठल् प्रत्ययो भवति चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ठकोपवादः ॥

9. The affix ष्ठल् comes in the sense of 'he goes on, by means there of' after the word 'âkarsha.'

This debars ठक् ॥ The ल् is for accent (VI. 1. 193). The ष of ष्ठल् here is a part of the affix, contrary to what it was in sûtra 7 ante. To remove the doubt where ष is the part of an affix, and where it is not, the following mne monic verse has been composed: "आकार्षात् पर्पादेभस्त्रादिभ्यः कुसीदसूत्राच्च, आवसथात्

किषरादेः षितः षडेते ठगधिकारे ॥ In the six Sûtras 9, 10, 16, 31, 74, and 53, the affixes have indicatory 'sh.' Here ष being इत्, the feminine is formed by ङीष् (IV. 1. 41). Thus आकर्षेण चरति = आकर्षिक *f.* आकर्षिकी ॥ आकर्ष is a touch-stone by which gold is tested.

पर्पादिभ्यः ष्ठन् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्पादिभ्यः, ष्ठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्प इत्येवमादिभ्यः ष्ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ठकोपवादः ॥

10. The affix ष्ठन् comes, in the sense of 'he goes on. by means there of' after the words 'parpa' &c.

This debars ठक्; the न् of ष्ठन् is for accent (VI. 1. 197), and ष् for ङीष् (IV. 1. 41). Thus पर्पिकः *f.* पर्पिकी, अश्विकः *f.* अश्विकी ॥ पदिकः *f.* पदिकी ॥ The पाद is changed to पद् before this affix (VI. 3. 52).

1 पर्प, 2 अश्व, 3 अश्वत्थ, 4 रथ, 5 जाल, 6 न्यास, 7 व्याल, 8 पादः पद च ॥

श्वगणाट्ठञ्च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वगणात्, ठञ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वगणशब्दाट्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात् ष्ठन्, चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठकोपवादः ॥

11. The affix ठञ् as well as the affix ष्ठन्, comes after the word श्वगण, in the sense of 'he goes on by means there of'

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus श्वगणेन चरति = श्वागणिकः 'who lives by dogs'. *f.* श्वागणिकी ॥ ष्ठन्, श्वगणिकः *f.* श्वगणिका ॥

The form श्वागणिकः is evolved by the breach of rule VII. 3. 4. Thus श्वगण + ठञ् ॥ Here by VII. 2. 117, ञ् requires Vṛiddhi of अ of श्व ॥ But rule VII. 3. 4 says that instead of Vṛiddhi, the letter औ comes before व in the case of श्वन् &c. The proper form, therefore, would have been शौवगणिकः ॥ The irregularity is, however, explained by saying that the prohibition contained in VII. 3. 8 which applies when श्वन् is followed by इञ्, applies also to श्वन् followed by ठञ् ॥ In fact, the rule VII. 3. 4 does not apply, whenever the word श्वन् is followed by an affix beginning with the letter इ :

वेतनादिभ्यो जीवति ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेतनादिभ्यः, जीवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो वेतनादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो जीवतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

12. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the words 'vetana &c', being in the third case in construction.

Thus वेतनेन जीवति = वैतनिकः 'who lives upon wages—a menial servant'. In the case of the word धनुर्दण्ड the affix applies to the compounds, as well as to the words forming the compound. Thus धानुर्दण्डिकः, धानुष्कः, दाण्डिकः ॥

1 वेतन, 2 वाहन (वाह), 3 अर्धवाहन (अर्धवाह), 4 धनुर्दण्ड: 5 जाल, 6 वेश (वेस), 7 उपवेश (उपवेष, उपवेस), 8 प्रेषण, 9 उपवस्ति (उपस्ति), 10 सुख, 11 शय्या, 12 शक्ति, 13 उपनिषद्, 14 उपदेश, 15 स्फिज्* (स्फिज), 16 पाद, 17 उपस्थ*, 18 उपस्थान, 19 उपहस्त*, 20 ऋज. ॥

वस्नक्रयविक्रयाट्ठन् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वस्न, क्रय, विक्रयात्, ठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वस्नक्रयविक्रयशब्देभ्यां तृतीयासमर्थाभ्यां ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति जीवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः

13. The affix ठन् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby' after-the words 'vasna', 'kraya', and 'vikraya'. being in the 3rd case in construction.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus वस्नेन जीवति = वस्निकः 'who lives by hire--hireling'. In the case of क्रय and विक्रय the affix is applied to the words separately, as well as to their compound. Thus क्रयविक्रयिकः, क्रयिकः, विक्रयिकः 'a trader'.

आयुधाच्छ च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आयुधात्, छ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आयुधशब्दाच्छप्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराट्ठंश्च जीवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

14. The affix छ as well as ठन् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the word 'âyudha'.

Thus आयुधेन जीवति = आयुधीयः (formed by छ), or आयुधिकः (by ठन्) 'a mercenary soldier'.

हरत्युत्सङ्गादिभ्यः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरति, उत्सङ्गादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । उत्सङ्गादिभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो हरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

15. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'he conveys thereby', after the words utsanga &c. being in the third case in construction.

The word हरति means 'to take away to or cause to reach another place'. Thus औत्सङ्गिकः 'borne upon the hip'. औडुपिकः 'borne or transported on a raft'.

1 उत्सङ्ग, 2 उडुप, 3 उत्पुत (उत्पत), 4 उत्पन्न*, 5 उत्पुट*, 6 पिटक, 7 पिटाक, 8 उडप.

भस्त्रादिभ्यः ष्ठन् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्त्रादिभ्यः, ष्ठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्त्रेत्येवमादिभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो हरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ष्ठन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix ष्ठन् comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the words 'bhastra &c' being in the third case in construction,

Thus भस्त्रया हरति = भस्त्रिकः "who conveys by means of a leathern bag, a carrier". The feminine will be भस्त्रिकी (IV. 1. 41). So भरटिकः f. भरटिकी ॥ The

word भस्त्रा means a leathern bellows by which the iron is heated, or a leathern bag in which grain &c,. is carried.

1 भस्त्रा, 2 भरट, 3 भरण (भारण), 4 शीर्षभार, 5 शीर्षेभार, 6 अंसभार, 7 अंसेभार. ॥

विभाषा विवधवीवधात् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, विवध, वीवधात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतीत्येव । विवधवीवधशब्दाभ्यां तृतीयासमर्थाभ्यां विभाषा ष्ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. The affix ष्ठन् comes optionally in the sense of 'he conveys', after the words 'vivadha', and 'vîvadha', being in the third case in construction.

In the alternative, the general affix ठक् will apply. Thus विवधेन हरति =विवधिकः f. विवधिकी ; So also वीवधिकः f. वीवधिकी ॥ When the affix is ठक्, we have वैवधिकः in both cases, the feminine being वैवधिकी ॥

The word विवध and वीवध are synomyms both meaning 'a piece of wood carried on the shoulders to carry loads, on the road.' विवधिकः meaning 'a carrier of loads, a pedler'. The real sûtra is विभाषा विवधात्, the Kâsikâ has added वीवध from a Vârtika.

अण्कुटिलिकायाः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्, कुटिलिकायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतीत्येव । कुटिलिकाशब्दात् तृतीयासमर्थादण् प्रत्ययो भवति हरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

18. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the word कुटिलिका in the third case in construction.

Thus कुटिलिकया हरति मृगो व्याधं=कौटिलिको मृगः 'a deer which carries (or entices away) into crooked ways' or 'a hunter who hunts by coming stealthily on his prey'. कुटिलिकया हरति अङ्गारान्=कौटिलिकः कर्मारः 'a blacksmith,—who carries burning coals on an iron forge'.

The word कुटिलिका means 'crooked motion, and the iron-forge of the blacksmiths'.

निर्वृत्ते ऽक्षद्यूतादिभ्यः ॥ १९ ॥ निर्वृत्ते, अक्ष, द्यूतादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । अक्षद्यूतादिभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो निर्वृत्तइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'completed thereby' after the words 'akshadyûta &c', being in the third case in construction.

Thus अक्षद्यूतेन निर्वृत्तम्=आक्षद्यूतिकं वैरम् 'enmity—which was growing but has been completed by gambling'. So जानुप्रहृतिकम् ॥

1 अक्षद्यूत, 2 जानुप्रहृत (°प्रहृत), 3 जङ्घाप्रहृत (°प्रहृत), 4 जङ्घाप्रहत*, 5 पादस्वेदन, 6 कण्टकमर्दन, 7 गतानुगत*, 8 गतागत, 9 यातोपयात, 10 अनुगत. ॥

त्रेर्मम्नित्यम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रेः, मप्, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वृत्तइत्येव, त्रित्रः क्त्रिरित्ययं त्रिशब्दो गृह्यते । मबन्तान्नित्यं मप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

20. The affix मप् comes always after the words ending in the affix त्रि, the in sense of 'completed thereby',

The त्रि here refers to the affix 'ktri' (III. 3. 88). Thus the root डुपच् takes त्रि and forms पक्त्रि, which is not a complete word, but must take the augment मप्, to form a full word. Thus पच्+क्त्रि+मप्=पक्त्रिमम् 'what is completed by being cooked'. So from डुवप् we have वप्+क्त्रि+मप्=उप्त्रिमम् (VI. 1. 15) : from डुकृञ् we have कृत्रिमम् ॥

The word नित्य in the sûtra indicates that the affix क्त्रि never comes singly by itself, all words ending in 'Ktri' are invariably followed by मप् also. In fact मप् way be regarded as an invariable augment of the affix 'Ktri'.

Vârt :—After a word ending in an affix denoting 'condition', the affix इमप् is added. Thus पाकेन निर्वृत्तं=पाकिमम् (पच्+घञ् III. 3. 18+इमप्), so त्यागिमम्, सेक्रिमम्, कुट्टिमम् ॥

अपमित्ययाचिताभ्यां कक्कनौ ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपमित्य-याचिताभ्याम्, कक्-कनौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वृत्तइत्येव । अपमित्ययाचितशब्दाभ्यां यथासंख्यं कक् कन् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतो, निर्वृत्तइत्ये-तस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

21. The affixes 'kak' and 'kan' come respectively after the words 'apamitya' and 'yâchita', when the sense is that of completion.

Thus आपमित्यकम् 'debt', and याचितकम् 'a thing begged for use'. The word अपमित्य is formed from the root मा with the prefix अप, and the suffix क्त्वा (III. 4. 19). The क्त्वा is changed to ल्यप्, and इ substituted for आ (VI. 4. 70). The word is an Indeclinable, and therefore the anuvritti of तेन does not run here.

संसृष्टे ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संसृष्टे, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । तृतीयासमर्थात्संसृष्टइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affix ठक् comes, after a word in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

The word तेन is understood here. The word संसृष्ट means unification, mixing &c. Thus दध्ना संसृष्ट=दाधिकम् 'smeared wlth curds.' मारिचिकम्, शार्ङ्गवेरिकम्, चैप्पलिकम् ॥ The word 'sanskrtam' (IV. 4. 3) and 'sansrshtam' should be distinguished. The former refers to a case where by the combination of two things, a something better is produced; no such idea of bettering is to be

चूर्णादिनिः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चूर्णात्, इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चूर्णशब्दादिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति संसृष्टे । ठकोपवादः ॥

23. The affix इनि comes after the word 'chûrna' when the sense is 'mixed therewith'

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus चूर्णैः संसृष्टा = चूर्णिनो ऽ पूपाः 'cakes sprinkled with powder.' चूर्णिनो धानाः ॥

लवणाल्लुक् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लवणात्, लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संसृष्टइत्यनेनोत्पन्नस्य ठको लवणशब्दाल्लुग् भवति ॥

24. The affix ठक् meaning 'mixed therewith', is elided by luk, after the word lavana.'

Thus लवणेन संसृष्टः = लवणः 'mixed with salt.' as लवणः सूपः 'soup mixed with salt.' So लवणं शाकं, लवणा यवागूः (I. 1. 51). The लुक् elision takes place when the word लवण is used as a noun, and not as an adjective.

मुद्गादण् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुद्गात्, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुद्गशब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति संसृष्टइत्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

25. The affix अण् comes after the word 'mudga,' when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus मौद्ग ओदनः 'rice mixed with mudga-pulse.' मौद्गी यवागूः ॥

व्यञ्जनैरुपसिक्ते ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यञ्जनैः, उपसिक्ते (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । व्यञ्जनवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्य उपसिक्तइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix ठक् comes, after a word denoting a condiment, being in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'sprinkled therewith.'

Thus दध्ना उपसिक्तं = दाधिकम् 'sprinkled with curd,' सौपिकम्, खारिकम् ॥ Why do we say 'denoting a condiment'? Observe उदकेनोपसिक्तं ओदनः ॥

ओजः सहोम्भसा वर्तते ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओजः, सहः, अम्भसा-वर्तते (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओजस् सहस् अम्भस् इत्येतेभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो वर्ततइत्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'it exists,' after the words 'ojas,' 'sahas,' and 'ambhas' being in the third case in construction.

Thus ओजसा वर्तते = औजसिकः शूरः 'a hero' lit. possessed with energy. So also :—साहसिकः 'a thief.' आम्भसिकः 'a fish.'

तत्प्रत्यनुपूर्वमीपलोमकूलम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्, प्रति-अनु-पूर्वम्, ईप-लोम-कूलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीया समर्थविभक्तिः । प्रति अनु इत्येवंपूर्वेभ्य ईपलोमकूलशब्देभ्यो द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यो वर्तत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'it exists,' after 'îpa,' 'loma,' and 'kûla,' preceded by 'anu' and 'prati,' the word being in the second case in construction.

The word तद् shows that the words must be in the second case in construction. The verb वर्तते is intransitive, how can it take an object, and how can it be in construction with an objective case? The words in the accusative after the verb वर्तते are not its objects, but are used as adverbs qualifying the sense of the verb, and adverbs are always put in the accusative case. Thus प्रतीपं वर्तते = प्रातीपिकः (प्रतिगता आपो ऽस्मिन्, the आ changed to ई V. 4. 74 and VI. 3. 97) retrograde i. e. 'which is unfavourable.' So आन्वीपिकः 'favorable.' प्रतिलोमिकः 'inverse' आनुलोमिकः 'direct.' प्रातिकूलिकः, आनुकूलिकः The two words प्रातीपिक and आन्वीपिक mean 'unfavourable' and 'favourable' respectively.

परिमुखं च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमुखम्, च (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमुखशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वर्तत इत्यस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'it exists,' after the word 'parimukha,' being in the second case in construction.

Thus परिमुखं वर्तते = पारिमुखिकः 'being before the face,' 'being near or present'

The word च in the sûtra implies that the affix applies to other words also not mentioned. As पारिपार्श्विकः ॥ The word परिमुख is an Avyayîbhâva compound (II. 1. 12). If परि has the force of exclusion (I. 4. 88), then पारिमुखिकः will mean 'a servant who always avoids the face of his master स्वामिनो मुखं वर्जयित्वा यः सेवको वर्तते," and if परि means 'all round,' then the word will mean "a servant who is always in the presence of his master—यतः स्वामिनो मुखं समन्ततो वर्तते" ॥

प्रयच्छति गर्ह्यम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयच्छति, गर्ह्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थात्प्रयच्छतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्तद्द्वितीयासमर्थं गर्ह्यं चेत्तद्भवति ॥

वा० ॥ वृद्धेर्वृधुषिभावो वक्तव्यः ॥

30. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the second case in constrution, when the sense is 'he gives', the motive being mean.

Thus द्विगुणं प्रयच्छति = द्विगुणिकः 'a usurer who gives for the sake of double' i, e. who charges cent per cent interest. The word द्विगुण means द्विगुणार्थं 'for the sake of double'. Similarly त्रैगुणिकः ॥

Vârt:—The word वृद्धि is changed to वृधुषि before this affix. As, वृद्धिं प्रयच्छति = वार्धुषिकः 'a usurer' 'who gives for the sake of increase' Or the word वृधुषि may be taken as a separate word synonymous with वृद्धि ॥

Why do we say गर्ह्यम् 'with a mean motive'? Observe द्विगुणं प्रयच्छति अधमर्णः 'the debtor gives double'.

कुसीददशैकादशात् ष्ठन्ष्ठचौ ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुसीद, दश, एकादशात्, ष्ठन्-ष्ठचौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रयच्छति गर्ह्यमित्येव । कुसीदं वृद्धिः, तदर्थं द्रव्यं कुसीदम् । एकादशार्था दश, दशैकादशशब्देनो-च्यन्ते । कुसीददशैकादशशब्दाभ्यां यथासंख्यं ष्ठन् ष्ठच् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

31. The affixes ष्ठन् and ष्ठच् come respectively after the words 'kusîda' and 'da*s*aikâda*s*a'; when the sense is 'he gives for a mean motive'.

The word कुसीद means 'interest'. The lending of ten (दश) on a condition that the borrower will pay eleven (एकादश) after a month is called दशैकादश॥ This sûtra debars ठक् ॥ The difference between the two affixes ष्ठन् and ष्ठच् is in the accent (VI. 1. 197 and 163). Thus कुसीद + ष्ठन् = कुसीदिकः fem. कुसीदिकी (VI. 1. 41). So दशैकादशिकः fem °की ॥

उञ्छति ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उञ्छति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थादुञ्छतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

32. The affix ठक् comes, after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'who gleans that'.

Thus बदराण्युञ्छति = बादरिकः 'who picks up jujubes'. श्यामाकिकः, काणिकः ॥ To pick up every grain (कण) fallen on the ground is called उञ्छ ॥

रक्षति ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रक्षति ॥

वृत्ति ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद्रक्षतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

33. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'he aids or protects that'.

Thus समाजं रक्षति = सामाजिकः 'a spectator', lit. 'who aids an assembly by his presence'. So also सांनिवेशिकः ॥

शब्ददर्दुरं करोति ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शब्द-दर्दुरम्,करोति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाभ्यां शब्ददर्दुरशब्दाभ्यां करोतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix ठक् comes after the words 'Sabda' and 'dardura', being in the second case in construction, when the sense is "who makes a sound or a croaking'.

Thus शब्दं करोति = शाब्दिकः 'who makes a sound' i. e. a Grammarian. So दार्दुरिकः 'who makes a croaking noise like a frog (dardura)' i. e. a potter.

पक्षिमत्स्यमृगान्हन्ति ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पक्षि, मत्स्य, मृगान्, हन्ति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदित्येव । पक्ष्यादिभ्यो द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यो हन्तीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35. The affix ठक् comes after the words in the second case in construction denoting birds, fishes, or wild beasts, when the sense is 'who kills that'.

Thus पक्षिणो हन्ति = पाक्षिकः 'a bird-killer'. The affix applies not only to the word-forms पक्षि &c, but to words denoting birds &c. (See I. 1. 68). Therefore, we have forms शाकुनिकः, मायूरिकः, तैत्तिरिकः ॥ So also with मत्स्य, as, मात्स्यिकः, मैनिकः, शाफरिकः, शाकुलिकः ॥ So also with मृगः, as, मार्गिकः, हारिणिकः, सौकरिकः, सारङ्गिकः ॥

परिपन्थञ्च तिष्ठति ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिपन्थम्, च, तिष्ठति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिपन्थशब्दात्तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थात्तिष्ठतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix ठक् comes also in the sense of "who stays", after the word 'paripantham', the word being in the second case in construction,

Thus परिपन्थं तिष्ठति = पारिपन्थिकः यः पन्थानं वर्जयित्वा तिष्ठति, यो वा पन्थानं व्याप्य तिष्ठति 'a thief' lit. "who stays at roads, a high way man". The च in the sûtra indicates that the sense of हन्ति 'who kills' of the last, is to be connected with this sûtra by the conjunction 'and'. Thus परिपन्थं हन्ति = पारिपन्थिकः ॥

The phrase 'being in the second case in construction' is understood in this sûtra, why has then the word परिपन्थम् been shown in the second case in the sûtra, for it is a mere superfluity? No, it shows the secular form of the word. The word परिपन्थ is synonymous with परिपथ, the latter, however, having other senses also.

माथोत्तरपदपदव्यनुपदं धावति ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ माथ-उत्तरपद, पदवी, अनुपदम्, धावति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ माथशब्दोत्तरपदात्प्रातिपदिकात्पदवी अनुपद इत्येताभ्यां च धावतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of "who runs", after a word having माथ as its second term, and after the words 'padavî' and 'anupada'.

Thus दण्डमाथं धावति = दाण्डमाथिकः 'who runs on a high way'. So also शौल्कमाथिकः ॥ Similarly पादविकः, आनुपदिकः ॥ The word माथ means 'a way'.

आक्रन्दाट्ठञ्च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रन्दात्, ठञ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रन्दन्त्येतस्मिन्नित्याक्रन्दो देशः । अथवा ऽऽक्रन्दतइत्याक्रन्द, आर्तायनमुच्यते । विशेषाभावाद् द्वयोरपि ग्रहणम् । आक्रन्दशब्दात्तस्मादिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद्धावतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराट्ठक् ॥

38. The affix ठञ् as well as ठक् comes after the word 'âkranda', being in the second case in construction, in the sense of 'who runs'.

The word आक्रन्द means 'a place where persons weep' e. g. a battle-field. It also means 'weeping' 'invoking' &c. The difference between ठक् and ठञ् is in the accent. Thus आक्रन्दं धावति = आक्रन्दिकः or आँक्रन्दिकः, f. आक्रन्दिकी 'a person who runs to a place where cries of distress are heard'.

पदोत्तरपदं गृह्णाति ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद, उत्तरपदम्, गृह्णाति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदशब्द उत्तरपदं यस्य तस्मात्पदोत्तरपदशब्दात् तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद्गृह्णातीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'who takes', after a word having 'pada' as its second member, the word being in the second case in construction.

Thus पूर्वपदं गृह्णाति = पौर्वपदिकः, so also औत्तरपदिकः ॥ The word उत्तरपद is used in order to prevent the application of the rule when पद is preceded by the *affix* बहु ॥

प्रतिकण्ठार्थललामं च ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिकण्ठ, अर्थ, ललामम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिकण्ठार्थललामशब्देभ्यस्तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यो गृह्णातीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'who takes' after the words 'pratika*n*tha', 'artha', and 'lalâma' being in the second-case in construction.

Thus प्रतिकण्ठं गृह्णाति = प्रातिकण्ठिकः ॥ So also आर्थिकः, लालामिकः ॥ The word प्रतिकण्ठ here is an Avyayî-bhâva meaning कण्ठं कण्ठं प्रति, and not प्रतिगतः कण्ठं = प्रतिकण्ठ, for to the latter no affix is added.

धर्मे चरति ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धर्म्मम्-चरति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धर्मशब्दात्तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाच्चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अधर्माच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

41. The affix ठक् comes after the word 'dharma', being in the second case in construction, in the sense of 'who practices that'.

Thus धर्मम् चरति = धार्मिकः "religious". So also आधर्मिकः "irreligious, undutiful", by a Vârtika.

प्रतिपथमेति ठंश्च ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिपथं, एति, ठन्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिपथशब्दात् द्वितीयासमर्थात् एतीत्यस्मिन्नर्थे ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराट्ठक् च ॥

42. The affix ठन् as well as ठक् comes after the word 'prati-patham', in the second-case in construction, in the sense of 'who goes'.

Thus प्रतिपथमेति = प्रतिपथिकः or प्रातिपथिकः "who goes along the road" the ठक् causes Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 118) whilst ठन् does not..

समवायान् समवैति ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समवायान्, समवैति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समवायवाचिभ्यः शब्देभ्यस्तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यः समवैतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. The affix ठक् comes after words in the second case in construction, denoting combination, in the sense of 'who assembles there'.

The word समवाय means 'combination, collection &c'. The word समवायान् is in the plural number in the sûtra, indicating that the svarupa-vidhi (I. 1. 69) does not apply; the affix being applied not only to the word-form समवाय but to its synonyms also. समवैति means coming totgether. Thus समवायान् समवैति = सामवायिकः 'who assembles in an assembly'. So also सामाजिकः. सामूहिकः, सान्निवेशिकः ॥

परिषदो ण्यः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिषदः, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिषदो ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति समवायान्समवैतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

44. The affix ण्य comes after the word 'parishad' in the sense of 'who assembles there',

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus परिषदं समवैति = पारिषद्यः 'one present in a council, an assessor, a councillor'.

सेनाया वा ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सेनायाः, वा (ण्यः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेनाशब्दात् वा ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति समवायान्समवैतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठकोपवादः ॥

45. The affix ण्य comes optionally in the sense of 'who assembles there,' after the word senâ.

This debars ठक् which comes in the alternative. Thus सेनां समवैति = सैन्यः or सैनिकः 'a soldier, a member of an army'.

संज्ञायां ललाटकुक्कुट्यौ पश्यति ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, ललाट, कुक्कुट्यौ पश्यति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ललाटकुक्कुटीशब्दाभ्यां तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाभ्यां पश्यतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

46. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'who sees that,' after the words 'lalâ*t*a' and 'kukku*t*î', in second case in construction, the whole word being a Name.

Thus ललाटं पश्यति = लालाटिकः 'a non-attentive servant' lit. 'who always looks at the fore-head of his master from a distance, keeps himself aloof, does not come near to perform any work.' So also कौक्कुटिकः 'a religious mendicant, a Bhikshu.' The space of ground over which a hen can fly without falling, is to be understood here by the word कुक्कुटी ॥ In other words, a small space of ground, for hens cannot sustain their flight for a long distance. Therefore owing to the smallness of space, the mendicant walks looking down over the ground, and hence he is called कौक्कुटिकः ॥ The word also means 'a hypocrite with down-cast eyes.

तस्य धर्म्यम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, धर्म्यं (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाद् धर्म्यमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'its usage'.

The word धर्म्य means 'usual,' 'relating to custom'. The word तस्य shows the case of the word. Thus शुल्कशालाया धर्म्यं = शौल्कशालिकः 'the custom-house laws or usages.' So also आकरिकम्, आपणिकम्, गौल्मिकम् ॥

अण् महिष्यादिभ्यः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्-महिष्यादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ महिषीत्येवमादिभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य धर्म्यमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

48. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its law,' after the word 'mahishî' &c.

This debars ṭhak. Thus महिष्या धर्म्यं = माहिषम् 'the usages of queens.' So प्राजवतम् ॥

1 महिषी, 3 प्रजापति°, 3 प्रजावती, 4 प्रलेपिका, 5 विलेपिका, 6 अनुलेपिका, 7 पुरोहित 8 मणिपाली, 9 अनुचारक (अनुवारक), 10 होतृ, 11 यजमान.

ऋतो ऽञ् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तात्प्रातिपदिकादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य धर्म्यमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नराच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ विशसितुरिड्लोपश्च ॥ वा० ॥ विभाजयितुर्णिलोपश्च ॥

49. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its law,' after a nominal-stem ending in ऋ ॥

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus पोतु धर्म्यम् = पौत्रम् 'the office of a Potṛi.' औद्गात्रम् 'the office or duties of an Udgâtṛi.' Padamanjari gives the example of हौत्रम् = होतु धर्म्यम् under this sûtra, though the word होतृ occurs in the list given in the preceding sûtra. The Hotṛi of the preceding sûtra means a Ritvik, here it means an invoker.

Vârt:—So also after the word नर: As नरस्य धर्म्या = नारी ॥

Vârt:—So also after the word विशसितृ, the इट् affix being elided. Thus विशसितृ + अञ् = वैशस्त्रम् ॥

Vârt:—So also after the word विभाजयितृ, its णि affix also being elided. Thus विभाजयितृ + अञ् = वैभाजित्रम् ॥

अवक्रयः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ अव क्रयः (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येत्येव । षष्ठीसमर्थादवक्रय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति । अवक्रीणीत ऽनेनेत्यवक्रयः ॥

50. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'its tax,' after a word in the sixth case in construction.

The word अवक्रय means 'Government-tax,' 'price,' wages,' 'rent' &c, coming from the root अवक्री 'to purchase.' Thus शुल्कशालाया अवक्रयः = शौल्कशालिकः So also आपणिकः, गौल्मिकः, आकरिकः ॥

Are not धर्म्य (IV. 4. 47) and अवक्रय the same? No. Dharmya is a legal due, and religious; while an 'avakraya' may be a tax exacted from a people by oppression, and so transgressing dharma.

तदस्य पण्यम् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्, अस्य, पण्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं पण्यं चेत्तद्भवति ॥

51. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after a word in the first case in construction denoting the thing to be sold.

Thus अपूपाः पण्यं अस्य = आपूपिकः 'a cake-vendor.' So also शाष्कुलिकः, मौदकिकः &c.

लवणाट्ठञ् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लवणात्, ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लवणशब्दाट्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य पण्यमित्येतस्मिन् विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

52. The affix ठञ comes, in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the word 'lavana.'

This debars ठक्, the difference being in accent. Thus लवणं पण्यमस्य = लावणिकः 'a salt-vendor.'

किशरादिभ्य ष्ठन् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ किशरादिभ्यः, ष्ठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किशर इत्येवमादिभ्यः ष्ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य पण्यमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

53. The affix ष्ठन् comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the words 'kisara' &c.

This debars ठक् ॥ The word किशर &c all denote perfumes. Thus किशराः पण्यमस्य = किशरिकः f किशरिकी (IV. 1 41), नरदिकः f नरदिकी ॥

1 किसर (किशर), 2 नरद, 3 नलद, 4 स्थागल*, 5 तगर, 6 गुग्गुलु, 7 उशीर, 8 हरिद्रा, 9 हरिद्रु*, 10 पर्णी*, 11 सुमङ्गल, 12 हरिद्रायणी.

शलालुनो ऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शलालुनः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शलालुशब्दादन्यतरस्यां ष्ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य पण्यमित्येतद्विषये । ठकोपवादः । पक्षेसोपि भवति ॥

54. The affix ष्ठन् comes optionally, in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity' 'after the word 'salâlun'.

This debars ठक् which comes in the alternative. शलालु is a kind of sweet scent. Thus शलालु पण्यमस्य = शलालुकः *f.* शलालुकी ॥ In the alternative with ठक्, शालालुकः; *f.* शालालुकी ॥

शिल्पम् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिल्पम् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं शिल्पं चेत्तद्भवति ॥

55. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of this is whose Art,' after a word denoting Art, in the first case in construction.

Thus मृदङ्गवादनं शिल्पमस्य = मार्दङ्गिकः "a drummer", "an expert in playing on mṛidanga drum". So also पाणविकः, वैणिकः ॥

मड्डुकझर्झरादणन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मड्डुक, झर्झरात्, अण्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मड्डुकझर्झरशब्दाभ्यामन्यतरस्यामण् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य शिल्पमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

56. The affix अण् comes optionally in the sense of 'this is whose Art', after the words 'madduka', and 'jharjhara'.

This debars ठक् which comes in the alternative. Thus मड्डुकवादनं शिल्पमस्य = माड्डुकः or माड्डुकिकः, so झार्झरः and झार्झरिकः ॥

प्रहरणम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रहरणम् (ठक्)

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं प्रहरणं चे-त्तद्भवति ॥

57. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose weapon', after a word denoting 'a weapon', and being in the 1st case in construction.

Thus असिः प्रहरणमस्य = आसिकः 'a swordsman'. So प्रासिकः, चाक्रिकः, धानुष्कः ॥

परश्वधाट्ठञ् च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परश्वधात्, ठञ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परश्वधशब्दात् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात् ठक् ॥

58. The affix ठञ् as well as ठक् comes in the sense of "this is whose weapon", after the word परश्वध ॥

This affix ठक् is added by च, the difference being in accent. Thus पारश्वधिकः or पारश्वधिकः ॥ परश्वध means 'an axe'.

शक्तियष्ट्योरीकक् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्ति-यष्ट्योः, ईकक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तियष्टिशब्दाभ्यामीकक् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य प्रहरणमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

59. The affix ईकक् comes in the sense of "this is whose weapon", after the words 'sakti' and 'yash*t*i'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus शक्तिः प्रहरणमस्य = शाक्तीकः, So also याष्टीकः ॥

अस्तिनास्तिदिष्टं मतिः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्तिनास्ति-दिष्टम्-मतिः (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थेभ्यो ऽस्ति नास्ति दिष्ट इत्येतेभ्यः शब्देभ्यो ऽस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं मतिश्चेत्तद्भवति ॥

60. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose belief', after the words 'asti', nasti and 'dish*t*a'.

Thus अस्तिमतिरस्य = आस्तिकः 'who believes that It is' i. e. a here after. नास्तिकः 'whose belief is that there is no Here after', an athiest. दैष्टिकः 'whose belief is that it is fate', a fatalist, दिष्ट = दैव 'fate'.

The affix does not apply in the sense of belief in general, but to a particular sort of belief. Thus परलोकोऽस्ति इति यस्य मतिरस्ति स आस्तिकः, an Astika is he who believes that the Hereafter *is*. Contrary to him is a नास्तिकः who does not believe in a Hereafter. A person who believes what is demonstrated by proof, and nothing else, may also be called दैष्टिकः 'a positivist'. These various other senses are to be found from dictionary and general literature.

शीलम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शीलम् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं शीलं चेद्भवति ॥

61. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this', after a word in the first case in construction.

Thus अपूपभक्षणं शीलमस्य = आपूपिकः 'one whose habit is to eat cakes'. Similarly शाष्कुलिकः, मौदकिकः ॥ The act of eating, and its habit are qualities understood in the sense of the affix.

छत्रादिभ्यो णः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ छत्रादिभ्यः, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छत्र इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो णः प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य शीलमित्येतस्मिन्विषयेऽठकोऽपवादः ॥

62. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this', after the words 'chhatra &c'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus छत्रं शीलमस्य = छात्रः 'a pupil', lit. 'whose habit is to cover (chhadan) the defects of his master'. The word स्था occurs in the list. It must always be prefixed by some upasarga; thus आस्था, संस्था, अवस्था &c.

According to Patanjali छात्र means 'a pupil, because, गुरुश्छत्रवत् गुरुणा शिष्यश्छत्रवत् छाद्यः "a preceptor is like an Umbrellá, the preceptor covers or protects the pupil like an umbrella". Or शिष्येण च गुरुश्छत्रवत् परिपाल्यः 'a pupil ought to maintain or protect his Preceptor, as an Umbrella'.

1 छत्र, 2 शिक्षा 3 प्ररोह (पुरोह), 4 स्था (आस्था, संस्था, अवस्था), 5 बुभुक्षा, 6 चुरा, 7 तितिक्षा°, 8 उपस्थान, 9 कृषि (ऋषि), 10 कर्मन्, 11 विश्वधा, 12 तपस्, 13 सत्य, 14 अनृत, 15 विशिखा*, 16 विशिका (शिबिका), 17 भक्षा*, 18 उदस्थान*, 19 पुरोडा (!)°, 20 विक्षा°, 21 चुक्षा*, 22 मन्द्र.

कर्माध्ययने वृत्तम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्म, अध्ययने, वृत्तम् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं कर्म चेद्वृत्तमध्ययनविषयं भवति ॥

63. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of "this is his act, occuring in study" after a word in the first case in construction, if such a word is an act (karma) which has occurred (vrittam) in study (adhyayana).

Thus एकमन्यदध्ययने कर्मवृत्तमस्य = ऐकान्यिकः 'a pupil who commits one (एक) error (अन्यत्) in reading', &c. literal translation being something like "one errorist" Similarly द्वैयन्यिकः त्रैयन्यिकः &c. He whose, in recitation, at the time of examination, there is the occurrence of one mistake or false reading,

is called ऐकान्यिकः ॥ So who commits two mistakes is called द्वैयन्यिकः ॥ In short, in giving explanatory analysis of taddhita words like ऐकान्तिकः &c, the whole phrase अध्ययने कर्मवृत्तम् must be employed.

बह्वच्पूर्वपदाट्ठच् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बह्वच्, पूर्वे पदात्, ठच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बह्वच् पूर्वपदं यस्य तस्माद् बह्वच्पूर्वपदात्प्रातिपदिकाट् ठच् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य कर्माध्ययने वृत्त मित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ठकोपवादः ॥

64. The affix ठच् comes, in the sense of 'this is whose act occurring in study', after a compound having a polysyllabic word as a prior member.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus :—द्वादशान्यानि कर्माण्यध्ययने वृत्तानि अस्य = द्वादशान्यिकः 'an examinee who commits twelve mistakes in his reading'. So त्रयोदशान्यिकः, चतुर्दशान्यिकः ॥ The word अन्यत् in these sûtras means the 'error', especially in accent, i. e. he who makes an accent अनुदात्त which ought to be udâtta, or *vice versa.*

हितं भक्षाः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हितम्-भक्षाः (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं हितं चेत्तद्भवति तच्च भक्षाः ॥

65. The affix ठक् comes after a word expressing food, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "this is wholesome diet for whom".

The words तद् and अस्य (IV. 4. 51) are understood. The word हितं governs dative (II. 3. 13, Vart). But the sûtra is तदस्य हितं भक्षाः, the word अस्य being in the genitive case, how is this? Here अस्य should be changed to dative viz. तदस्मै हितं भक्षाः 'this *for whom* is wholesome diet'. The best way however, to remove this objection is to read sûtras 65, and 66 in this wise: 65 हितं भक्षाः तदस्मै and दीयते नियुक्तं ॥ Thus अपूपभक्षणं हितमस्मै = आपूपिकः 'He for whom cake is good food' i. e. who eats cakes with benefit, or who is fond of cakes. So also शाष्कुलिकः, मौदकिकः ॥ In analysing these taddhitas, such as आपूपिकः &c, the word हितं or its synonym, and a verb denoting eating should be employed.

तदस्मै दीयते नियुक्तम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्-अस्मै-दीयते-नियुक्तम्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थाद् अस्मादिति चतुर्थ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं तच्चेद्दीयते नियुक्तम् ॥

66. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of "to whom this is to be given right fully", after a word expressing the thing to be given, in the first (tad) case in construction, the force of the affix being that of a dative (asmai).

The word दीयते नियुक्तं means नियोगेन i. e. अव्यभिचारेण दीयते 'to be given by appointment or rightfully'. Thus अग्रे भोजनमस्मै नियुक्तं दीयते = आग्रभोजनिकः 'a Brâhmaṇa always entitled to occupy the foremost seat at dinner'. So also आपूपिकः 'entitled to get cakes', शाष्कुलिकः ॥ Some say that the word नियुक्तं means नित्यं 'always'. According to them आपूपिकः would mean अपूपा नित्यमस्मै दीयन्ते 'to whom always cakes are given'.

श्राणामांसौदनाट्टिठन् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्राणा-मांस-ओदनात्, टिठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्राणामांसौदनशब्दाभ्यां टिठन् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्मै दीयते नियुक्तमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ठकोपवादः ।

67. The affix टिठन् comes in the sense of 'to whom this is to be given rightfully', after the words श्राणा and मांसौदन ॥

This टिठन् debars ठक् ॥ The इ of टि is for the sake of pronunciation, the ट् indicates that the feminine is formed by ङीप् (IV. I. 15). Thus श्राणा नियुक्तमस्मै दीयते = श्राणिकः f. श्राणिकी 'who is entitled to get rice gruel'. So also मांसौदनिकः f. मांसौदनिकी ॥

The difference between ठक् and टिठन् is in accent, the former having udâtta on the final (VI. I. 165), the latter on the initial (VI. I. 197). The feminine of ठक् and टिठन् will both be formed by ङीप् (IV. I. 15). Now the affix ठञ् resembles टिठन् both in accent (VI. I. 197) and in feminine (IV. I. 15). Why was not ठञ् used instead of टिठन्, for it would have produced exactly the same forms? True, as regards the words श्राणा and मांसौदन the affix ठञ् might have been employed instead of टिठन् ॥ According to some, however, the affix टिठन् applies to मांस and ओदन separately also. But ठञ् cannot be applied to ओदन as it would cause Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 117) which टिठन् does not. Thus ओदन् + टिठन् = ओदनिकः, f. ओदनिकी ॥ With ठञ् the form would have been औदनिकः which is not wanted.

The word श्राणा is a Past Participle (क्त) of श्रा 'to cook.' The श्रा is not changed to शृ as required by VI. I. 27. This is an anomaly. The nisthâ त is changed to ण (VIII. 2. 43). The form श्राता is also found, as in VI. I. 36, and the regular form is शृतं = क्षीरम् (VI. I. 27).

भक्तादणन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्तात्-अण्-अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भक्तशब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवत्यन्यतरस्यां तदस्मै दीयते नियुक्तमित्येतस्मिन् विषये ठकोऽपवादः ॥

68. The affix अण् comes optionally after the word bhakta, in the sense of 'to whom this is to be given rightfully.'

This debars ठक् which comes in the alternative. Thus भक्तमस्मै दीयते नियुक्तं = भाक्तः ॥ In the alternative भाक्तिकः 'a regularly fed' i. e. a retainer.

तत्र नियुक्तः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-नियुक्तः(ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थान्नियुक्त इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति । नियुक्तो ऽधिकृतो व्यापारित इत्यर्थः ॥

69. The affix ठक comes, in the sense of 'appointed there,' after a word in the seventh case (tatra) in construction.

Thus शुल्कशालायां नियुक्तः = शौल्कशालिकः 'a superintendent of custom-house.' So also आकरिकः, आपणिकः, गौल्मिकः, दौवारिकः ॥ The word तत्रनियुक्त is a Tatpurusha compound formed by II. 1. 46. The word niyukta here has a different meaning from that in IV. 1. 60, hence its repetition here.

अगारान्ताट्ठन् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अगारान्तात्, ठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अगारशब्दान्तात्प्रातिपदिकाट्ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र नियुक्त इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

70. The affix ठन् comes in the sense of "appointed there," after a word ending with 'agâra.'

This debars ठक् । The difference is in accent and want of Vriddhi. Thus देवागारे नियुक्तः = देवागारिकः, कोष्ठागारिकः, भाण्डागारिकः ॥

अध्यायिन्यदेशकालात् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्यायिनि-अदेशकालात् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येव । सप्तमीसमर्थाददेशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादकालवाचिनश्चाध्यायिन्यभिधेये ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affix ठक comes in the sense of "who studies there," after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting an improper place or time.

The word अदेशकाल means the time or place of study, which is prohibited by sacred institutes. अध्यायिन् means one who studies. Thus श्मशानेऽधीते = श्माशानिकः 'who reads in a funeral ground.' चतुष्पथिकः 'who studies where four roads meet.' So also चतुर्दश्यामधीते = चातुर्दशिकः, 'who reads on the 14th lunar day.' So also आमावास्यिकः ॥

Why do we say 'improper time and place?' Observe सुघ्नेऽधीते, पूर्वाह्णेऽधीते ॥

कठिनान्तप्रस्तारसंस्थानेषु व्यवहरति ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कठिन-अन्त, प्रस्तार-संस्थानेषु, व्यवहरति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येव । कठिनशब्दान्तात्सप्तमीसमर्थात् प्रस्तारसंस्थानशब्दाभ्यां च ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति व्यवहरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

72. The affix. ठक comes, in the sense of "who transacts business there in," after compounds ending in 'kathina'

and after 'prastâra' and 'sansthâna,' being in seventh case in construction.

Thus वंशकठिने व्यवहरति = वांशकठिनिकः 'whose occupation is in a bamboo-thicket.' or 'who does what is proper to be done in such a place' i. e. तस्मिन्देशे या क्रिया यथानुष्ठेया तां तथैवानुतिष्ठेति ॥ So also आर्धकठिनिकः ॥ So also प्रास्तारिकः, सांस्थानिकः ॥

निकटे वसति ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ निकटे-वसति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निकटशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थाद्वसतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'who dwells', after the locative word 'nikaṭa.'

This rule applies in forming epithets, denoting such persons, who are allowed under the Sacred Institutes, to dwell near human habitations. Thus आरण्यकाः are those ascetics who are ordained to dwell in forests, at least two miles away from human habitations. नैकटिकाः are those ascetics who are allowed by the rule of their Order to live near human habitations. Thus निकटे वसति = नैकटिकः 'an ascetic."

आवसथात् ष्ठल् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आवसथात्-ष्ठल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येव । आवसथशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थाद् वसतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ष्ठल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

74. The affix ष्ठल् comes in the sense of 'who dwells there,' after the word 'âvasatha' in the seventh case in construction.

The ल् of ष्ठल् is for accent (VI. 1. 193), the ष् is for ङीष् (IV. 1. 41). Thus आवसथे वसति = आवसथिकः 'who dwells in a house' i. e. a domestic person as opposed to an ascetic. The feminine will be आवसथिकी ॥ So far was the scope of ठक् as ordained in IV. 4. 1. Henceforward other affixes will be ordained.

प्राग्घिताद्यत् ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राग्-हितात्, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मै हितमिति वक्ष्यति । प्रागेतस्माद्धितसंशब्दनाद्यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामो यत्प्रत्ययस्तेष्वधिकृतो वेदितव्यः ।

75. In each aphorism from this one forward to 'tasmai hitam' (V, 1. 5), the affix यत् bears rule.

Thus in the next sûtra तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम् we must read the affix यत् ॥ रथ्यः, युग्यः, प्रासङ्ग्यः ॥

तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम् ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-वहति-रथ-युग-प्रासङ्गम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यो रथयुगप्रासङ्गेभ्यो वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

76. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the words 'ratha', 'yuga', and 'prâsanga', being in the second case in construction.

Thus रथं वहति = रथ्यः 'what bears a car' a carriage-horse. Similarly युग्यः 'a yoke-bearing ox', प्रासङ्ग्यः 'being trained in a break'. प्रासङ्ग is a piece of wood placed on the neck of colts, at the time of breaking. This rule applies to compounds ending with ratha, as, परमरथ्य ॥ See IV. 3. 121, 123 also. That which carries will be called 'carrier' or वोढृ therefore रथस्य वोढृ will get the affix यत् by IV. 2. 120. read with IV.3.121. Its special mention here indicates that the affix will come, even after Dvigu compounds and will not be elided by IV. 1. 88. Thus द्वौ रथौ वहति = द्विरथ्यः ॥ The tadanta-vidhi applies to this word as we have shown under IV. 3. 121. The word युग्य has been already formed by the krit affix (III. 1. 121), that युग्य differs from the present, in accent when the word takes the negative particle, for that was by क्यप् and this is by यत्, and therefore by VI. 2. 156, अयुग्यम् will be finally acute when formed by यत् ॥ The word युगं must mean 'the portion of a car' for the application of this rule, and not a cycle of time &c. Therefore not here युगं वहति राजा कलिं द्वापरं वा ॥

धुरो यड्ढकौ ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ धुरः-यत्-ढकौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । धुर इत्येतस्माद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् ढक् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

77. The affix यत् and ढक् come in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'dhura' in the second case in construction,

Thus धुरं वहति = धुर्यः (formed by यत्) the lengthening ordained by VIII. 2. 77 is prevented by VII. 2. 79 because धुर् is Bha-stem, or धौरेयः (formed by ढक् VII. 1. 2) 'a beast of burden'. This sûtra might have stood as धुरो ढक् च, for यत् would have been read into it from IV. 4. 75.

खः सर्वधुरात् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ खः-सर्वधुरात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । सर्वधुराशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे खः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

78. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'sarva-dhurâ', being in accusative construction.

Thus सर्वधुरां वहति = सर्वधुरीणः (VII. 1. 2). The affix ख applies to other compounds also ending in धुर्, e. g. उत्तरधुरीणः, दक्षिणधुरीणः ॥ The word सर्वधुर is a compound of सर्वा + धुर् (II. 1. 49), the samâsânta अ being added by V. 4. 74. The word धूः being feminine, the whole compound would be feminine by II. 4. 26. The word सर्वधुरात् in the sûtra should not be taken, therefore, as regulat-

ing the gender, for though it is in the masculine gender., the affix comes after the feminine word. In fact सर्वधुर in the sûtra should be taken as a nominal-stem or pratipadika equal to सवधुरा ॥

एकधुराल्लुक् च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक-धुरात्-लुक् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । एकधुराशब्दाद्द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे खः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य लुग् भवति।

79. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'eka-dhurâ' in the second case in construction, and the affix is optionally elided also.

The elision is optional. Thus एकधुरां वहति = एकधुरीणः or एकधुरः ॥ The compounding is taddhitârtha (एकां धुरं वहति) to which is added the samâsânta अ, and then the affix ख ॥

शकटादण् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ शकटात्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । शकटशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

80. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'what bears it,' after the word शकट in the second case in construction.

Thus शकटं वहति = शाकटः 'an ox' i. e. what bears a car. This could be evolved by तस्येदम् अण् as शाकटस्य वोढ = शाकटः ॥ The specification indicates that tadanta-vidhi applies here, as द्वे शकटे वहति = द्वैशाकटः, and the affix is not elided (IV. 1. 88).

हलसीराट्ठक् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलसीरात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । हलसीरशब्दाभ्यां द्वितीयासमर्थाभ्यां वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'what bears it,' after the words 'hala' and 'sîra,' in the 2nd case in construction.

Thus हलं वहति = हालिकः a ploughman सैरिकः 'a plough ox.' The ठक् would have come by IV. 3. 124, the specification shows tadantavidhi and non-elision, as द्वैहालिकः, द्वैसीरिकः ॥

संज्ञायां जन्याः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्-जन्याः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । जनीशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

82. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what bears it after the word 'janî,' being in the 2nd case in contruction, the whole word being a Name.

Thus जनीं वहति = जन्यः 'a friend of a bridegroom,' fem. जन्या: 'a bridesmaid.' The word जनी means 'bride.' जन्या lit. means 'what bears the bride' i. e. who carries the coy bride to the bride-groom at the time of play &c..

विध्यत्यधनुषा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विध्याति-अधनुषा (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद् विध्यतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति न चेद्धनुष्करणं भवति ॥

83. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what pierces it,' after a word in the accusative case in construction, provided that, it is not a bow, with which anything is pierced.

Thus पादौ विध्यन्ति = पद्याः (VI. 3. 53) शर्कराः, 'what pierce the feet' i. e. pebbles. ऊरव्याः कण्टकाः 'thorns' i. e. what pierce the thigh.

Why do we say "provided it is not a bow, अधनुषा"? Observe पादौ विध्यति धनुषा, no affix is added here. This exclusion of धनुष् indicates that the act of piercing must be such as not to be done by a bow &c. Therefore the affix does not apply to cases like these चौरं विध्यति, शत्रुं विध्यति ॥

धनगणं लब्धा ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ धन-गणम्-लब्धा (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदित्येव । धनगणशब्दाभ्यां द्वितीयासमर्थाभ्यां लब्धेत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

84. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the words 'dhana,' and 'gana,' being in the second case in construction.

Thus धनं लब्धा = धन्यः, so also गण्यः ॥ लब्धृ is formed from लभ् by तृन्, hence it takes the accusative.

अन्नाण्णः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्नात्-णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्नशब्दात्तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाल्लब्धेत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे णः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

85. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the word अन्न, in the second case in construction.

Thus अन्नं लब्धा = आन्नः 'fed' 'who has obtained food.'

वशं गतः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वशम्-गतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वशशब्दात्तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद् गत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'gone,' after the word vasa, 'control' being in the second ease in construction.

Thus वशंगतः = वश्यः 'come under control' i. e. subdued i. e. a dependant or servant. वशः = काम इच्छा तां प्राप्तः i. e. परेच्छानुगामी ॥

पदमस्मिन् दृश्यम् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदम्-अस्मिन्-दृश्यम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव प्रथमा समर्थविभक्तिः । पदशब्दात्प्रथमासमर्थाद् दृश्यार्थोपाधिकादस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

87. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'in it is visible,' after the word 'pada,' being in the first case in construction.

Thus पद दृश्यमस्मिन्=पद्यः कर्दम 'mud' lit. soft mud in which foot-mark can be seen at every step. It describes mud which is neither very hard nor very fluid, but having sufficient consistency to take the impression of the foot. So पद्याः पांसवः 'dust' for in it also the impression of the foot can be seen. It also means 'the foot-path.' The word दृश्यम् means शक्यते द्रष्टुम् this being the force of the kṛitya affix 'ya' in दृश ॥

मूलमस्यावार्हि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मूलम्-अस्य-आबार्हि-(यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूलशब्दात्प्रथमासमर्थादाबर्हीत्येवमुपाधिकादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति । मूलमेषामाबर्हि ॥

88. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'whose root is eradicated,' after the word 'mûla,' being in the first case in construction.

The word आबर्हि from बृहू 'to up root,' means 'uprooting,'=उत्पाटनं ॥ मूलमेषामावर्हि=मूल्याः 'a kind of pulse' e. g. माषा । मुद्गाः ॥ These cereals cannot be harvested without uprooting the whole plant. According to Padamañjari the word should be आवर्हि and not आबर्हि, with a व and not ब ॥

संज्ञायां धेनुष्या ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां-धेनुष्या-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धेनुष्येति निपात्यते संज्ञायां विषये । संज्ञाग्रहणमभिधेयनियमार्थम् ॥

89. The word धेनुष्या is irregularly formed, being a Name.

This word is formed by adding षुक् and य to धेनु ॥ It has udâtta on the final. धेनुष्या means that cow (धेनु) which is given to a creditor in discharge of a debt or as a pledge to satisfy the debt from her milk. It is also called पीतदुग्धा ॥ As धेनुष्यां भवते ददामि ॥

गृहपतिना संयुक्ते ञ्यः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ गृहपतिना-संयुक्ते-ञ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव तृतीया समर्थविभक्तिः । गृहपतिशब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थात्संयुक्तइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ञ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

90. The affix ञ्य comes in the sense of 'joined with', after the word 'grahapati' in the third case in construction.

Thus गृहपतिना संयुक्तः = गार्हपत्यः 'the Gârhapatya Fire': i. e. a Fire particularly consecrated by the Householder. The word संज्ञायां of the last sûtra should be read into it, thus गार्हपत्यः means a particular Fire, and not every thing relating to a गृहपति ॥ The Fire in which husband (gṛihapati), together with or joined with his wife, performs sacrifice is called Gârhapatya. That sacrifice cannot be performed in Dakshinâgni. Or that fire in which Gṛihapati hymns are recited is called Gârhapatya.

नौवयोधर्मविषमूलमूलसीतातुलाभ्यस्तार्यतुल्यप्राप्यवध्यानाम्यसमसमित सम्मितेषु ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ-वयो-धर्म-विष-मूल-मूल-सीता-तुलाभ्यः-तार्य-तुल्य-प्राप्य-वध्य-अनाम्य-सम-समित-सम्मितेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नावादिभ्यो ऽष्टभ्यः शब्देभ्यो ऽष्टस्वेव तार्यादिष्वर्थेषु यथासंख्यं यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix यत् comes after the words नौ 'a boat', वयस् 'age', धर्म 'merit', विष 'poison', मूल 'a root', मूल 'capital', सीता 'a furrow', and तुला 'a balance', in the senses respectively, of "to be crossed", "like", "attainable", "to be put to death", "to be bent down", "equivalent to", "united with" and "equally measured".

The words in the above must be all in the Instrumental case in construction, for the sense of the affix shows that it should be so. Thus.

1. नावा तार्यम् = नाव्यम् 'water' 'a river', lit what can be crossed by a boat.
2. वयसा तुल्यः = वयस्यः 'a friend', lit. one alike in age.
3. धर्मेण प्राप्यम् = धर्म्यम् 'what is attainable through dharma. Could not this form have been evolved by the next sûtra धर्मादनपेते (IV. 4. 92)? No, धर्म्यम् formed by that aphorism means 'what is consistent with dharma' 'what is just'. The present धर्म्य refers to the 'fruit', the other to the 'act'.
4. विषेण वध्यः = विष्यः 'who deserves to be put to death by poison'.
5. मूलेनानाम्यम् = मूल्यम् "price" lit. or to be overpowered or bent by the root". The word आनाम्य (which is formed from the root नम् 'to bow' by the affix ण्यत् contrary to rule III. 1. 98 which reguired यत्), means अभिभवनीयम 'what ought to be overpowered': hence मूल्यम् means 'the price, worth, cost', because articles like 'cloth' &c are produced by the out-lay of stock or capital (मूल); 'price' being a thing which, because it is capital plus profit, is superior to capital, and thus by price or mûlyam, the capital or mûla is overpowered.
6. मूलेन समः = मूल्यः 'purchasable' lit, 'equivalent to capital' e. g. cloth पटः i. e. equivalent acquisition resulting from the employment of capital.

7. सीतया समितं=सैत्यं 'a field'. lit. 'measured out by furrows' according to Dr Ballantyne. The word समितं is equivalent to संगतं 'united with according to Kâsika. सैत्यं therefore literally means 'a ploughed field' i. e. 'what is united with furrows'. The affix will apply also to words ending with सीता, e. g. परमसैत्यं, उत्तमसैत्यं, द्विसैत्यं ॥

8. तुलया सम्मितं=तुल्यम् "equal" lit. 'meted by the balance'. सम्मित means समानं, सदृशं ॥

Note :—The fruits of good deeds, like happiness &c, which are attainable or prâpya through 'dharma', may be said also dharmâd anapetam because an effect must have a cause. Hence arises the doubt as to what is the difference between this and the next sûtra. The 'anapetam' in the next sûtra means the fulfilling or following the Law established by the Shishthas, and has no reference to its fruits. Because the effect of dharma is to destroy dharma—i. e. the fruits in the shape of happiness &c lessen, and ultimately extinguish the dharma. Therefore, the fruit of dharma, which is to be taken in this sûtra, as referred to by the word prâpya, is diametrically opposed to the practising of dharma, referred to by the word anapeta of the next sûtra.

धर्मपथ्यर्थन्यायादनपेते ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ धर्म-पथि-अर्थ-न्यायात्-अनपेते(यत्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव पञ्चमी समर्थविभक्तिः । धर्मादिभ्यः पञ्चमीसमर्थेभ्यो ऽनपेतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

92. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'not deviating therefrom', after the word 'dharma,' 'pathin,' 'artha' and 'nyâya' being in the ablative case in construction.

The ablative construction is inferred from its employment in the sûtra itself. Thus धर्मादनपेतं=धर्म्यम् 'just' 'not deviating from merit.' Similarly पथ्यम् ॥ शास्त्रीयात् पथो यदनपेतं तत् पथ्यं, न तु तस्मादनपेतश्चोरः 'wholesome diet,' अर्थ्यम् 'fit,' न्याय्यम् 'just, suitable.' The word संज्ञायां (IV 4. 89) governs this sûtra also, and hence the derivatives must have the above meanings.

छन्दसो निर्मिते ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसः-निर्मिते (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययार्थसामर्थ्यलभ्या समर्थविभक्तिः । छन्दः शब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थान्निर्मितइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

93. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'made,' after the word 'chhandas,' being in the Instrumental case in construction.

Thus छन्दसा निर्मितः=छन्दस्यः 'made at will.' The word छन्दस् is here synonymous with इच्छा 'will, wish, desire, fancy' &c, and does not mean 'metre or Veda.'

उरसो ऽण् च ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उरसः, अण्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उरः शब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थान्निर्मित इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यच ॥

94. The affix अण् as well as यत् comes after 'uras', in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made.'

The यत् is drawn into the sûtra by the particle च ॥ उरसा निर्मितः = औरसः 'own son not adopted, lit. produced through the loins.' With यत् the form will be उरस्यः ॥ These words denote son, and not anything produced from the loin, because the word संज्ञायां (IV. 4. 89) governs this sûtra also.

हृदयस्य प्रियः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृदयस्य-प्रियः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । हृदयशब्दात्षष्ठीसमर्थात् प्रिय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'loved,' after the word 'hridaya,' in the genitive case in construction.

The construction is shown by the aphorism itself. Thus हृदयस्य प्रियः = हृद्यः 'pleasant to the heart.' e. g. हृद्यो देशः, हृद्यं वनम् ॥ But we cannot say हृद्यः पुत्रः, the word संज्ञायां (IV. 4. 99) governs this sûtra also. and thus restricts the meaning of the word.

बन्धने चर्षौ ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बन्धने-च-ऋषौ (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हृदयस्येत्येव । बन्धन इति प्रत्ययार्थः । तद्विशेषणमृषिग्रहणम् । बध्यते येन तद्बन्धनम् । हृदयशब्दात्षष्ठीसमर्थाद्बन्धने ऋषावभिधेये यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

96. The affix यत् comes in the sense of a bond, after the word 'hridaya', being in the genitive construction, when the word denotes a 'hymn'.

The word हृदयस्य is understood in the sûtra. The word बन्धन gives the sense of the affix and is qualified by the word ऋषि ॥ That by which a thing is bound is called बन्धनं ॥ The word ऋषि means here the Veda or the Vedic hymn. Thus हृदयस्य बन्धनमृषि = हृद्यः 'the Mantra by which the heart of another can be brought under one's control', i. e. a वशीकरण मन्त्रः ॥

मतजनहलात् करणजल्पकर्षेषु ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मत-जन-हलात्, करण-जल्प कर्षेषु (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतादिभ्यस्त्रिभ्यः शब्देभ्यस्त्रिष्वेव करणादिष्वर्थेषु यथासंख्यं यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

97. The affix यत् comes after words 'mata', 'jana', and 'hala', in the senses respectively of 'means', 'gossip', and 'drawing', the words being in the sixth case in construction.

Thus मतस्य करणं = मैत्यः 'the means of acquiring knowledge'. जनस्य जल्पः = जैन्यः 'a rumour'. हलस्य कर्षः = हैल्यः 'ploughed'. So also द्विहल्यः, त्रिहल्यः, the tadanta vidhi applies रथसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधौ ॥

तत्र साधुः ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-साधुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थात् साधुरित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix यत् comes after a word in the locative construction, in the sense of 'excellent in regard thereto'.

Thus सामसु साधुः = सामन्यः (VI. 4. 168) conversant with the Sâma-Veda' So also वेमन्यः, कर्मण्यः, शरण्यः &c. The word साधु here means प्रवीण, or योग्य 'expert' and 'fit', and does not mean उपकारक 'a benefactor or a good person' When the sense is that of 'good', the sûtra तस्मै हितम् (V. 1. 5) will apply.

प्रतिजनादिभ्यः खञ् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिजनादिभ्यः-खञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिजनादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः खञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । यतोपवादः ॥

99. The affix खञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent in regard thereto', after the word 'pratijana' &c.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus प्रतिजने साधुः = प्रातिजनीनः (VII. 1. 2) 'suitable against an adversary', or 'who is excellent for every person'. So also एदं युगीनः, सांयुगीनः ॥

1 प्रतिजन, 2 इदंयुग, 3 संयुग, 4 समयुग, 5 परयुग, 6 परकुल, 7 परस्यकुल, 8 अमुष्यकुल, 9 सर्व जन, 10 विश्वजन, 11 महाजन, 12 पञ्चजन. ॥

भक्ताण्णः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्तात्, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भक्तशब्दाण् णः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

100. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the word 'bhakta'.

This debars यत्; thus, भक्ते साधुः = भाक्तः शालिः 'rice' lit. suitable or excellent for food. भाक्ता स्तण्डुलाः ॥

परिषदोण्यः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिषदः, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिषद्शब्दाण् ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

101. The affix ण्य comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the word 'parishada'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus परिषदि साधुः = पारिषद्यः ॥ The affix ण is also employed here. Thus परिषदि साधुः = पारिषदः 'one versed in the affairs of a council' 'a minister'.

कथादिभ्यष्ठक् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कथादिभ्यः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कथादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यष्ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

102. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'kathâ' &c.

Thus कथायां साधुः = काथिकः (कथा + ठक् = कथ् + ठक् VI. 4. 148 = काथ + इक् VII. 2. 116) 'a narrator of stories'. So वैकथिकः &c.

1 कथा, 2 विकथा, 3 विश्वकथा*, 4 संकथा*, 5 वितण्डा, 6 कुष्ठविद् (कुष्ट विद्, कुष्टाचित्) 7 जनवाद, 8 जनेवाद, 9 जानोवाद* (!) 10 वृत्ति, 11 संग्रह (सद्ग्रह), 12 गुण, 13 गण, 14 आयुर्वेद. ॥

गुडादिभ्यष्ठञ् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुडादिभ्यः, ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुडादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यष्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

103. The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'guda &c.'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus गुडे साधुः = गौडिकः 'sugar-cane' lit. 'excellent in making sugar'. So कौल्माषिकः 'a kind of pulse' lit. 'excellent for making gruel'. साक्तुकः 'barley' lit. suitable for making saktu.

1 गुड, 2 कुल्माष, 3 सक्तु, 4 अपूप, 5 मांसौदन, 6 इक्षु, 7 वेणु, 8 संग्राम, 9 संघात, 10 संक्राम*, 11 संवाह, 12 प्रवास, 13 निवास, 14 उपवास. ॥

पथ्यतिथिवसतिस्वपतेर्ढञ् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि-अतिथि-वसति-स्वपतेः ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथ्यादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

104. The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'pathi', 'atithi', 'vaṣati' and 'svapati'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus पथि साधुः = पाथेयम् (VII. 1. 2) 'provision for journey'. आतिथेयम् 'hospitality', वासतेयं 'habitable' as वासतेयी रात्रिः, स्वापतेयम् 'wealth, property'.

सभाया यः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सभायाः, यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सभाशब्दाद्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये यतोपवादः ॥

105. The affix यत् comes after the word 'sabhâ' when the sense is 'excellent with regard thereto.'

This debars यत् the difference being in accent (III. 1. 3, and VI. 1. 185) Thus सभायां साधुः = सभ्यः 'refined' lit. fit for society.

ढश्छन्दसि ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ढः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सभाशब्दाड् ढः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये छन्दसि । यस्यापवादः ॥

106. The affix ढ comes in the chhandas after the word 'sabhâ,' in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto.'

This debars य ॥ Thus सभेयः in सभेयोस्य युवा यजमानस्य वीरो जायताम् 'let a refined, youthful hero be born to this sacrificer'.

समानतीर्थे वासी ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ समानतीर्थे, वासी (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साधुरिति निवृत्तम् । वासीति प्रत्ययार्थः, समानतीर्थशब्दात्तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थाद्वासीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

107. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'resident, therein', after the word 'samâna-tîrtha', in the locative construction.

The anuvṛitti of साधुः now ceases. The word तीर्थ means here गुरु 'Preceptor'. Thus समाने तीर्थे वासी = सतीर्थ्यः (VI. 3. 87)—'a fellow-student', who both dwell under the same preceptor.

समानोदरे शयित ओ चोदात्तः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-उदरे-शयितः, आ-च-उदात्तः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानोदरशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थाच्छयित इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ओकारश्चोदात्तः ॥

108. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who sleeps,' after the word 'sâmânodara' in the locative construction, and the udâtta falls on the letter ओ ॥

The word शयितः is equal to स्थितः* 'remain'. Thus समानोदरे शयितः = समानोदर्यः 'uterine brother' i. e. who has slept in the same womb. See VI. 3. 88.

सोदराद्यः ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोदरात्, यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोदरशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थात् शयित इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

109. The affix य comes after the word 'sodara,' in the sense of 'who sleeps,' the word being in the 7th case in construction.

By sûtra VI. 3. 88 समान is optionally changed to स before the word उदर when यत् follows. Thus समानोदरे शयितः = सोदर्यः ॥ Here ओ is not udâtta as it was in the last; the udâtta here falls on य ॥

भवे छन्दसि ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ भवे-छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येव । सप्तमीसमर्थाद्भव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे छन्दसि विषये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति । अणादीनां घादीनां चापवादः ॥

110. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas, after a word in the locative case in construction, in the sense of 'what stays there.'

This debars अण्, घ &c (IV. 3, 53). Those affixes also are employed in the alternative, there being much latitude of grammatical rules in the Vedas. Thus the words मेध्यः and विद्युत्य in the following hymn of the Yajur Veda (16. V. 38): नमो मेध्याय च विद्युत्याय च ॥ All the sûtras henceforward up to the end of the chapter, are Vedic sûtras, the word छन्दसि being understood in them all. The word भवे governs all the sûtras up to IV. 4. 118.

पाथोनदीभ्यां ड्यण् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाथः-नदीभ्याम्-ड्यण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाथशब्दान्नदीशब्दाच्च ड्यण् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । यतोपवादः ॥

111. The affix ड्यण् comes in the Chhandas, in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the words 'pâthas' and 'nadî,' wherby the last vowel, with the consonant following, is elided.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus पाथसि भवः = पाथ्यः, so also नाद्यः ॥ As in the following hymns: तमुत्वा पाथ्यो वृषा, च नो रधीत नाद्यो गिरो मे ॥ पाथः means firmament.

वेशन्तहिमवद्भ्यामण् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेशन्त-हिमवत् भ्याम्, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेशन्तशब्दाद्धिमवच्छब्दाच्चाण् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

112. The affix अण् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there' after the words 'vesanta' and 'himavat.'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus वैशन्तीभ्यः स्वाहा, हैमवतीभ्यः स्वाहा ॥

स्रोतसो विभाषा ड्यड्ड्यौ ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्रोतसः विभाषा, ड्यत्-ड्यौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्रोतश्शब्दाद्विभाषा ड्यत् ड्य इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतस्तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

113. The affixes ड्यत् and ड्य come optionally in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the word 'srotas', and before these affixes the final syllable अस् of srotas is elided.

This debars यत् which comes in the alternative. As स्रोतसि भवः = स्रोत्यः or स्रोत्यः the difference being in the accent (III. 1. 3 and VI. 1. 185). The anubandha ड causes the elision of अस् of स्रोतस् ॥ When यत् is added the form is स्रोतस्यः ॥

सगर्भसयूथसनुताद्यन् ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सगर्भ-सयूथ-सनुतात्, यन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सगर्भसयूथसनुतशब्देभ्यो यन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

114. The affix यन् comes in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the words 'sagarbha,' 'sayûtha' and sanuta.'

This debars यत् the difference being in accent (VI. 1. 197). Thus अनुभ्राता सगर्भ्यः 'a younger brother'. अनुसखासयूथ्यः 'a younger friend'. So also यो नः सनुत्यः उत वा जिघत्नु thief lit. 'who stays in a concealed place', sanuta meaning 'concealed' (see Rig Veda II. 31. 9). The word समान is always changed into स in the Chhandas (VI. 3. 84).

तुग्रात् घन् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुग्रात्, घन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुग्रशब्दात् घन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

115. The affix घन् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the word, tugra.'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus तुग्रियः as स्वमग्ने वृषभस् तुग्रियाणां ॥ Which assumes the form तुग्र्य-tugrya also. As आवः शमम् वृषभं तुग्र्यासु (Rig Veda I. 34. 15) Tugrya meaning 'sunk in the waters'. The word तुग्र means 'food, firmament, sacrifice and varishṭha'.

अग्राद्यत् ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्रात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्रशब्दाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ।

116. The afffx यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there', after the word 'agra',

Thus अग्रे भवं = अग्र्यम् ॥ Why this separate rule, for यत् would have come after अग्र by the general rule IV. 4. 110? The repetition is to show that यत् is not debarred by घ and छ of the next sûtra, which would have been the case, had this sûtra not existed.

घच्छौ च ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ घच्-छौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्रशब्दाद्यत् घच्छौ प्रत्ययौ भवस्तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ।

117. The affixes 'ghach 'and 'chha' come in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there', after the word 'agra.'

Thus अग्र्यम् (by यत्), अग्रीयम् (by छ) and अग्रियम् (by घच्). And अग्रियम् (by घन्) from IV. 4. 115. See R̥. V. I. 13. 10 (Sâyana) इहत्वष्टारमग्रियम् ॥

समुद्राभ्राद् घः ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समुद्र-अभ्रात्-घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुद्रशब्दादभ्रशब्दाच्च घः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । यतोपवादः ॥

118. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there', after the words 'samudra' and 'abhra'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus समुद्रिय: and अभ्रिय:, as in समुद्रिया अप्सरसो मणीषिणम् and नानदतो अभ्रियस्येव घोषाः ॥ The word 'abhra' being a word of fewer syllables than 'samudra' ought to have come first. Its coming as a second member is an irregularity.

बर्हिषि दत्तम् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ बर्हिषि-दत्तम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भव इति निवृत्तम् । बर्हिः शब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थाद्दत्तमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'given', after the word 'barhis' in the 7th. case in construction.

The anuvṛitti of तत्र भवः ceases. Thus बर्हिष्येषु निधिषु प्रियेषु ॥ R. V. 10. 15 5

दूतस्य भागकर्मणी ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ दूतस्य-भाग-कर्मणी (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । दूतशब्दात् षष्ठीसमर्थाद्भागे कर्मणि चाभिधेये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas after the word 'dûta' in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of 'its share' or 'its duty.'

Thus दूत्यम् 'the share of a messenger or the work of a messenger'. As यत्ते अग्ने दूत्यम् ॥ According to VI. 1. 213, the accent will be दूत्यम्, but the accented Text reads दूत्यम् ॥

रक्षोयातूनां हननी ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रक्षः-यातूनाम्-हननी (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । रक्षःशब्दाद्यातुशब्दाच्च षष्ठीसमर्थाद्धननीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

121. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'killer', after the words 'raksha' and 'yâtu' in the sixth case in construction.

That by which anything is killed is called हननी ॥ Thus रक्षस्यं and यातव्यं meaning 'that which kills the demons called Rakshas and Yâtus'. As याते अग्ने रक्षस्या तनः i. e. रक्षसां हननी 'O Agni thy bodies are killers of Rakshas'. So यातव्याः तनूः ॥ The word is in the plural as a mark of respect.

रेवतीजगतीहविष्याभ्यः प्रशस्ये ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रेवती-जगती-हविष्याभ्यः प्रशस्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेवत्यादिभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यः प्रशस्ये वाच्ये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

122. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'praising' after the words 'revatî', 'jagatî' and 'havishya' in the 6th case in construction.

The word प्रशस्य means प्रशंसन 'praising, extolling', formed by adding the Krit affix क्यप् to the root with the force of भाव or 'condition'. Thus रेवत्यम्, जगत्यम्

and हविष्यम् 'praising of Revatî, Jagâtî or Havishya'. The word हविष्यम् is thus formed हविषे हिता = हविष्याः 'things fit for offering' i. e. butter &c, (हविष् + यत् V. I. 4) हविष्याणाम् प्रशंसनं = हविष्यम् (हविष्य + यत् IV. 4. 122 = हविष्य् + यत् the final अ being elided by VI. 4. 148 = हविष् + यत् the य् being elided by VIII. 4. 64).

असुरस्य स्वम् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ असुरस्य, स्वम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असुरशब्दात्षष्ठीसमर्थात्स्वमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति । अणोपवादः ॥

123. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'property', after the word 'asura' in the 6th case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus असुर्यम् 'belonging to the Asuras'. As असुर्यं वा एतत् पात्रं यच्चक्रधृतं कुलालकृतम् 'this vessel made on a wheel by a potter belongs to the Asuras'. असुर्यं देवेभिर्धायि विश्वम् ॥ See Maitr S. I. 8. 3

मायायामण् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मायायाम्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असुरशब्दात्षष्ठीसमर्थान्मायायां स्वविशेषे ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । पूर्वस्य यतोपवादः ॥

124. The affix अण् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'glamour', after the word 'asura' in the 6th case in construction.

This debars यत् ॥ असुरस्य माया = आसुरः feminine आसुरी ॥ As आसुरी माया स्वधया कृतासि ॥

तद्वानासामुपधानो मन्त्र इतीष्टकासु लुक् च मतोः ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्वान्-आसाम्-उपधानः-मन्त्र-इति-इष्टकासु-लुक्-च-मतोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वानिति निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः मतुबन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात्प्रथमासमर्थादासामिति षष्ठ्यर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति । यत्प्रथमासमर्थमुपधानोमन्त्रश्चेत्स भवति । यत्तदासामिति निर्दिष्टमिष्टकाश्चेत्ता भवन्ति । लुक् च मतोर्निमित्तं प्रकृतिनिर्ह्रासः । इतिकरणस्ततश्चेद्विवक्षा । तद्वानित्यवयवेन समुदायो व्यपदिश्यते ॥

125. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas, after a nominal stem, in the 1st case in construction, ending with the affix 'matup', when the sense is "this is their mantra of putting up", provided that, the things put up are bricks: And the affix matup is elided by luk.

This sûtra requires analysis. तद्वान् is formed by adding मतुप् to तद् meaning 'having that', and refers to a noun formed by the affix मतुप् ॥ The word आसाम् is genitive plural fem. of इदं meaning 'of them'; the pronoun refers to the word इष्टका ॥ The word उपधान means 'putting up', and technically means 'used as a Mantra in the putting up of sacrificial bricks, pots &c'. मन्त्र "sacred hymn" इष्टका 'bricks', The whole sûtra means "the affix 'yat' is used with

the force of a genitive (âsâm), after a word which ends with matup (tadvân), and denotes a mantra used in putting up of sacrificial objects; when such mantra refers to bricks: and when this affix yat is added, the affix matup is elided'. Thus वर्चस्वान् is a Mantra containing the word वर्चस् ॥ The bricks put up or collected (उपधीयते) with the recitation of वर्चस्वान् Mantra, will be called वर्चस्यां (वर्चस्वत् + यत् = वर्चस् + यत् the affix वत् (मतुप्) being elided = वर्चस्य, fem वर्चस्या) ॥ Thus वर्चस्या उपदधाति 'he collects Varchasya bricks i. e. on which Varchasvân mantra has been pronounced'. So तेजस्यां उपदधाति ॥ So पयस्याः, रेतस्याः ॥

Why do we say तद्वान्? The affix is not to be added to the whole Mantra. Why do we say, उपधान 'putting up'? The affix is not to be added to other Mantras such as those used in praying etc. e. g. वर्चस्वानुपस्थान मन्त्र आसामिष्टकानाम्, here there will be no affix. Why do we say Mantra? Observe अंगुलिमानुपधानो हस्त आसाम् 'these bricks are collected with hand having fingers', here there will be no affix. Why do we say इष्टकासु? Observe वर्चस्वानुपधानो मन्त्र एषां कपालानाम्, here there will be no affix, the thing collected being potsherds and not bricks.

अश्विमानण् ॥ १२६ ॥ अश्विमान्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्विशब्दो यस्मिन्मन्त्रेऽस्ति सोऽश्विमान् । अश्विमच्छब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति । पूर्वस्य यतोऽपवादः ।

126. The affix अण् comes in the Chhandas, after the words asvimân, to denote bricks put up with the Mantra containing the word Asvin, and the affix matup is elided.

Thus अश्विमानुपधानो मन्त्र आसामिष्टकानां = आश्विनः fem. आश्विनीः ॥ The word is thus formed अश्विमान् + अण् = अश्वि + अण् the matup being elided IV. 4. 125 = अश्विन् + अण् VI. 4. 164 = आश्विन् ॥ Thus आश्विनीरुपदधाति 'he collects Aśvin bricks i. e. bricks at the time of collecting which Mantras containing अश्विन् were uttered. See Yajur Veda Tait S. 5. 3. 1. 1.

वयस्यासु मूर्ध्नो मतुप् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वयस्यासु-मूर्ध्नः-मतुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वयस्वानुपधानो मन्त्रो यासां ता वयस्यास्तास्वभिधेयासु मूर्ध्नो मतुप् प्रत्ययो भवति ..

127. The affix 'matup' is added in the Chhandas, to the word 'mûrdhanvat', in expressing bricks collected with the Mantra containing the word 'vayas'.

The word वयस्या means the bricks, the Upadhâna mantras of which contain the word वयस् ॥ The affix मतुप् debars यत् ॥ A mantra which contains both the word वयस् and मूर्धन्, that Mantra is both वयस्वान् and मूर्धन्वान् ॥ Now in denoting sacrificial bricks put up with such a mantra, the affix यत् would have come by IV. 4. 125 after both these words वयस्वान् and मूर्धन्वान् ॥ The present

sûtra ordains मतुप् after मूर्द्धन्वान् ॥ Thus मूर्द्धन्वतीरुपदधाति 'he colleets Mûrdhanvatî bricks'. The words वयस्याः and मूर्द्धन्वत्यः denote the same object. See VI. 1. 176.

Why do we say वयस्यासु? The affix 'matup' will not be added to 'mûrdhan', if the Mantra contains only the word 'mûrdhan' and not 'vayas' also. In that case मूर्धन्याः will be the form, meaning 'bricks collected with the Mantra containing the word मूर्धन्', while मूर्धन्वत्यः means 'bricks collected with the Mantra containing the words mûrdhan and vayas'.

The sûtra contains the word मूर्ध्नः ablative singular of मूर्धन् ॥ It ought to have been मूर्धन्वतः, for the affix matup is added to मूर्धन्वत्, the वत् being elided then by IV. 4. 125. The author has mentally elided the affix वत्, and shown in the aphorism the last stage of the word to which मतुप् is to be added.

मत्वर्थे मासतन्वोः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मत्वर्थे-मास-तन्वोः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मिन्नर्थे मतुब्विहितस्तस्मिञ्छन्दसि विषये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति मासतन्वोः प्रत्ययार्थ विशेषणयोः । वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मासतन्वोरनन्तरार्थेवा ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लुगकारेकाररेफाश्च वक्तव्याः ॥

128. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas with the force of matup, after a word in the first case in construction, the word so formed meaning a month or a body.

This debars the affix मतुप् and those having the sense of मतुप् ॥ Thus नभांसि विद्यन्ते यस्मिन् मासि = नभस्यः 'the month of clouds' i. e. June-July. So also सहस्यः, तपस्यः मधव्यः, being the names of the months Pausha (Nov-Dec), Phalguna (Feb-March) and Vaisâkha (April-May). The word मधव्यः is thus formed:---मधु + यत् = मधा + यत् (VI. 4. 146) = मधव्यः (VI. 1. 79) 'the month of honey'. Similarly ओजस्या तनूः 'the bodies full of vigour'.

Why do we say "in denoting a month or a body"? Observe मधुमता पात्रेण चरति, here मतुप् is used.

Vârt:—The affix यत् is optionally employed when the sense is 'immediately after'. As मध्वस्मिन्नस्ति मध्वस्मिननन्तरमिति वा = माधव्यः or माधवो मासः ॥

Vârt:—Sometimes the affix is elided, and sometimes the letters अ, इ and र serve the same purpose as this affix. Thus तपः or तपस्यः, नभस् or नभस्यः, सहस् or सहस्यः, all in the neuter gender in the Chhandas. Sometimes अ serves the same purpose, e. g. इषो मासः, ऊर्जोमासः ॥ Sometimes इ, as शुचिर्मासः. Sometimes र e. g. शुक्रो मासः ॥

मधोर्ञ च ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मधोः-ञ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधुशब्दान्मत्वर्थे ञः प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यच ॥

129. The affix ञ as well as यत् comes with the force of matup, in the Chhandas, after the word मधु ॥

Thus माधवः or मधव्यः ॥ Sometimes the affix is elided, as मधुः, all these mean the month of Vaisâkha. So also माधवाः, मधव्या and मधुः meaning तनूः or body.

ओजसो ऽहनि यत्खौ ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ ओजसः-अहनि-यत्-खौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थइत्येव । ओजः शब्दान्मत्वर्थे यत्खौ प्रत्ययौ भवतोऽहन्यभिधेये ॥

130. The affixes यत् and ख come with the force of matup, after the word 'ojas', when a day is meant.

Thus ओजस्यम् or ओजसीनं = अहः 'the day' lit. full of heat.

वेशोयशआदेर्भगाद्यल् ॥ १३१॥ पदानि ॥ वेशः-यशः-आदेः-भगात्-यल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थइत्येव । वेशोयशसी आदी यस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य तस्माद्वेशोयशआदेर्भगान्तात्प्रातिपदिकान्मत्वर्थे यल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

131. The afffix यल् comes in the Chhandas, with the force of matup, after the word bhaga, having the words 'vesas' or 'yasas' in the beginning.

The ल् of यल् shows that the accent falls on the vowel preceding the affix (VI. 1. 193). Thus वेशोभगो विद्यते यस्य स = वेशोभग्यः 'strong-fortune' so also यशोभग्यः 'famous-fortune'. The word वेश means 'strength': भग means 'fortune, desire, effort, greatness, virility and fame.' The word वेशोभगः may be taken as a Dvandva compound of वेशस् 'force' and भगः 'fortune.' The word वेशोभग्यः would then mean 'possessed of power and fortune'.

ख च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ख-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेशोयशआदेर्भगान्तात्प्रातिपदिकान्मत्वर्थे खः प्रत्ययो भवति । योगविभागो यथासंख्यनिरासार्थ उत्तरार्थश्च । चकाराद्यत् ॥

132. The affix ख also comes after the words 'vesobhaga' and 'yasobhaga', in the Chhandas, with the force of matup.

Thus वेशोभगीनः and यशोभगीनः ॥ This sûtra has been separated from last in order to prevent the application of the यथासंख्य rule (I. 3. 10). For had the sûtra been वेशोयश आदेर्भगाद् यल्खौ, as it occurs in Siddhanta Kaumudi, then the affix यल् would apply to वेशोभग, and the affix ख to यशोभगः which is not what is intended. Another reason for making it a distinct aphorism is that the anuvritti of ख runs in the next sûtra, not so of यल् ॥

पूर्वैः कृतमिनयौ च ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वैः-कृत-इन-यौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थ इति निवृत्तम् । निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । पूर्वशब्दात् तृतीयासमर्थात्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इन य इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः । चकारात्ख च ॥

133. The affixes इन and य as well as ख come in the sense of 'made by them', after the word 'purva' (forefathers) 'in the Instrumental case in construction

The ख is read into the sûtra by force of the word च; the anuvṛitti of मत्वर्थ ceases. Thus पूर्वैः कृतं = पूर्विणः 'made by the ancestors' i. e. a road. So also पूर्व्यः and पूर्वीणः ॥ The word पूर्वैः in the plural means पूर्वपुरुषाः "past generations, ancestors". These words occur generally in the plural, and mean "roads widened by the forefathers". Thus गम्भीरेभिः पथिभिः पूर्विणेभिः ॥ So also, ये ते पन्थाः सवितः पूर्व्यासः (Rig I. 35. 11) Another reading of this sûtra is पूर्वैः कृतमिनियौ च; the affixes then will be इनि (इन्), and य; and ख will be drawn in by virtue of च ॥ The examples then will be पूर्विन्; 3rd pl. पूर्विभिः (with इन्), as पथिभिः पूर्विभिः, or पूर्वीणैः (ख), or पूर्व्यैः (य) ॥

अद्भिः संस्कृतम् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्भिः-संस्कृतम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । अप्शब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थात् संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'sanctified', after the word 'apas' in the 3rd case in construction.

Thus अप्यम् 'offering purified with water'. As यस्येदमप्यं हविः ॥ The case of construction is indicated in the sûtra itself.

सहस्रेण संमितौ घः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहस्रेण-संमितौ-घ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । सहस्रशब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थात्तुल्यमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे घःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas, in the sense of 'like', after the word 'sahasra', in the 3rd case in construction.

The case of construction is indicated by the sûtra. Thus सहस्रेण संमितः = सहस्रियः 'like unto thousand'. As in the following verse:—सहस्रियासोऽपां नोर्मयः ॥ अयमग्निः सहस्रियः The word संमित means तुल्य 'equal to'. Some read the word समित instead of सम्मित, but the meaning will be the same.

मतौ च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थे च सहस्रशब्दात् घः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

136. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas with the force of matup, after the word 'sahasra'.

As सहस्रमस्य विद्यते = सहस्रियः ॥ This debars the मत्वर्थ affixes विनि and इनि and अण् of V. 2. 102 and 103.

सोममर्हति यः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमम्-अर्हति-यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । सोमशब्दाद्द्वितीयासमर्थादर्हतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

137. The affix य comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'Soma', in the second case in construction, when the sense is that of 'who deserves that'.

Thus सोममर्हन्ति = सौम्या ब्राह्मणाः "The Brâhmaṇas who deserve Soma" i. e. honorable and learned, and worthy of performing sacrifices. The difference between यत् and घ is in accent.

मये च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मये-च (य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोमग्रहणं, यश्चानुवर्तते । मय इति मयडर्थो लक्ष्यते । सोमशब्दान्मयडर्थे यः प्रत्ययो भवति । आगतविकारावयवप्रकृता मयडर्थाः ॥

138. The affix य comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'Soma', with the force of the affix mayat.

The force of the affix मयट् is that of ततः आगतः (IV. 3. 74 and 82), विकारावयव (IV. 3. 134 and 143) and प्रकृत (V. 4. 21). The case in construction will vary according to the sense. Thus सोम्यं मधुः पिबन्ति = सोममयः मधुः ॥

मधोः ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मधोः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यशब्दो निवृत्तः । मधुशब्दान्मयडर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

139. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'madhu', with the force of the affix mayat.

Thus मधव्यान् स्तोकान् = मधुमयान् ॥

वसोः समूहे च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ वसोः-समूहे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसुशब्दात्समूहे वाच्ये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति चकारान्मयडर्थे च । यथायोगं समर्थविभक्तिः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अक्षरसमूहे छन्दसः स्वार्थउपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ वसुशब्दादपि यद्वक्तव्यः ॥

140. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas after the word 'vasu', when a collection is meant, as well as with the force of mayat.

Thus वसव्यः = समूहः 'a collection'.

Vârt:—The affix 'yat' comes without changing the sense, after the word छन्दस् when reference is made to the collection of letters. Thus the word छन्दस्यः in the following sentence: "सप्तदशाक्षरश्छन्दस्यः प्रजापतियज्ञो मन्त्रे विहिता". The 17 letters here referred to being ओ श्रावय, four; अस्तु श्रौषट्, four; यज, two; ये यजामहे five; and वषट् two ॥

Vârt:—The affix यत् comes after वसु without changing the sense. As हस्तौ गृहीतस्य वसुभिर्वसव्यैः ॥ Here वसव्यैः is equal to वसुभिः ॥ Similarly अग्निरीशे वसव्यस्य = वसोः ॥

नक्षत्राद् घः ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रात्, घः ॥

141. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas after the word 'nakshatra', without altering the meaning.

The anuvṛitti of समूह does not extend to this sûtra. Thus नक्षत्रियेभ्यः स्वाहा = नक्षत्रेभ्यः स्वाहा ॥

सर्वदेवात्तातिल् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्व, देवात्, तातिल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वदेवशब्दाभ्यां तातिल् प्रत्ययो भवति छन्दसि विषये स्वार्थिकः ॥

142. The affix 'tâtil' comes in the Chhandas after the words 'sarva' and 'deva', without altering the meaning.

As सर्वतातिः and देवतातिः in the following hymns: "सविता नः सुवतु सर्वतातिम् and प्रदक्षिणिद्देवतातिमुराणः ॥

शिवशममरिष्टस्य करे ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिव, शम्, अरिष्टस्य, करे (तातिल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतीति करः प्रत्ययार्थः । तत्सामर्थ्यलभ्या षष्ठी समर्थविभक्तिः । शिवादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यः कर इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे तातिल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

143. The affix 'tâtil' comes, in the Chhandas, after the word 'siva', 'sam', and 'arishta' in the sixth case in construction when the sense is 'he 'does'.

The word करः is equivalent to करोति formed by अच् (III. 1. 134)

This shows that the construction must be genitive. With a kṛit-formed word, it has accusative force, as, शिवस्य करः = शिवं करोति ॥

Thus शिवस्य करः = शिवतातिः, So शंतातिः and अरिष्टतातिः ॥ As याभिः शन्ताती भवथो ददाशुषे (Rig I. 112. 20) शंताती being dual of शन्तातिः, and meaning सुखस्य कर्तारौ; so also अथो अरिष्टतातये ॥

भावे च ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे-च (तातिल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे चार्थे छन्दसि विषये शिवादिभ्यस्तातिल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

144. The affix 'tâtil' comes in the Chhandas, after the words 'siva', 'sam' and 'arishta', being in the 6th case in construction, the sense being that of condition.

Thus शिवस्य भावः = शिवतातिः 'the condition of blissfulness'. शन्तातिः 'the state of happiness or peace', अरिष्टतातिः ॥ Here these words have the force of Verbal nouns.